

**Applying Cross-Cultural Values Research to “the Chinese”:
A Critical Integration of Etic and Emic Approaches**

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von Steven Joe Kulich

Master of Arts (Honors) in East Asian Studies (Chinese)

Präsident der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. Christoph Marksches

Dekan der Philosophischen Fakultät IV

Prof. Dr. phil. Ernst von Kardorff

Gutachter-Gutachterinnen

1. Prof. Dr. Jürgen Henze
2. Prof. Dr. Sigrid Blömeke
3. Prof. Dr. Michael Harris Bond

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Applying Cross-Cultural Values Research to “the Chinese”:

A Critical Integration of Etic and Emic Approaches

(A Doctoral Dissertation in Two Volumes)

Volume 1:

The Historical, Disciplinary, and Conceptual

Landscape of Value Studies

(Chapters 1-6)

Volume 2:

Mixed-Method Approaches and Analysis of Chinese Values

(Chapters 7-12)

by

Steve J. Kulich

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

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Author's Notes

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The research reported here does not reflect the views of these organizations. The author bears full responsibility for the contents, comments, and any errors made in this dissertation.

Stylistic Explanation

Modified APA Format

This dissertation follows APA sixth edition standards for citations and referencing, but departs in three areas, adopting the conventions of European scholarly papers; (1) using the numbered outline paragraph scheme (1.1, 1.1.1, etc.), all justified to the left margin, for the easier location of main headings and sub-points; (2) using Footnotes instead of Endnotes (as these are more readily accessible to the reader of a specific page in a large two-volume work); and (3) using the colon format for page numbers instead of the US APA format (which would note pages as p. 193), a style typical of works in European sociology and social psychology. Citations thus appear in these volumes in this manner (e.g., Henze, 2008:193).

Dedication

to my students, past and present,

whose ideas, questions, suggestions,
insightful papers, and reference sourcing
stimulated me to start and keep working on this topic.

In this dynamic and developing Chinese context, the future
of values studies and intercultural communication is yours to further develop.

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I am particularly grateful for the mid-career opportunities, commitment to the intercultural field, collegial support, and enthusiastic stimulation provided by my doctoral supervisor Prof. Jürgen Henze – it has been a pleasure to work with him on all of the tasks related to this paper. I’m also grateful for the support shown by his department, faculty, and institute team and consider it an honor to have become part of the “Humboldtian” tradition.

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Abstract

A noted void throughout intercultural communication research is lack of a comprehensive interdisciplinary review, a thorough contextually-sensitive understanding (in this case, Chinese), or culturally-adapted application of values studies that is both based on, and can inform, leading theories. This dissertation addresses these by; (1) mapping out and critiquing the varied historical strands of Western values studies toward identifying candidates applicable to this project (Vol. 1, Chaps 1-4); (2) documenting the long history of attempts to describe the uniqueness of “Chinese values” and recent work to link studies in China with international theories (Vol. 1, Chaps 5-6); then (3) considering methodological approaches potentially suited to improving this emic-into-etic integration (Vol. 2, Chap 7, 9); and (4) carrying them out in eight multi-method qualitative and quantitative studies toward analyzing and expanding the relevance of Schwartz’s “universal theory” of values in “Chinese” contexts (Vol. 2, Chaps 8, 10-12).

To these ends, Volume 1 provides thorough documentation and analysis of values perceptions across diverse disciplines, puts forward construct demarcations to disentangle the values concept from related psychological domains, proposes a integrated set of value study critiques, and provides a reassessment of tradition-modernity assumptions. In an attempt to integrate frameworks, it then proposes that there may be multiple, co-existing value-cluster matrices in the unique conditions of societies undergoing rapid change.

Volume 2 provides data-based application of these conclusions through six qualitative (N=79, 80, 85, 150, 375, 140 respectively) language and culture explorations (of terms, expressions, and proverb/sayings) and quantitative treatment of 12 data sets, including indigenous open-ended responses at the cultural (4 sets, total N=225) and individual levels (4 sets, N=267), as well as multi-method and comparative measures on one set (N=87). These statistical studies employ linguistic association, degree of fit procedures (on both raw and z-scores), and PROXSCAL MDS (SSA) mapping of domains associated with Schwartz’s SVS. Results are then reanalyzed to identify stable cultural clusters, label matrix dimensions, reconsider dimensional coordinates, construct sub-scale sets, analyze sub-scale integrity, and evaluate degree of fit statistics.

The findings (1) confirm applicability of the Schwartz model with some contextually enlightening modifications; (2) identify ten “thick Chinese cultural clusters” (at both cultural and individual levels) that enhance or expand some of Schwartz’s seven domains; (3) show that in these Chinese contexts, Schwartz’s Embeddeness (Em) splits into “Relational Em-A” (Stable Tie Maintenance) and “Societal Em-B” (Public Role Development) along a new dimension that could be called “Long-Term In-group Affective Commitments” vs. “Role/Respect-based Functional Networks;” (4) also show that Schwartz’s Egalitarian (Eg) splits on either side of Mastery into two potentially new domains labeled “Developmental Eg-A” (Personal Quality Development) and “Interpersonal Eg-B” (Interdependent Affective/ Achievement Support), along another dimensional axis, which has been called, “Personal Qualities/ Maturing Growth” vs. “Upward Status/ Social Climbing Goals;” (5) illustrate how “universal” value measures might be interpreted in more collective/power oriented cultures (with the consistent appearance of an “Embedded/Hierarchy Em/H” value domain); and (6) provide methodological guidelines, indigenous meaning, and data association keys for future Schwartz SVS values work in Chinese or other linguistic cultural contexts.

This extensive review and integration of values studies across time, disciplines, and paradigms, and its exploratory attempts to apply these to specific “Chinese” contexts also puts forward proposals for a more historically-, contextually-, theoretically-, and meaning-based values research process.

Keywords: Value studies, Schwartz SVS, emic-in-etic, indigenous psychological approach, cross-cultural psychology, China and modernization

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Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION TO VALUES STUDIES AND CONTRASTING CONCEPTIONS OF CULTURE

I believe that we have to content ourselves with our imperfect knowledge and understanding, and treat values and moral obligations as a purely human problem—the most important of all human problems.

Physicist and Humanist Albert Einstein (1947/1972:95)¹

A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable, which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action.

Cultural Anthropologist Clyde K.M. Kluckhohn (1951:395)

At about the same time that the great scientific mind of Einstein was admitting human limits and appealing to common human values (at a lecture that reportedly influenced Karl Popper), the pioneering cultural anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn was formulating scientific conceptions for the study of such values. Kluckhohn's definition is certainly the most cited one in various disciplines regarding the conceptualization of values² and is embedded in the later but also widely-cited psychological formulation by Milton Rokeach:

A value is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence. (Rokeach, 1973:5)

Values studies constitute an early and enduring focus in many fields of social science, serving as one of the early entry points for investigation in the comparative study of cultures. The significance of this “starting point” will be discussed extensively in this dissertation's review of Western sociological, philosophical, cultural anthropological (in Chapter 2), psychological, political science, and communication studies literature (in Chapter 3).

¹ Max Jammer attributes this to a letter from Einstein to Murray W. Gross, 26 April 1947 (2002:139, Footnote 105). Others cite it from his “Vienna Lecture,” e.g., an article retrieved April 9, 2009, from http://www.zionism-israel.com/Albert_Einstein/Albert_Einstein_God_&_Religion.htm. The note on the influence on Karl Popper retrieved from <http://www.hfsd.info/events/humanistethics.html>

² This “most influential definition” evaluation is also supported by sociologists Hitlin & Piliavin (2004:362) and graces the first pages of almost every review on values, though some authors like Kahle & Xie (2008:577) consider Rokeach's conceptualization the most-widely cited.

1.1 Definition and Aims of this Research Project

This dissertation, as part of the fulfillment of a doctorate in intercultural communication, seeks to go beyond values as just a starting point, but instead seeks to integrate and advance diverse approaches to values studies toward adequately accounting for etic universals while being sensitive to and inclusive of some emic particulars of Chinese contexts (Pike, 1966)³. As part of a degree offered under a department of comparative education, it will take “the Chinese” as a classroom case to apply and adapt methodologies of values studies toward theoretical advancements of the universal structure of values proposed by Shalom Schwartz (e.g., 1992, 2005a, 2005b, etc.).

“Values clarification” is often a component of intercultural communication training (e.g., Kirshenbaum, 1977; Lipe, 2009; Raths, Harmin, & Simon, 1966; Sampath, Bankwala, & Sampath, 2006; Stringer & Cassiday, 2003; see Chapter 7), and has been an integral part of the author’s many courses since 1994. Volume 2 of this project analyzes 18 cross-sectional, time-referenced sets of data derived from different values exercises, seeking to identify insights into the “Chineseness” of the values elicited. It then considers their correspondence with “universal” value items in the Schwartz Values Survey (SVS). Overall, this dissertation seeks to contribute historical, critical, theoretical, methodological, and applicable pragmatic perspectives to move the field of values studies forward in specific contexts as a viable and sound academic component of the discipline of intercultural communication.

³ The coining of the terms *emic* and *etic* is accurately attributed to linguist and Bible translator Kenneth Pike (1954/1967, 1966), both by others (e.g., Berry, 1999) and his own account, retrieved May 2, 2011 from <http://www.sil.org/silewp/2001/001/SILEWP2001-001.htm>. He postulated that, in the same way that systems of speech have a broad *phonetic* inventory (the universal set of all possible speech sounds) as well as a specific *phonemic* table of usage (localized sounds or phonemes—the limited set of vocalics used in any specific language or dialect), across human cultures there are also such universal, broadly shared elements of human behavior (*etic* domains) as well as those which only make sense or are expressed in localized settings (*emic* domains).

Edward Stewart, in his “Outline of Intercultural Communication” (in Casmir, 1978) attributes these ideas erroneously to Lounsbury (1955), who only applied them. As this chapter will show, this conceptualization of levels of culture was actually postulated nearly one hundred years earlier (starting in the 1860s) by the German ethnographic pioneer, Adolf Bastian, with his conceptualization of *Völkergedanken* (his version of *emic*, 1881) and *Elementargedanken* (his version of *etic*, 1895). See Sec 1.2.3 for fuller treatment.

1.1.1 Rationale for this Project

In the affairs of men there is a system (人法地，地法天，天法道，道法自然⁴).

Ancient Chinese Philosopher Lao Zi

Culture must include the explicit and systematic study of values and value systems viewed as observable, describable, and comparable phenomena of nature.

Cultural Anthropologists Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn

1.1.1.1 Values as a Cornerstone for Social Research and Transformations

This dissertation suggests that analyzing values is not merely an outdated enterprise which shaped the early development of culture-related studies, but, as Michael Harris Bond suggests (1986:208), continues to be a “touchstone” to which scholars or practitioners need to return to at salient points in the development of any socially- or culturally-oriented field, or at critical junctures in studying the development of, or cultural transitions faced by, any people⁵. This is particularly true for cultures undergoing rapid change, as Florence Rockwood Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodbeck seminally postulated. Many authors cite Kluckhohn and Strodbeck’s three assumptions on which her/their five value orientations model was based; that (1) all human societies have had to deal with a limited set of common problems; (2) that there is also a limited range of human alternatives for dealing with these problems; and (3) that each culture develops a preferred ranking for how to do so. But there were actually five such assumptions. In their original text they clearly stated; (4) that even when these preferences are established, alternatives will exist; and (5) that “in societies undergoing change the ordering of preferences will not be clear-cut for some or even all the value orientations” (Kluckhohn & Strodbeck, 1961:10).

This last concept seems to have been overlooked by most authors, but has informed the “cultures in change hypothesis” (see Chapter 4) that has guided my research focus for the last 15 years. This dissertation argues that values studies are as relevant today as they were in their formative years in certain contexts. It also suggests that ongoing developments in social science conceptions and

⁴ This *Dao De Jing* (道德经) quote is cited in the opening flyleaf to Charles Morris (1956b), but is perhaps slightly misinterpreted. In Arthur Waley’s translation it reads, “**The ways of men are conditioned by those of earth.** The ways of earth by those of heaven. The ways of heaven by those of Tao, and the ways of Tao by the “unconditioned” (the “what-is-so-of-itself” [Nature] (Chapter 25, Waley, 1997:53). The complete sentence suggests a broader, more metaphysical interpretation.

⁵ Evidence for this proposed “touchstone” return to values is seen clearly in sociology, with an important and oft-cited review appearing almost every decade, from early reviews like Adler’s (1956), Williams’ (1979), and Spates’ (1983), to Hechter’s significant update (1992) and Hitlin & Piliavin’s extensive proposal for renewal (2004) (See Table 2.3).

methodologies actually makes the study of values in transition viable and important, particularly as they relate to the study of a society in as rapid transformation as China has been undergoing.

1.1.1.2 Values as an Integral Part of the Complex “Core of Culture”

Culture or civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities acquired by humans as members of society.

British Anthropologist Sir Edward Burnett Tylor (1871:1)

The term “values” has been used variously to refer to interests, pleasures, likes, preferences, duties, moral obligations, desires, wants, goals, needs, aversions and attractions, and many other kinds of selective orientations.

American Sociologist Robin M. Williams, Jr. (1979:16)

In laying out groundwork for this study, the author previously suggested that values are an important “core of culture⁶” (Kulich & Zhu, 2004). This is in keeping with other authors, who consider culture to consist of complex patterns, “...explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups...the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values” (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952:357). Whether they are “*the* core” of culture or not, values should not be over-attributed with carrying more cultural baggage than they are capable of, and yet also not under-attributed.

This dissertation proposes a molecular-type model that holds “communities of commonality” (cultures) together. This suggests a kind of “social-molecular bond” that helps related people meld together around a combination of folk beliefs about how the world, life, or social relations function (beliefs or social axioms), about who we are in this community (identity and roles), about what is most important (values priorities), about what is good or bad (attitudes and opinions), and about what should be or not be done (norms, behavioral preferences, and communicative styles). Just like a molecule, these are tightly packed together and have certain shared affinity bonds in a “life orientation” mix that is very difficult to isolate, separate, or clearly identify.

⁶ Some have taken this to mean “the” core of culture. If that was once implied, the reader should note that my position is that values are *only one* of many important components of culture, but certainly, as this dissertation suggests, a very influential one and worthy of extensive study.

This debate on the complex relationships of the “basic units” of culture has been particularly active in cultural anthropology (note the Santa Fe, New Mexico Cross-cultural Research conference organized by Garry Chick in February, 1999, entitled “Themes, Memes, and Other Schemes: What Are the Units of Culture?”⁷). Proponents of a more atomic view of culture, such as Roy D’Andrade (2001), would consider Anna Wierzbicka’s (1972, 1992) universal linguistic conception of *primes* or *primitives* (the basic units from which all other concepts are constructed) as being “the atomic units” of culture (the basis in which a wide diversity of “molecular” units can be formed). Though many anthropologists object to this analogy (D’Andrade, 2001:249), the ways in which core cultural units are “molecularly” integrated is worth further exploring, and the enterprise of values studies has been one important field for furthering the debate.

Though Milton Rokeach envisioned and is known for positing two types of values, instrumental and terminal (1973), the Chinese indigenous psychologist, Jinfu Zhang (张进辅) (1998) has proposed a constellation he calls one’s “life values orientation,” made up of three domains: life value goals (ideals), means (functions) and evaluations (social standards). With his mentor Xiting Huang (黄希庭), who has also expanded on Rokeach’s line of research (e.g., Huang et al., 1994), he put forward and tested 40 emic items under each area, each with high internal reliability ($\alpha < .89$). This postulated “three types of values” has been widely adopted in Mainland Chinese research (e.g., in the extensive program of Shenghua Jin 金盛华 and Zhiyong Xin 辛志勇, cf. Jin & Xin, 2003; Xin & Jin, 2006). Though none of these authors cite Charles Osgood, this integrative review notes that it may have been his seminal work that first proposed a similar tri-partite structure: “The dominant factors in the affective meaning system are Evaluation, Potency, and Activity, usually in that order” (Osgood, 1964:185, cf. 180, 184, 187, 199). This underscores my assumption that one gap in current values studies is the need to more carefully consult and integrate previous work.

Other scholars have put forward different types and levels of values, making the lines between conceptual or meta-theoretical categories blurred. This has been and continues to be one of the thorny issues of values and core-culture studies – what are we precisely observing or describing, and how is that related to other similar imbedded motivational units (to be addressed in Chapter 4)? By conducting a review of values studies in various intellectual traditions other challenging issues will also be examined, but it is the intent of this dissertation to find ways to carefully identify and isolate values for study, yet still see them in their integrated complexity, especially in their situated “Chinese context(s).”

⁷ As noted in D’Andrade (2001:242)

1.1.1.3 Values as Contributors to the Security of Sameness

What really binds men together is their culture – the ideas and the standards they have in common.
Cultural Anthropologist Ruth Benedict (1934:16)

Values are standards of what is considered to be desirable within a collectivity, reflecting shared cultural traditions that are instilled in individuals, to varying degrees, by the major institutions of socialization operating in the collectivity.

Political Sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset (1963a:517)

Whether from genetic, evolutionary, or the God-given nature of human beings (depending on one's ontology), there appears to be a deep, intrinsic, inherent yearning for shared association with sameness. This innate drive to affiliate with similar creatures, to pair off for reproduction and co-create communities for mutuality and security seems central to many species. In humans, it is primarily reflected in efforts to meet basic needs (e.g., Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987 – of individuals as biological organisms, requisites of coordinated social interaction, and survival and welfare needs of groups) and also basic psychological needs (e.g., Schutz's FIRO-B theory, 1958, 1978 – inclusion, affection, and control⁸).

Lawrence and Nohria (2002) integrate these positions to propose that four innate human drives guide all human choices: (1) to acquire—to seek, take, control, and hold material and status resources and pleasurable experiences; (2) to bond—to form social relationships and develop mutually caring commitments; (3) to learn—to know, comprehend, believe, appreciate, and understand their environment and themselves via curiosity and openness; and (4) to defend—to protect themselves and their valued accomplishments whenever they perceive them to be endangered (cited in Schwartz, 2005a:28). This needs-based link to values is one that should be carefully considered as a central component of culture in specific contexts. But even this updated needs list may not be comprehensive – others argue that evolutionary accounts of human culture should be more carefully considered (e.g., Robert Boyd & Peter Richerson, 2005; Richerson & Boyd, 2004), or conversely, how is our need of culture influencing the development of humankind?

All of these needs and influences work at some level to push us as people toward forming social groupings, or cultures, within which we feel satisfied, meaningful, important, and comfortable. As Ross Steele stated, culture is "...the means by which a community communicates...a commonly

⁸ FIRO stands for Fundamental Interpersonal Relations Orientation. Note that in 1974 as Hofstede developed his four dimensions from IBM data, he "administered to some IMEDE classes other tests of values (Hofstede, 1972) and personality in order to explore convergence" (Hofstede 2001:49, 74n10); among them was W. C. Schutz's FIRO-B (Hofstede, 1974).

agreed-upon set of meanings in interactions with one another” (R. Steele, 1990:4⁹). Edward T. Hall suggested that this...

...tacit-acquired side of culture includes a broad range of practices and solutions to problems with roots in the common clay of the shared experiences of ordinary people...In humans, tacit-acquired culture is made up of hundreds and possibly thousands of micro-events comprising the corpus of the daily cycle of activity, the spaces we occupy, and the way we relate to others; in other words, the bulk of experiences of everyday life. (Hall, 1998:54)

Each of these events and resulting everyday preferences are value-laden, and also realistically belief-, identity-, and attitude-related – they all comprise part of a complex core of culture. Thus it is clear that values play an important role in linking us with others. How they do so continues to beg further clarification (which will be attempted in Chapter 4).

1.1.1.4 Values as Explanations for Identifying and Justifying Difference

It is obvious that individuals become most aware of their culturedness when they encounter another person of a different culture. The manifest differentness of this other person, at first physiognomically, then behaviorally in terms of dress, deportment, language, non-verbal performance and interpersonal style, commends itself to our attention and provokes our curiosity. As a concept, then later as a word, “culture” was probably invented initially to capture that apprehension of human differentness, and became a verbal léger de main for “explaining” such observed differences.

Cross-cultural Psychologist Michael Harris Bond (2010:2)

Values are also salient in distinguishing us from one another. While we hope to find some degree of comfort among those more like us, human beings are clearly suspicious of difference. Whether rooted in the biblical story of linguistic dispersion from the tower of Babel, evolutionary biological/ ethnic differentiation, or historical migration theories, peoples of difference have seldom peacefully shared the same space. Differentiation seems to lead to anxiety, distrust, accusation, and often conflict. Modern psychology has paid special attention to the influence of xenophobia, angst, uncertainty avoidance, and conflict. In each of these discourses, perceptions of discordant or different values are often recognized as primary factors or causes.

⁹ Retrieved November 25, 2010, from <http://www.educacion.es/redele/biblioteca2005/Lafuente/Conclusion.pdf>

As illustrated in the iceberg model, much of culture is hidden below the surface. Because Hall noted that, “there is always a time when people are doing something without being aware of what they are doing” (Hall, 1998:55), it often first takes exposure to difference to make us eventually aware of sameness. Since beliefs, values, identity, attitudes, or behaviors all operate mostly at the unconscious, prescribed, and “normal” level (“like fish in water,” the only “reality” we have known), until they are confronted with degrees of variance, we may remain unaware of them. Exposure to “otherness” causes us to reflect on “own-ness,” self-perceptions, or self-other orientations. Orientation to value differences and exposure to what “culture hides” thus enhances culture teaching and training.

As Hall further notes, “...the ultimate purpose of the study of culture is not so much the understanding of foreign cultures as much as the light that study sheds on our own” (Hall, 1998:59). Blaise Pascal captured this in his oft-cited quotation (circa 1662 in his *Pensées*, 60:294): “there are truths on this side of the Pyrenees that are falsehoods on the other” (Hofstede’s translation, 2001:cover page). In acknowledging this “hidden awareness,” attention must also be given to some of the varied “hidden agendas” reflected in approaches to the measurement of values (see details in Chapters 1 and 7).

Because this dissertation by necessity (in its classroom context) has largely adopted self-reporting, personally reflective methods, the limitation of such reports toward a complete or accurate view of culture is acknowledged. Even though this project was not able to fully explore more socially-contextualized, “Other”-aware procedures (applications of social identity theory), some will be discussed. It is hoped that this dissertation will contribute substantial background and updated understanding for enhancing values awareness and values clarification exercises toward more concrete conceptualization of value consistencies and differentiation, thus advancing values studies theory and practice.

1.1.1.5 Values Studies as Significant in the Disciplinary History of Social Sciences

...the value concept, more than any other, should occupy a central position across all the social sciences – sociology, anthropology, psychology, psychiatry, political science, education, economics, and history. More than any other concept, it is an intervening variable that shows promise of being able to unify the apparently diverse interests of all the sciences concerned with human behavior.

Social and Political Psychologist Milton Rokeach (1973:3)

In reading some of the leading values researchers today (e.g., Hofstede, 2001: 13-15; Schwartz, 2003; Inglehart, 1997:7-11; Oyserman, 2001:16150-16153), one notes that each provides a

differently edited version of the important and framing historical groundwork that led to this area of study. This observed variance usually has something to do with the specific situated field in which that scholar works and its standard research approaches or intended applications. For example, as a sociologist, Spates (1983:29) suggests that the comparative concept of values mainly arises from Giddings' (1906:20) conception of a "social mind," Sumner's (1906:59) definition of "mores", and Franz Boas' (1911) conception of "the mind" of primitive cultures.

However, as an empirical European psychologist, Geert Hofstede traces the modern origins of comparative cultural study to Wilhelm Wundt (the father of experimental psychology). It was Wundt's multi-volume *Völkerpsychologie* (in the early 1900's) that laid foundations for comparative psychological analysis of diverse cultural contexts, like that of his student, Roberto Michels (1911), who studied sexual behaviors across cultures in his *Vergleichende Liebeswissenschaft* (Hofstede, 2001:13-15). Cultural psychologist Daphne Oyserman (2001:16151) suggests that what de-subjectivized values and allowed them to find "increasing use" began with the publication of *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (Thomas & Znaniecki, 1921). As a political scientist, Ronald Inglehart (1997:7-10) focuses on values as they relate to modernization, and so cites the work of Karl Marx (1865/1898), Max Weber (1904-5), and later proponents like Daniel Bell (1973).

Schwartz prefers to review literature only as it is relevant to the theory or application he is developing. Thus his work tends to be more contemporary, rooted largely in Kluckhohn (1951), Rokeach (1973), Hofstede (1980, 2001), and the World Values Survey¹⁰ (though much of the literature analyzed in Chapter 3 appears periodically in his work, i.e., Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987). Each of these provides important leads toward understanding the development of the field from varied frames and research lenses.

However, because values studies are positioned at the core of a number of fields, and by nature and necessity are guided by interdisciplinary approaches, there was a glaring need to conduct a more thorough, broader, and more integrated review of past work. It is my position that, only if we clearly know where we as social science or humanities researchers are coming from, as well as understand the complex terrain of the field in its various expressions, can we have a clearer sense of where we need to be going and why. Such an extensive integrated review of the history,

¹⁰ S. H. Schwartz (personal correspondence, June 15, 2009): "I have never written a thorough review of the literature... except insofar as the material is directly relevant to where the material I am writing is going. The chapter with Smith [1997] is the closest I come at the culture level. The Moscow monograph [2008] discusses differences with both Hofstede and the World Value Survey, so it in a sense 'reviews' them..."

conceptions, and challenges facing the field has never been conducted and comprises a core part of this paper (viz., the first four chapters).

The extensive treatment presented in this dissertation stems in part from my own orientation towards historiography (trained at the MA level in Chinese history and philosophy), my US fourth generation immigrant background sensing a need to connect to roots and origins (desiring to map out genealogical lines), and my professional role as an instructor of a specific course on values, identity, and core-culture studies (wishing that there were a text that covered this material). It was further warranted as the director of an institute that is developing the intercultural field in a location that has rather weak literary and theoretical foundations. This dissertation seeks to address many of the needs in the field that I face on a daily instructional or research development basis.

Furthermore, though values studies are usually given prominent positions in many monographs or textbooks dealing with cultural comparisons or differences, these often appear as a trite intellectual mantra of having played the values card.¹¹ A more careful critique seems called for to highlight the strengths and legitimate areas where values can be trumped as a significant factor, but also to put forward a cautionary list of the limitations or excesses, which one finds in much intercultural research, of over-attributing values as being the primary or only cause of variations among peoples.

Hitlin and Piliavin noted that, “Sociologists often employ cursory understandings of values, labeling a broad array of social psychological phenomena as values. Often values are considered in an over-determined way as ‘causing’ observed behaviors” (2004:359). But this goes both ways. By not clarifying the domains in which values operate fully, and perhaps also by adopting a post-positivist paradigm that assumes notions like values are prescriptive, uniform, or irrelevant, they say that, “More often, values are ignored as too subjective or too difficult to measure accurately” (Hitlin & Piliavin 2004:359). Oyserman echoes this assessment, noting that values were “initially viewed with suspicion by Western social scientists as too subjective for scientific study (2001:16150).” Highlighting, extending, and clarifying such a list of limitations and cautions will be a focus of Chapter 4.

Related to this is a need to more clearly explicate the other social and psychological factors that are closely related to values. Previous publications have touched on some of these concepts (e.g.,

¹¹ Note Hitlin & Piliavin’s comment (2004:359) that, “It seems *de rigueur* in sociological writing to tack on the phrase ‘norms and values’ to explanations of human behavior to connote the taken-for-granted process through which social structures regulate the actions of individuals.”

(Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004; Hofstede, 2001:5-7; Schwartz, 2005a; and others¹²), but no work thus far expressly or extensively. Chapter 4 will seek to integrate these various perspectives and generate both a related-concept/construct list and key publications relating to each domain.

1.1.2 Key Research Goals

Such an analysis of patterned, dimensional human values seemed worthy of sustained and critical investigation...that a scientific study of values and evaluations not only was possible but would be of service to man in his characteristic activity as valuer.

Semiotician and Philosopher Charles Morris (1959, vii)

To implement this project of review, evaluation, reframing, and advancing scientific process, this dissertation will seek to accomplish several important research goals (RG) or objectives:

RG1. To review the historical underpinnings, academic assumptions and approaches, and research outcomes of values studies in various disciplines toward presenting an integrated and critical overview of values-related research as it is now being carried out and can be extended in the field of intercultural communications.

Each of these will be covered in the discipline-by-discipline Western literature review of Chapters 2 and 3. Having thus summarized the development of the field, we will seek:

RG2. To develop a list of critiques and guidelines for analyzing the salience and limits of values as a viable (cross-)cultural explanatory factor.

RG3. To consider the areas in which values collude with other social-psychological factors in order to bring more clarity to the state of research regarding the interdependence and/or specific influences of values.¹³

These will both be included in Chapter 4. This first third of the paper adopts a historical- critical approach for the evaluation and refinement of values theory before positing exploratory empirical designs in the later chapters (8-11).

¹² Hitlin & Piliavin specifically discuss the relationship of values to motivation (2004:380), concrete behaviors (381), and aspects of the self (382). Other authors cover other aspects. These will be extensively reviewed in Chapter 4.

¹³ Oyserman (2001:16150) makes one of the objectives of her review to ask the question, "...how are values distinguishable from related concepts like motives, goals, and attitudes?" She summarizes what many authors have sought to cover, but I suggest that the list of related factors needs to be made clearer and longer, as proposed in Chapter 4.

1.1.2.1 Critiquing Western Values Conceptualizations from Chinese Research

The extended critical review proposed above is intended to reevaluate Western research conceptualizations, which are often assumed to be “universals” because of the extensive theoretical hypothesizing and scientific testing they have undergone, albeit often on US college-age convenience samples. Is there perhaps an embedded Euro/American ethnocentrism in how our knowledge claims and research reports have framed values studies? To provide a new frame of reference, a specific focus of this study is to locate, analyze, and summarize the vast research base (mostly in Chinese) on what are often termed “Chinese values” in the light of what they share in common with universal values systems and where they might exhibit some more confounding complications that current value theories have not found ways to deal with. At the heart of this bigger issue is how to counterbalance, integrate, and learn from both the excellent theoretically driven work on psychological universals (etic studies) with the corresponding localized in-depth analysis of indigenous psychologies (emic studies) in a context like China.

1.1.2.2 Studying “Chinese Values” for their Balance and Contribution

As a second major focus, this dissertation will take “the Chinese” as a primary case-in-point to wrestle with these etic-emic research challenges. Mainland China is selected because it has been the author’s adopted culture for over 25 years, as well as being acknowledged as one of the world’s oldest “continuous cultures,” with a correspondingly deep and complex historical awareness and social-cultural situation. Further, it has often been in isolation from, or at least largely inaccessible to, Western societies. However, I do not harbor any notions of “cultural purity” or “nativism” as early anthropologists did in their ethnocentric search for primitive societies. Rather, I note the strong sense of cultural identity that the Chinese people harbor, akin to other great civilizations like that of the Egyptian or Arab peoples.

Further, as a society now dealing with many rapid changes, the hypothesized need for clarifying values when any culture is confronted by otherness will be considered historically in the Chinese context, along with the “cultures in change” hypothesis being a key trigger for renewed values studies. Most of the Chinese literature on these topics has not been reported on or summarized in English extensively before, so this is one of the specific and significant contributions of this dissertation. Thus Chapters 5 and 6 will seek:

RG4. To document the history of attempts to explain or clarify China and its values (of which western English writings have been the primary sources), then to extend that

RG5. To document the publications by Chinese scholars seeking to clarify their own cultural core or specific understanding of “Chinese values” both in contrast and continuity; and

RG6. To explore the relevant dynamics of both Chinese society and indigenous social-psychological research toward mapping the emic domains that might fit, shape, contrast to, or adapt existing studies.

Though there have been numerous summaries in the psychological literature on “Chinese values,” most come from a Chinese Diaspora perspective (based on Chinese communities in various locations abroad) and are notably thin on Chinese mainland sources.¹⁴ One of the key contributions of this work is to identify, discuss, and analyze the many projects and papers that have been recently written up in the People’s Republic and link them to existing theories both at the universal (mostly English literature) and indigenous (mostly Taiwan and Hong Kong literature) psychological levels.

1.1.2.3 Highlighting Methodological Issues in Studying Other Value Systems

The final third of the dissertation focuses on the exploration and suitable application of methodological approaches (starting with Chapter 7). Both qualitative and quantitative approaches will be considered as to their merits in expanding and enhancing existing frameworks:

RG7. To investigate ways in which established social science etics can be applied or adapted to and modified by careful integrative to one specific case of emic research design – for “Chinese” culture(s).

The proposed methods are then applied to the test-case studies in Chapters 8 (qualitative) to generate three hypotheses. These are tested by a pilot empirical study in Chapter 9 and then to extensive data sets with quasi-quantitative and integrative mixed-method approaches in Chapters 10 and 11. The widely accepted and positively acclaimed theoretical model and quantitative framework of Shalom H. Schwartz (primarily his SVS, but with some reference to the PVQ in Chapter 12) was adopted and analyzed for comparative effectiveness in a situated cultural context in Mainland China. The three hypotheses (Chapter 9) that guide these emic-to-etic exploratory probes were all satisfactorily confirmed (Chapter 12) in the studies reported here.

¹⁴ Bond’s (1996) oft-cited chapter on “Chinese Values” has only one citation from a Chinese mainland scholar – an obvious deficiency that Bond as editor reconciled with the second edition, in which the author was asked to provide an expanded and more representative summary (Kulich & Zhang, 2010).

1.1.2.4 Towards Relevant Universals Locally Expressed - Emics in Etics

For values research to be truly relevant, international frameworks need to be able to be adapted or adjusted to local contexts. Chapter 12 outlines issues of translation, meaning transference, and local expressions will need to be more carefully considered. It also links the parallel ventures of developing global values frameworks (universals) with those of mapping and explicating indigenous values sets (local emic systems), especially toward better understanding Chinese society in its current context and rapid transitions.

1.2 Critical Conceptions of Culture

It's got to the point that when you hear the word "culture," you reach for your dictionary.

Philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah (1997)¹⁵

When I hear the word 'culture,' I reach for my gun.

Herman Goering, quoting from a Nazi play¹⁶

1.2.1 Towards Defining Culture for this Project

Culture is a critically contested concept. Some are baffled by the complexity of its possible meanings, and others, defensive or intolerant, view it as an excuse, danger, or threat of something different. The key analytical issue arising at the outset of this paper is the need to clarify the conception(s) of culture to which this project subscribes. Though it is common for almost all books related to intercultural communication or culture comparative fields to start with a discussion or definitions of culture, we note that most are descriptive (cf. Hofstede's excellent and extensive treatment, 2001:1-5, 9-17; 2005). In line with the title of this work, here I seek to critically analyze some of the assumptions underlying competing conceptions of culture, especially insofar as they affect the treatment of values as a core of culture in the next chapters.

¹⁵ Quotation from Appiah's "The Multiculturalist Misunderstanding," published in the New York Times, October 9, 1997, retrieved May 10, 2009, from <http://www.uoregon.edu/~dgalvan/intl447-f08/appiah-mcult-misund.htm> and also from <http://prelectur.stanford.edu/lecturers/appiah/excerpts.html>. Appiah is the Lawrence Rockefeller Professor in Philosophy at the University Center of Human Values, Princeton, and author of *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (1993).

¹⁶ The Goering quote is noted by many, e.g., John Feffer, *World Beat* 23(3), retrieved June 17, 2009 from <http://www.fpif.org/fpifzines/wb/5283>, Nigel Nicholson, from http://www.london.edu/assets/documents/facultyandresearch/NN_Families_in_Business_JanFeb_05.pdf, and came from "Schlageter," a German play by Hanns Johst ["Wenn ich Kultur höre ... entsichere ich meinen Browning"], performed for Hitler's birthday in 1933 (according to Dick Cavett, retrieved March 6, 2010 from, <http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/03/05/in-what-can-we-trust/?pagemode=print>).

The reader may note that the sections of this chapter have been intentionally headed with prominent yet contrasting quotes on values and/or their relationship to culture in an attempt to highlight the diversity of personages, fields, and varied perspectives that this area of study has engendered and encompassed. This quotation approach was chosen not as a stylistic ploy, but as a deliberate reflection of the disparate backgrounds and viewpoints aroused by this topic. While there is general agreement on its importance, there is dissonance on how it should be philosophically and methodologically approached. This is already obvious in the great divides at both ontological and epistemological levels related to how concepts like “culture” and “values” are, or should be, defined. The roots of this chasm were already developing in the 19th century, where “culture” was usually attached to the common human condition. Not until Matthew Arnold (1876/1960) did we “find the usage of ‘culture’ meaning way of life lived” (Inglis, 2004:3).

Defining culture has been both an integral task and increasingly divisionary debate among social scientists for most of the previous century, as demonstrated perhaps most saliently by the 164 definitions compiled by Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn (1952) then current in the anthropological literature. In their review, they maintained that, “culture is the central concept of anthropology” (1952:36). Obviously it is, if not only by virtue of being a component of multiple disciplinary labels, also the central concept under examination in the study of intercultural communication, cultural studies, and in the culture-related sub-fields of social psychology (cross-cultural and cultural psychology).

1.2.2 Rediscovering Historical Conceptions of Culture

People take a word and fill it up with certain meanings, such that it constitutes a concept. Now in order to discuss the concept of culture we shall be obliged to say something from recent philosophical arguments about what a concept is and does and the use we may have or may not have to make of that daunting phrase, ‘a conceptual framework’, which has been with us since the Enlightenment shed its lights upon the systems of pure reason...These confusing conclusions serve at least to remind us that people may be using a concept before they have a word for it.

Humanities Historian, Fred Inglis (2004:3)

What has often been overlooked, though less so in recent epistemological and paradigmatic debates in the academy, is that historically, conceptions of nation and/or culture have typically fallen into two camps. Donald R. Kelly (1998), in his review of historians from the ancient Greeks

to the academic historians of the early nineteenth century, argues that though the tradition of history is methodologically unified around a search for truth through verifiable evidence, it has often been divided between (a) a Herodotean concern “with cultural values and human self-knowledge on a world scale” [universal etic ideals] and (b) a Trucyidean pragmatism “devoted to questions of local politics and power [particularistic emic applications].” (Kelly, 1998:251; also noted in Suny, 2009:7, my bracket explanations added). This contested dichotomy carries over directly into the study of cultural values (as Pike, 1954, had earlier postulated, and Bastian, 1860, even earlier).

What also seldom seems to be noted is that the modern use of the term “culture” in Western languages primarily emerged from the writings of the German theologian and historian Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803). His analysis of the emerging sense of nationhood arose from the universalistic rationality of the French Enlightenment and German Romantic movements. And thus it was he who put forward a Germanized form of the Greek root “culture” (*Kultur*), “for it is like the cultivation...of the *Volkgeist* (folk spirit).”¹⁷ His conception of “nation” emphasized the notion of a community of people with a common culture, aspirations, and shared political endowments (cf. Hong-ming Ku’s 1915/2006 similar formulation of “the spirit of the people,” which may have been developed while at the University of Leipzig.). These figured significant in Herder’s two great works, *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit* (This too a Philosophy of History for the Formation of Humanity, 1774), and *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (Ideas on the Philosophy of History of Humanity, 1784-1791).

I devote space here to Herder for several reasons. First, his broad and systematic thinking immensely influenced many of the fields discussed in Chapter 2 that have impacted the study of cultures. The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (2001/2007 online¹⁸) suggests:

Hegel's philosophy turns out to be essentially an elaborate systematic development of Herderian ideas...so too does Schleiermacher's (concerning language, interpretation, translation, the mind...); Nietzsche is deeply influenced by Herder as well (concerning the mind, history, and values); so too is Dilthey (concerning history); even J. S. Mill has important debts to Herder (in political philosophy); and beyond philosophy, Goethe was transformed...through the early impact on him of Herder's ideas. Indeed, Herder can claim

¹⁷ Retrieved May 8, 2009, from <http://www.anthrobase.com/Dic/eng/def/culture.htm>. Inglis (2004:10-14) agrees with Herder’s influence on introducing the term into the humanities, but argues that Thomas More may have actually first used it in this sense in 1510, stating that something was “to the culture and profit of [people’s] minds (p, 3)

¹⁸ Retrieved November 4, 2009, from <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/herder/>

to have virtually established whole *disciplines*, which we now take for granted. For example, it was mainly Herder (not, as is often claimed, Hamann) who established fundamental ideas concerning an intimate dependence of thought on language, which underpin modern philosophy of language. It was Herder who, through the same ideas, through his recognition of deep variations in language and thought across historical periods and cultures, through his broad empirical approach to languages, and in other ways, inspired W. von Humboldt to found modern linguistics.... It was Herder who, by doing so, also contributed to establishing the methodological foundations of nineteenth-century German classical scholarship...and hence of modern classical scholarship generally. It was Herder who did more than anyone else to establish the general conception and the interpretive methodology of our modern discipline of anthropology.

For his time, von Herder had, for the most part, a very enlightened and modern view of culture. Ronald G. Suny notes that:

Herder elaborated his ideas about the origins of peoples, their historical progress, the diversity of human communities.... Nations were individual and possessed different cultures, expressed in law, religion and poetry. Their national characters were natural essences created by climate and nature, and he celebrated the uniqueness of each phenomenon, the differences and distinctions among peoples...[since] Nature (God) created the plurality of languages and cultures. (Suny, 2001:13)

Fred Inglis, in his discussion on the conceptual history of “culture,” agrees:

Herder initiates that powerful Enlightenment tradition, today a commonplace, which believed in the *unalikeness* of human societies. He criticized the uni-dimensionality of systemic reasoning, unfastened the confident fixities of fact and method, and discovered in the infinite variety of history an unpredictable and contrary physics of human values, the unassimilable particles of which made life as interesting as it turned progress backwards.... Herder’s main concern is with the sheer variety of human experience and its absolute unamenability to the large and simple classifications of the Enlightenment. (Inglis, 2004:11)

In Herder’s own words: “Every nation has a center of happiness within it” (cited in Iggers, 1968/1983:26). “Every nation is one people, having its own national form, as well as its own language: the climate, it is true stamps on each its mark, or spreads over it a slight veil, but not sufficient to destroy the original national character” (Herder/Churchill, 1800: Vol. 1:166). Inglis notes further that “Herder’s words for what we would now call ‘culture’” were “spirit’, ‘soul’,

‘Genius’ and ‘national character’, as located in the ‘folk’ and made visible, above all, in their arts and crafts (Inglis, 2004:11).

Herder promoted a cosmopolitan approach to “national” culture, in which each nation as part of the tapestry of humankind enriched others (Suny, 2001:15), though later scholars moved to more particularistic, advanced and culturally superior conceptions of nation and culture. His “*nationalismus*,” a word “he apparently created, was cultural rather than political.”¹⁹ Applying Leibnitz’s concept of development to peoples, Herder saw civilizations, like flowers, budding, blossoming, and fading. All human values and understandings were historical and national. Herder emphasized transformation and change through time but always with a sense of an overall order...possessing a constancy of spirit [and thus searched] for the soul of the nation” [in folk songs, poetry, local mythology, and prose] (Suny, 2001:13). As he said it, “Language expresses the collective experience of the group” (Herder in I. Berlin, 1976:169). His contribution is summarized by Inglis: “For Herder the philologist, the ultimate source of membership and identity is language. It was the language of a civilization which grounded its unity, and gave its way of life that identifiable but undefinable patterning and style, as well as shaping its modes of creative expression and its deepest feelings” (Inglis, 2004:14).

Language was for Herder intimately connected to culture and community, the medium through which humans understood thought, were conscious and able to express their inner selves...Through language people understand that they share a culture and historical tradition and therefore form a Volk. Rather than a biological or racial [or political state] unity, a people for Herder was a matter of shared awareness for the social milieu into which one is born. (Suny, 2001:13, 14)

Though seldom cited in the fields of sociology, psychology, or communication studies, Herder’s contributions were immeasurable, from shaping the development of open and enlightened academic institutions, such as Alexander and Wilhelm von Humboldt initiatives in Berlin founding Humboldt University with a university chair in history in 1810, to positing principles for a naturalistic, scientific and objective philosophy of history (Herder is often credited as the founder of what would later be called “historicism” or “the historical sense,” Suny, 2001:14), to laying conceptual groundwork for what would later emerge as comparisons of cultures and values studies.

¹⁹ Though Herder construed the word *Volk* culturally, the concept was clearly reinterpreted, and misused especially during the National Socialism period – perhaps providing an explanation for why post-World War II scholars seem to have ignored or avoided his work. Yet, as documented above, he was clearly NOT a “nationalist” in the nation-state sense. Inglis suggests that that the term “led the nation into some dead and ugly ends, but in 1770 nationalism was one way of talking about the distinctiveness of cultures” (2004:11).

Each age contained a heritage from the past that it passed on to the next age, and a people, the Volk, rather than humanity as a whole, was the carrier of culture. Providence worked through particular peoples to cause humans and institutions to make change. Since every nation has its own unique values, Herder and subsequent historicists eschewed judgment or ranking of peoples...Herder celebrated diversity, but what to some might seem to be a dangerous relativism and an anarchy of values in his enthusiastic ethnographies is redeemed by the faith that all history, like all nature, reflects God and his divine plan. Though multiple in form, Humankind for Herder is one. (Suny, 2001:14)

As Larry Wolfe notes, “For Herder, a people’s identity lay in its folklore, its ancient customs, the historical archive by which it might be studied and identified. Herder’s anthropological approach was aimed not at forming the identities of peoples [as Rousseau had proposed], but at recognizing them and locating them on ‘the map of mankind’” (Wolfe, 1994:311). Inglis, while noting his weaknesses, further commends his foresightedness:

So Herder, good relativist, defends all cultures against any detractors: on behalf of paganism against Christianity, on behalf of Christianity against atheism, on behalf of the Orient against the Occident.... In all this vast enterprise, speckled, as one must admit, with incoherence, exaggeration, contradiction, and fulsomeness, Herder does insist upon one paramount value relative to all human necessity. For a people to be a people –Herder is an early and passionate populist—its members must be members of one of another. They must belong to themselves. Applied to culture, this maxim defines a culture, whatever else it is, as circumscribable and exclusive and, consequently, as ascribing to those members an unmistakable and unshakable identity. (Inglis, 2004:13-14)

Yet such all-inclusiveness or broad-mindedness may be overstated. Jonathan Spence highlights Herder’s deprecating attitudes, surprisingly for this study, toward Chinese (1998:99-100), though we note that his stereotypes were consistent with the reports, popular writings, and attitudes of his day (discussed in detail in Chapter 5). It is important to note that all scholars, even those avowed as ahead of their time, may still be situated in some aspects in the academic milieu, political correctness, and limited worldview of their time, place, and experience. Therefore, sober, yet fair, evaluations are encouraged, as far as these judgments are possible.

Though Herder spoke of “peoples”, “cultures” and “nations” somewhat synonymously, the concurrent realities of an age of nation-building, political intrigue, terror, war, colossal upheavals in America and France, and Napoleon’s expansion across Europe wounded the universalist faith of the Enlightenment for a time. It would be nearly half a century before these ideas would develop

into the study of ethnolinguistic communities (Suny, 2001:24). In a time blurred by postmodern, interpretive, and relativistic concerns clouded by angst over the macroeconomic spread of a materialistic, consumer-driven globalization and political repositioning after the cold war, we might do well to rediscover and reconsider Herder's formation and forward-thinking conception of "culture."

1.2.3 European Roots of Putting Culture on the Anthropological Agenda

We have designated as "cultural sciences" those disciplines which analyze the phenomena of life in terms of their cultural significance. The significance of a configuration of cultural phenomena and the basis of this significance cannot however be derived and rendered intelligible by a system of analytical laws, however perfect it may be, since the significance of cultural events presupposes a value-orientation towards these events. The concept of culture is a value-concept. Empirical reality becomes "culture" to us insofar as we relate it to value ideas.

Social and Economic Philosopher Max Weber (1904/1949:76)

Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917) is often erroneously credited in most English publications for conceptualizing the anthropological study of cultures, though some also acknowledge Matthew Arnold's elitist position on culture in 1876 (e.g. Inglis, 2004:3). Both reflect the limitation of scholars working only in English and writing for primarily English-speaking traditions. The discussion above has shown that not only did von Herder and von Humboldt precede Tylor, but that initial applications of these ideas to anthropology were also made earlier by Adolf Bastian (1826-1905). The medical doctor, Bastian, was trained as an ethnographer under the influence of the brothers Wilhelm and Alexander von Humboldt, the linguist and the geographer who revolutionized humanistic and social thought in Germany during the first half of the 1800's.

Admittedly, much gets lost in translation, and also in our collective, recorded memories. But not only did Bastian build on Herder's ideas, he extended them to develop the fields of ethnography (through extensive travels and pioneering field work) and formed the discipline of anthropology (see the biographical work by Klaus-Peter Koepping, 1983) which certainly influenced the anthropology of Tylor, and later Franz Boas (whom he mentored) and also Bronislaw Malinowski. After traveling broadly, primarily in East Asia, he wrote his first three volumes in 1860, entitled *Der Mensch in der Geschichte* (Man in History), his seminal work establishing the science of ethnography, *Die allgemeinen Grundzüge der Ethnologie* (1884), followed by applications of his principles analyzing the cultures observed in his Asian travels (*Die Völker des Östlichen Asien: Studien und Reisen*, 1866). Several of his many other works put forward his seminal,

ethnographic/anthropologic conceptions, especially *Der Völkergedanke im Aufbau einer Wissenschaft vom Menschen* (1881, suggesting ethnic ideas that developed human knowledge in context), and *Der ethnische Elementargedanke in der Lehre vom Menschen* (1895, suggesting both a psychic unity of mankind and universals across ethnic affiliations).

Bastian's main theoretical ideas were quite ahead of his time, distinguishing between *Elementargedanken* and *Volkergedanken*. By *Elementargedanken*, he meant "elementary ideas" or "prevailing themes" that appear to be found in all cultures and religions of the world. He based this distinction on his documentation and awareness of the myths and ceremonial customs in many cultures that reflected essential themes and motifs that were found in nearly all cultures. The presumption is that these images are universal, transcultural, and transhistorical (anticipating etic, culture-general domains of culture). By *Volkergedanken*, he meant "ethnic ideas" or "folk ideas", corresponding to the stereotypical identities of a culture - the changes that become unique to a specific culture, including indigenous fables, legends, myths, proverbs, sayings, tales, and the like (anticipating emic, culture-specific elements). Further, in adapting the Greek word "ethnos" (nation or people) into German, he coined the term "ethnic" to mean any social group bound by race, customs, language or values.²⁰

As the "the only major nineteenth-century anthropologist" (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001:1 online) Bastian was ahead of his time in proposing the taking of rigorous, ethnographic, analytic, and methodological steps. Though some might accuse his work of being so broadly descriptive that it lacked in depth and rigor, he nevertheless pioneered new approaches, including:

1. Do fieldwork. Going against armchair philosophy, Bastian spent nearly 20 years abroad gathering data and writing up empirical descriptions of non-European cultures (Koepping, 1983:8).
2. Deductively describe collective representations from the cross-cultural data gathered together as notes, trends, and types.
3. Analyze folk ideas. Collective representations should be broken down into constituent folk ideas. Noting that geographical regions often exhibit similar patterns of folk ideas, he postulated the concept of "idea circles" to describe the collective representations of particular regions.
4. Deduce elementary/universal ideas: If any resemblances between folk ideas and patterns of folk ideas across regions appear, they then indicate underlying elementary ideas.

²⁰ "Einführung in die Geschichte und Gegenwart der deutschsprachigen Ethnologie", Retrieved May 9, 2009, from http://www.geocities.com/rennratte/GDDEKSA_SS_2003.doc, and also available on http://www.todayinsci.com/B/Bastian_Adolf/Bastian_Adolf.htm

5. Posit a scientific psychology: Further study of these elementary ideas defines the psychic unity of mankind, due to the underlying psychophysiological structure of the species. Such documentation will lead to a truly scientific, cross-culturally grounded psychology. (see Koepping, 1983)

He modeled this commitment to broadly collect data on the resemblances of artifacts and behavior, convinced that, the "environment is largely responsible for the form which behavior and artifacts take and that migration and contact provide a mixture of ideas, some eventuating in civilizations" (Winick, 1956). His goal in developing this robust science of human consciousness was to collect as much ethnographic data as possible from all over the world before folk cultures became too "tainted" by contact with imperialistic, European powers. "Bastian proposed that cultural traits, folklore, myths, and beliefs of various ethnic groups originate within each group according to laws of cultural evolution and are essentially the same, merely differing in form because of geographic environment."²¹

Koepping (1983) thus suggests that what Bastian argued for was nothing less than what we now might call a psychobiologically grounded, cross-cultural social psychology. His work furthered the embryonic principle of cultural relativism, which had been evident in Herder but was absent from Enlightenment thought and nineteenth-century Anglo-American anthropology until it later asserted its presence in twentieth century anthropology (Erickson & Nielsen, 2001). Brad Shore (1996) suggests that, in part originating from Bastian's distinction, modern anthropology has found these two elements hard to reconcile (psychic unity and psychic diversity). The tension between its Enlightenment commitment to psychic unity (or in Pike's later vocabulary, etic universals) and its scientific documentation of psychic diversity (emic particulars) formed a bipolar continuum along which later generations of anthropologists continue to position themselves.

Indeed, Bastian's book positing the *Elementargedanke* (elementary ideas/universal themes) and the "psychic unity of humankind," influenced psychologists like Carl Jung to develop the concept of the collective unconscious as well as his personality theory of *archetypes*. His work also strongly influenced the mythologist Joseph Campbell in documenting universal stories and myths, who cites him in both his first and last volumes of *The Masks of God* (1969, 1968).²² However, he sharply opposed Charles Darwin's (1859) and Herbert Spencer's (1964) unilinear and simplistic views of evolution, believing there were multiple possible outcomes from the same beginning,

²¹ Retrieved May 9, 2009, from <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/55606/Adolf-Bastian>

²² "Joseph Campbell and the Right Reading of Myth," retrieved May 9, 2009, from <http://thetempleguy.com/articles/religion/titans5.htm> (written 2004)

positing a monogenetic view of human origins,²³ a view later developed to greater sophistication by Boas and his students. His work also anticipated structuralism (though just as he opposed Spencer, he would not likely have endorsed the action-oriented reductionism of Talcott Parsons) and the later German diffusionism approach to anthropology (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001).

Though Tylor applied these ideas to British anthropology (for which he credits Bastian in Tylor, 1905), his own evolutionary approach was not as widely popular and still receives criticism today (cf., Baskerville's taking Hofstede to task for applying his universalistic notions of a nation equaling a culture, 2003). After starting out as an archeologist, Tylor sought to study cultural traits (cultural survivals) that had lost their original functions in society, but had continued, for no particular reason, to survive. He believed such traits were of crucial importance for reconstructing the processes of human evolution, and advocated a trait-by-trait comparative method to isolate "survivors" from the larger social system. These ideas he summarized in first book, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization* (1865); and his major work soon after, *Primitive Culture* (1871). In 1896, he was appointed the first British professor of anthropology, at the University of Oxford.

Though it was arguably not until the work of Franz Boas at Columbia University that culture was integrated into the core and made the main subject of American anthropology, "nevertheless, in one of the many paradoxical turns of the history of anthropology, it is Tylor's definition that is most often cited as classical", and most often criticized by interpretive, context-oriented scholars.²⁴ Though highlighted above, it bears restating for analysis here: "Culture, or civilization, taken in its broad, ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor, 1871:1).

The breadth of his definition and work suggests, on one hand, that culture is a general term that crosscuts evolutionary stages and unites mankind (bringing in Bastian's psychic unity of humanity). Yet, Tylor equates culture with civilization, a qualitative term, making culture, at least implicitly a matter of degree: Everyone has it, but not in equal amount (starkly contrasting the Bastian and the Herderian notion of *Volk*). For Tylor and other Victorian evolutionists, humanity consisted of groups that were cultured to various degrees, and distributed on the rungs of a ladder, detailing steps of cultural evolution (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001).

²³ Retrieved May 9, 2009, from

http://www.mnsu.edu/emuseum/information/biography/abcde/bastian_adolf.html

²⁴ Retrieved May 8, 2009, from <http://www.anthrobase.com/Dic/eng/def/culture.htm>

Further, even in Tylor's attempt to encompass the holistic totality of the humanly created world, the divergent values attributed to historical objects in contrast to the particularized internal properties of 'man' (cf. Herve Varenne²⁵) continue to foster two extremes in the field, namely those who apply it to:

1. Ecological anthropology, and describe culture as a "tool" used by society to maintain its adaptation to nature, and comprising concrete, physical tools, as well as knowledge, skills, and forms of organization (cf., Rappaport, 1968/1984:233) where culture is "...a part of the distinctive means by which a local population maintains itself in an ecosystem and by which a regional population maintains and coordinates its groups and distributes them over the available land."

2. Cognitive anthropology, especially the American culture and personality school (exemplified by Ruth Benedict, Alfred Kroeber, and Clyde Kluckhohn) where "culture" may be limited to the communicative and meaningful aspects of social life: from language to the meaning carried by symbols, persons, actions, and events²⁶. Thus "culture" should be the main subject matter of anthropology, in contrast to sociology, which should concern itself with "society", i.e., social organization, social interaction et cetera – a proposed "division of labor" worked out with the sociologist Talcott Parsons and his colleagues.²⁷

Yet, even in the US, this clear-cut division has not been maintained in either field. Sociologists still deal with cognitive constructs like attitudes and values (e.g. Spates, 1983; Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004), and even Kluckhohn's influential student Clifford Geertz, who, though adhering to the conceptual division of culture and society, was not willing to surrender "society" to the sociologists. Note his social and cognitive definition of culture as, "an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life" (Geertz, 1973:89).²⁸

Beyond the historical analysis of Herder or the anthropological/ethnographic foundations of Bastian and Tylor, the "classic sociologists" were the ones who mostly made systematic observations of human differences in Europe. Whether related to the "ideal types" of Max Weber, or to Georg Simmel's observations on urbanization and economics, or to Emilie Durkheim's

²⁵ Retrieved May 8, 2009, from http://varenne.tc.columbia.edu/hv/clt/and/culture_def.html

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Retrieved May 8, 2009, from <http://www.anthrobase.com/Dic/eng/def/culture.htm>

²⁸ Ibid.

(1893/1933) contrast between organic and mechanical solidarity societies, or to Ferdinand Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft* vs. *Gesellschaft* (1887; *Community and Association*, 1957), which proposed a dichotomy of the traditional and modern, these pioneering scholars suggested distinctions between cultures and values in the context of industrialization and modernization that became the foundation for European anthropology.

Like Marx, all of these authors are still read for the intrinsic interest of their work (rather than as expressions of an historical *Zeitgeist*). Tönnies explored the simple/complex society dichotomy in sociology, adding complexity and nuance to the simple schemes that had gone before him; Simmel (who is experiencing a renaissance today) is admired for his studies of modernity, the city and money. Both Durkheim and Weber are still considered important enough to generate frequent book-length commentaries. But of all the classical sociologists, Durkheim has been most significant for anthropology, in part because he himself was concerned with many anthropological themes [e.g., in his 1912/1925 "elementary forms" book], in part because of his direct and immediate influence on British and French anthropology (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001:1 online).

Since British social anthropologists built specifically on Durkheim's work and considered their task to be primarily "comparative sociology," dividing the fields was unthinkable. Yet European approaches have splintered around three main traditions: the early evolutionary perspective, echoing evolutionary biology attributing human diversity to a unilinear progression from primitive to civilized stages (Tylolean views, now largely debunked); second, functionalism (mostly in social anthropology) which treats culture interchangeably with society (for its social function) to the exclusion of mental structures; and the third stream derived from Durkheim's sociology of the *sui generis* nature of social facts and following Kroeber's metaphor of culture as a super-organism that has a life of its own – culture as situated dynamically.

Despite intense debates and heavy critique, the contrast between (cognitive) "culture" and (sociological) "society" also persists in anthropology until today in the US. The concept of culture has been under attack by postmodernist scholars, especially since the 1980's, who argue that it fosters misconceptions of societies as static and internally coherent (critiques that will be illustrated below). Further, the reified "exotic" lifestyles of specifically identified "people groups" has been also criticized by indigenous scholars. Others see "culture" as a politically dangerous, integrating term that legitimizes nationalism, ethnic stigmatization, and racial discrimination. The next section will deal with this ongoing critique and clarification of "culture" in the American anthropological context.

1.2.4 American Anthropological Concerns over Culture

Culture means the whole complex of transitional behavior which has been developed by the human race and is successively learned by each generation. A culture is less precise. It can mean the forms of traditional behavior which are characteristics of a given society, or of a group of societies, or of a certain race, or of a certain area, or of a certain period of time.

Boasian Cultural Anthropologist Margaret Mead (1937:17)

It seems so definite – a term referred to again and again in both the anthropological and popular literature. And yet, as one examines the concept, it appears increasingly illusive.

Anthropologist Robert Borofsky (2001:432)

However culture was viewed, the cited work above helped foster varieties of national character studies, especially in the US. Some of the definitions that made advanced this agenda are noted here. Isaac Berlin stated, “A nation is made what it is by ‘climate’, education, relations with its neighbours, and other changeable and empirical factors, and not by an impalpable inner essence or an unalterable factor such as race or colour” (Berlin, 1976:169). Robert Redfield is credited with conceptualizing culture as “shared understandings made manifest in act and artifact (1941:132; 1956). Kroeber and Kluckhohn “unified various definitions of culture into a single formulation focused on both the symbolic and the behavioral inheritances of a cultural community” (Shweder in Borofsky et al., 2001:437):

Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other hand, as conditioning elements of further action. (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952:357)

Note that this is a somewhat different and more extensive formulation than the one often cited from Kluckhohn (1951:395), which often appears in texts (e.g., Hofstede, 2001:9) and cited as the opening quote of this dissertation. This summary was meant to put forward a complete and authoritative postulation. Though informative and integrative, Borofsky maintains that few remember that definition, and suggests that it never really caught on in the discipline. Elvin Hatch notes that, “even though the term has been discussed in countless books and articles, there is still a large degree of uncertainty in its use – anthropologists employ the notion in fundamentally different ways” (1973:1). Borofsky agrees, suggesting “the devil is in the details” and that the

concept “appears increasingly illusive” (2001:432). (De)constructivists and post-colonialists have called the use of the culture concept into question, accusing its use as promoting a monolithic, universalistic or grand theory view of modernism, harboring political overtones (certainly in public forums, if not in scholarship), or conversely promoting nativism or indigenous counter-Western, or even nationalistic approaches (see Borofsky’s analysis, 2001:433).

Each of these positions has potentially contributed to bringing about not only a split in the approaches of ethnographers and anthropologists, but a virtual distancing of the parent comparative cultural field of anthropology that pioneers like Franz Boas (e.g., 1917), Edward T. Hall (e.g., 1957, 1976) and Clifford Geertz (e.g., 1973) once wrote about so lucidly. Culture still might appear in various introductory textbooks or research projects, but this may only reflect “the politics of inclusion whereby an author seeks to find a common underlying theme for a plethora of disciplinary projects... usually a stretch (Borofsky et al., 2001:433), or provide a “broader disciplinary pidgin...that allows American anthropologists to speak to one another across their fragmented and fragmenting specializations...the conversations often are limited”.

Thus, at this juncture, it may be helpful to diagram out the contrasting paradigms that exist both in the field of (cultural) anthropology, and then below, in the fields of (cross-)cultural psychology. Anthropologists have addressed this issue in various ways, but one of the seminal focal points of discussion was the landmark article initiated by Robert Borofsky in which Frederik Barth and Richard Shweder were asked to state their contrasting positions, followed by Lars Rodseth extending Barth’s arguments, and Nomi Maya Stolzenberg extending Shweder’s (Borofsky et al., 2001). Table 1.1 summarizes some key points of these paradigms. It should be noted that neither Shweder nor Barth represents the extreme positions of these paradigms, and in fact would be considered by some to be more centrist. But, as well-established scholars familiar with the territory of their field, they have provided an excellent description of some salient differences of these two positions as points of departure.

Table 1.1. A Comparison of the Conceptual Positions of Divergent Anthropologists

Cultural Anthropologists (by Shweder)	Post-cultural Anthropologists (by Barth)
<p>Keep the object of the discipline culture</p> <p>“Culture” is not as divorced from the “symbols and meanings” or interpretive approach to understanding and explaining behavior as anticultural or postcultural proponents suggest</p> <p>In the Redfield/Kroeber & Kluckhohn/ Geertz tradition, culture refers to goals, values and pictures of the world that are made manifest in the speech, laws, and routine practices of some self-monitoring group</p> <p>Analytic or abstract models do help us understand what people “actually do”</p> <p>Modeling helps distinguish between sources of variation so that a complex behavioral system can be better understood</p> <p>Ironically, in fields outside anthropology, “culture” analysis is becoming an increasingly legitimate and popular topic of investigation.</p> <p>In such culture fields, there have been noteworthy discoveries of population diversity</p> <p>There can be, however, political/moral agendas attached to culture, either as a tool of globalization equaling Westernization, or conversely of promoting local traditions and “thick culture” practices, meaning and value, or of moral interventionists or political crusaders who oppose conservatism.</p> <p>Rationality and intentionality are essential elements in cultural analysis, because behavior is the joint product of preferences and constraints mediated by the purposive strivings of human agents.</p> <p>In building a model of human behavior, construction of the cultural part often goes hand in hand with identifying noncultural constraints.</p>	<p>Make the object of the discipline social action</p> <p>Critique theories at the meta-level to check for unfounded assumptions</p> <p>“Culture” is an abstraction from innumerable occurrences where people act in complex social and physical contexts</p> <p>Focus empirical work on observing phenomena that are simply identified, sufficiently separable, and internally connected</p> <p>Be eager for the discovery of interconnections and determined constraints</p> <p>“Culture” analysis is too often detached from the contexts of human action in which it is embedded</p> <p>This convention obliterates most forms of variation by a mindless use of typological representations.</p> <p>Rather access people’s interpretations in the sense of their subjectively experienced world – the meanings they subscribe to, the purposes they embrace (intersubjectivity) – what they are indeed doing, and why</p> <p>Promote social positioning, which opens a critical and constructive way of linking cultural variation directly to a model of social relations.</p> <p>These processes are connected in the fulcrum of social action – that moment when the various aspects represented by culture, social relations, cognition, meaning, purpose, and material context become manifest together and combine to affect each other and shape outcome</p>

Source: Summarized from statements recorded in Borofsky et al. (2001)

Though these two positions have been presented in contrast (as they represent the crux of the conflict in the field today), Borofsky suggests that they are not the only perspectives held. In his analysis, culture has at least three main usages:

- As cumulative development - beliefs, behaviors and/or artifacts are portrayed as developing through time, often toward some progressive, positive end.
- As antagonistic to certain historical developments centered in Europe...involving styles of life and learning that run counter to the negative effects of modernization (maintaining indigeneity).
- As political “Kultur” associated with German nationalism [a later misinterpretation of Herder], placing special stress on national differences and the particular identity of groups (the self-consciousness of a nation). (Borofsky, et. al, 2001:433)

There are obviously other positions and perspectives in the scholarly community, and many of these will be highlighted in Chapters 2 and 3 as they relate to values studies.

Clearly, sorting out what position one holds in the realm of anthropology regarding culture, values, and other antecedents of culture/society is an important consideration for the comparative scholar (see Price-Williams, 2002). The important issue for those who settle on one side or the other is to not completely reject the other tradition – despite ideological and historical baggage “culture” is still a useful concept, though the term may need to be used more carefully.

Though I lean more toward the traditional bearings that Shweder articulates and represents, I do acknowledge the need to see cultural values in context and in differentiated and complex milieus. The important point of the postmodern position is the dynamic nature of culture, and this conceptualization of culture bears upon a key reason for this research project having been developed in the first place – seeking to make sense of a culture under significant change. This paper will try to bridge and integrate these positions wherever possible.

1.2.5 American Psychological Approaches to Culture

Culture was no longer considered to be only or primarily an objective context or human development and action, but as more subjective, with “culture in the mind of the people” as “a historically transmitted pattern of meanings and symbols (Geertz, 1973:89)....”the locus of culture...resides in the minds of members of the culture.” This conception is now broadly adopted by those who identify with “cultural psychology” (e.g. Cole, 1996; Shweder, 1990)...the pendulum has swung away from viewing culture as “out there” to being “in here...”

Cambridge Handbook of Cross-cultural Psychology,

Berry, Poortinga, Segall, and Dasen (2002:228)

This dichotomy of perspective and approach appears not only in the field of anthropology. As social psychology started to focus on cultural variation, first the field of cross-cultural psychology developed, and then in recent years, a more anthropologically, ethnographically oriented balancing field of cultural psychology. Each represents similar trends as those noted above in anthropology. These differentiations are noted in Table 1.2 below.

Zhang (2008) acknowledges that this presentation needs updating, especially since both fields have something in common – the attempt to reduce cultural differences to a minimal number of dimensions and the fact that both of their treatments of cultural change are inadequate. He proposes that a third semi-independent tradition, traced back to the intellectual heritage of Lev Vygotsky’s social-cultural psychology, should also be considered.

Though this stream also describes itself as “cultural psychology,” it provides a much more historical and situated perspective (see Yoshihisa Kashima, 2000), a direction that some indigenous psychologists have sought to build on. Recently, Carl Ratner (2008) has sought to compare and contrast these divergent emphases with his new book, *Cultural Psychology, Cross-cultural Psychology and Indigenous Psychology*, though he considers Vygotsky as part of the groundwork of the broader “cultural psychology” (2008:6-10).

Table 1.2. Comparison of Distinctive Approaches of Social Psychology's Culture Fields

Comparisons	Cross-cultural Psychology	Cultural Psychology
Philosophical and Historical Origins	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Born after the end of WW II • JCCP inaugurated in 1970 • First IACCP meeting in HK in 1972 • “Psychic Unity” – the Enlightenment heritage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Crisis in (social) psychology in 1970s • Response: the cultural movement • More publications in mainstream journals, JPSP • Revival of the Romantic project
Geo-academic Landscapes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inclusive & Multi-disciplinary • Hofstede's <i>Culture's Consequences</i> • An international association • Flourishing in Europe and Third-World countries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Largely within mainstream psych & related fields • Shweder's manifesto (1991); Markus & Kitayama's (1991) prophecy • Becoming very East-Asian/North American bound
Presumptions about Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An entity view • Culture as separable or antecedent – affecting or influencing individuals • Culture as individual-difference variable • Culture as declarative knowledge • Culture as subject to change 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A system view • Culture as indistinguishable from individuals • Culture as normative/socializing mechanism • Culture as procedural knowledge • Culture as relatively stable
Substantive Topics of Interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural/individual levels of analysis • Psychologizing/ unpackaging culture • Values/beliefs as individual indices • Multi-/inter-cultural topics – biculturalism & acculturation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural grounding of self • Ind/Col instantiated in contexts/activities • Topics drawn from mainstream psych – cognition, emotion, and motivation
Methodological Preferences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Survey research that relies heavily on self-report questionnaires • The goal of cross-cultural equivalence – the need for sophisticated statistical techniques 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experimentally oriented • Online behaviour • The debate on methodology – which yields the most reliable results?

Source: R. Zhang (2008)²⁹

²⁹ PowerPoint lecture by Rui Zhang on “Culture in psychology: When cultural psychology meets cross-cultural psychology” presented at Shanghai International Studies University, December 30, 2008.

1.2.6 The Paradigmatic Positions of Culture

...this should be read as sign posts toward a theory of culture that would deal with pattern and variation, consistency and drift, acquiescence and resistance, or, unapologetically, langue and parole (the constructed self and the deconstructing "I.") Still, it would be better to think of culture as a paradigm establishing a field of concern, than a set of definitions.

Education Anthropologist Herve Varenne (Columbia University)³⁰

In recent years, more attention is being paid to the paradigmatic differentiation of fields of scholarship (e.g., Price-Williams, 2002) in ways similar to the Borofsky-led discussion presented above. Anderson and Baym (2004) provided one of the most complete representations in the Phau and Benoit edited two-volume special "state of the art" issues highlighting research area literature reviews in *Journal of Communication*.

Their article posits several layers of this model, but the more complete and complex one is used here to show these varied "scholarship communities" (See Figure 1.1).

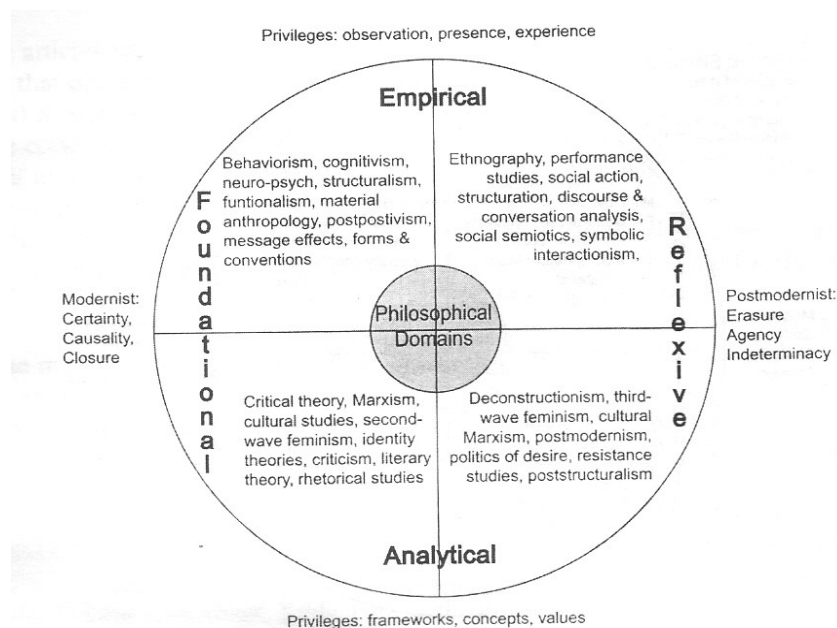


Figure 1.1. The Comparative Emphasis of Different Scholarship Communities

Reprinted from Anderson & Baym (2004:591)

After grounding their discussion in the range of ontologies, epistemologies, praxiologies, and axiologies adopted by various communication theorists, they plot these domains along two dimensions: (1) those that range from analytical to empirical, and (2) those that range from

³⁰ Prof. Herve Varenne, "Definitions of the culture of culture," course notes for "Culture and Communication," retrieved May 8, 2009, from http://varenne.tc.columbia.edu/hv/clt/and/culture_def.html

foundational (modernist, causality) to reflexive (post-modernist, agency). This provides a very useful conceptual model, both for understanding the mindsets, approaches and goals of the field, as well as where certain lines of scholarship tend to place themselves. It is useful for the culture researcher as well, though issues of emic-etic *per se* do not surface.

Martin and Nakayama (1999) provided a similar map for intercultural communication studies. Based on the model provided by Burrell and Morgan (1988:22), they suggested that there are at least two dimensions that divide the scholarship on culture and communication: (1) one ranging along methodological approaches from subjective (critical, descriptive, qualitative approaches) to objective (empirical, data driven, quantitative approaches), and (2) the other regarding the goal of scholarship, contrasting that which is regulative (describing what is) to that of promoting change (using scholarship to affect policy). Figure 1.2 shows the quadrants into which such scholarship falls. This seminal article both categorizes important scholars in the field, as well as promotes a dialectic approach to integrate these various approaches to intercultural communication research. Martin and Nakayama's approach provided an early stimulus for the framing of this project.

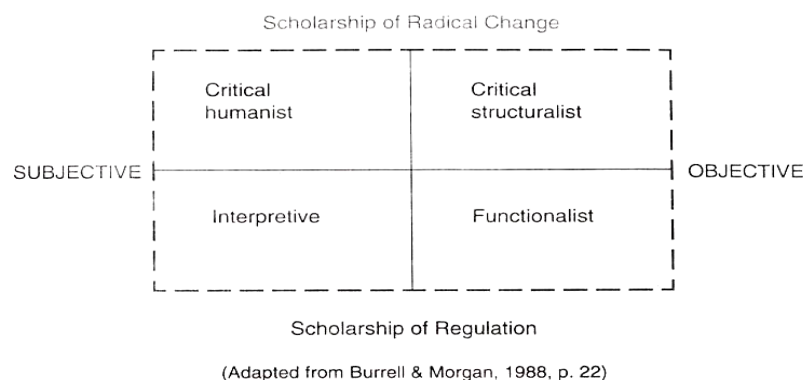


Figure 1.2. Paradigms of Intercultural Communication Research

Reprinted from Martin & Nakayama (1999:3)

Though helpful in clarifying the terrain, there are some noticeable elements missing. The first is that of scope, the important domain that separates research approaches from those which seek to explicate universalistic etics from those which focus on situational emics (the Bastian and later Pike, 1954/1967 conceptualization). Further, considerations concerning one's preference for the traditional, modern, or postmodern need to be included. Anderson and Baym (1999, Figure 1.1) wisely included these, though perhaps under-represents the traditional domain, a feature that any study of Asia must take into consideration, as emphasized in the work of both Kuo-shu Yang (杨国枢, 1988a, 1996, 1998, 2003) and Kwang-Kuo Hwang (黄光国, 2003).

Martin and Nakayama (1999) do acknowledge that such a model is too static, that both at the dynamic and dialectic aspects of culture must be considered (see Figure 1.3). Though not intended to provide a comprehensive list of domains (if one could even be universally made), it suggests aspects of culture that researchers might otherwise overlook. One of my criticisms is that, though purporting to be “dialectic”, it still presents a two-dimensional list of binary opposites:

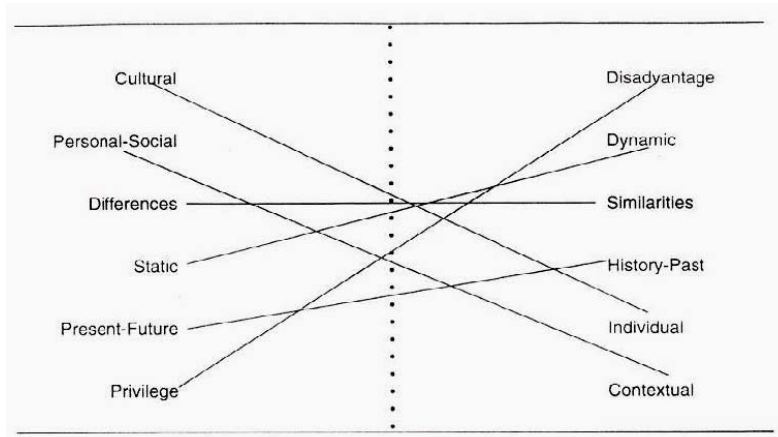


Figure 1.3. Proposed Dialectic Relations of Intercultural Factors

Reprinted from Martin & Nakayama (1999:18)

John Berry (1999:14) has sought to capture a related set of dimensions in his summary of the scholarship on acculturation. This is included because I find that each model of how culture is unified into research assumptions and approaches helps to clarify the potential domains or viewpoints of variance in our research (see Figure 1.4).

He answers my earlier critique to show indigenous (local emic) perspectives in relation to universal (global etic) approaches. He further highlights absolutist positions, in contrast to the relativist-universalist range, though personally I would put “absolutist” in the back-left corner. He also highlights important dimensions regarding ones’ view of culture as given (whether from traditional transmission or socio-cultural conditioning) or created by people (suggesting evolutionary, developmental, or co-creational processes), as well as the critical issue for acculturation or immigration studies, whether one has (or wants to have) contact with “other” or prefers non-contact isolation. Such a model shows promise for further adaptation for research in that it presents a three-dimensional grid. The question this raises is: What specifically are the three best axes for mapping the varieties of scholarship?

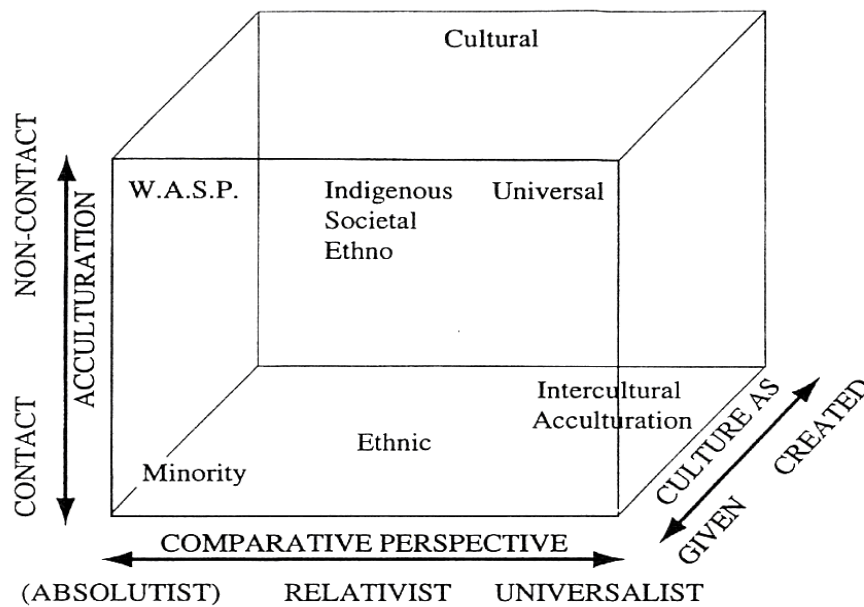


Figure 1.4. Berry's Dimensions & Perspectives in Cross-cultural Acculturation Research

Reprinted from Berry (1999:14)

Another way of asking this question is: What is the interdisciplinary location of “culture” for the other comparative cultural fields? As suggested above, the landscape of intercultural communications is no less of an ideological (mine)field. Diverse and at times disparate or discordant ontological, epistemological, and axiological assumptions also guide the fields that have contributed to or continue to align in varying degrees to the field(s) called “intercultural” or “cross-cultural” communication. Is there any “unity” in this “diversity” And how might understanding this issue contribute to the aims of this values studies project?

Grappling with these dimensions of variance, I have also sought ways to illustrate the range of scholarship. The field name of “intercultural communication” (IC) seems to engender almost as many different conceptions as its amorphous parent, “culture.” And yet many scholars (I among them) persist in defending the position that there is an established IC field, and indeed, the fledging beginnings of a distinct discipline. So, how can these multiple perspectives be integrated, fully taking into account the “parent” disciplines from which IC arose, as well as the many “partners” within or near which IC research is nested? Figure 1.5 seeks to show these historical origins, reciprocal relationships, and emphases, and demonstrate that there is a basis for IC as an integrated discipline.

As each of these fields has fostered and continues to feed the conceptual knowledge, dimensional factor, and integrated theoretical base of intercultural communications (IC), the IC field grows, expands, and matures. The disciplinary theories that have informed the field can be more

rigorously tested in cross-cultural and intercultural contexts, which in turn can feed back to the related disciplines. Though in the initial stages of development (the 1960s and 70s) with Kuhn's (1962) "paradigm shift" and the ensuing "cultural turn," comparative scholars may have at one time only employed an "intercultural perspective," the IC field is now becoming an increasingly robust discipline. The maturing processes at work in such disciplinary strengthening can in turn contribute to expanding the intercultural paradigms resident in each of those "parent" or "partner" disciplines (for fuller treatment, see Kulich and Chi, 2009).

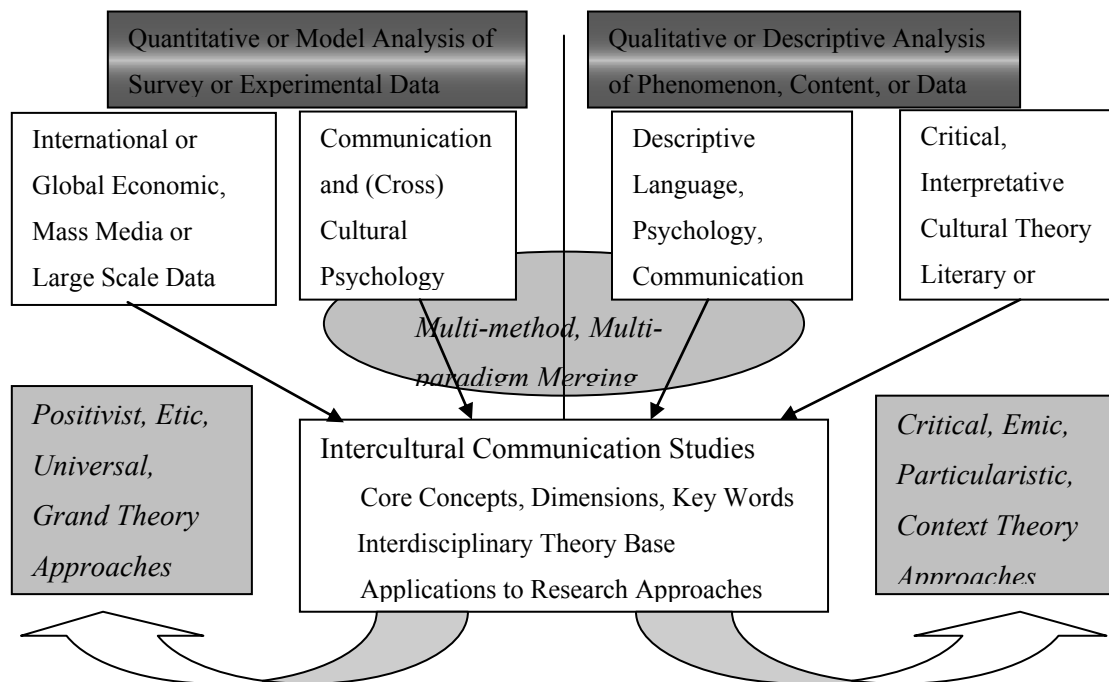


Figure 1.5. The Divergent Methodological Focus and Field Influences Related to Intercultural Communication Studies

Designed by the author for this dissertation

An earlier version of this integration was proposed in Chinese, and is the working model for an ambitious intercultural project on publication documentation and categorization (Figure 1.6, a Chinese version drafted by the author with assistance from Ruobing Chi). This suggests that the emerging discipline of "IC" can be modeled as a hourglass, a field through which the ideas, concepts, constructs, and theories of many disciplines or origin flow, but are then are bound together in new, blended, and useful forms, and then are given back to a variety of disciplines for application.

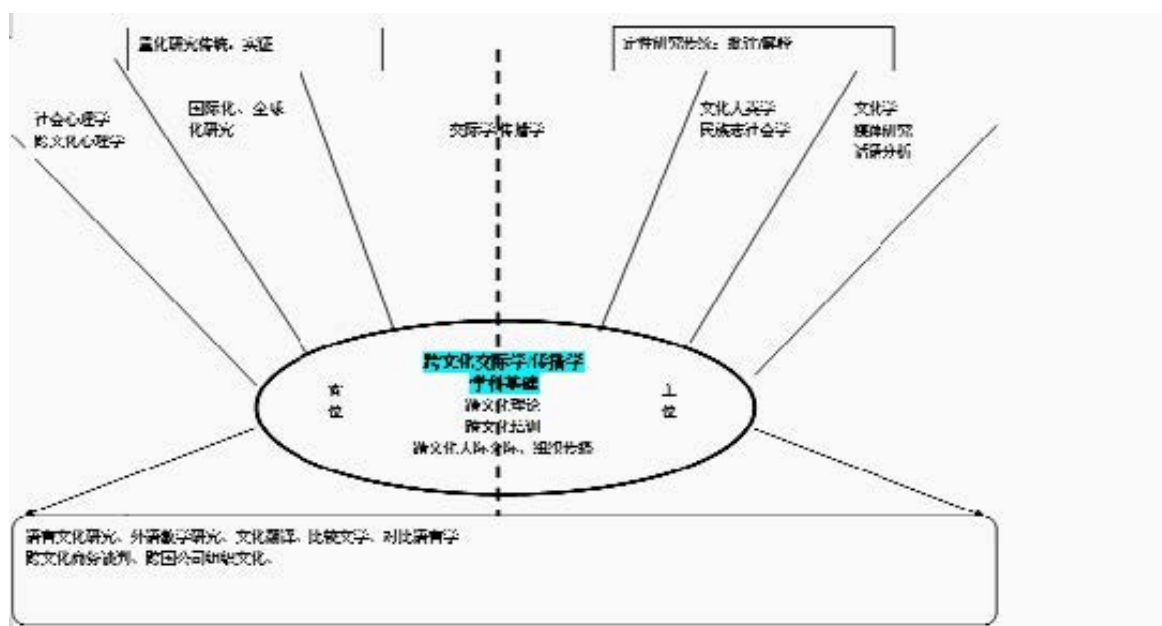


Figure 1.6. Interdisciplinary Fields with Reciprocal Influences on/from Intercultural Communication (in Chinese)

But as we have seen above, not all elements are easily or satisfyingly brought together. Some perspectives may resist the mutual interaction of those approaches at the opposite ends of the intercultural spectrum for philosophical, axiological, or any number of other reasons. This is seen in the arguments of those who negate the work of Hofstede (e.g., Baskerville, 2003; McSweeney, 2002), and in Hofstede’s rebuttals to each (2002, 2003). Yet, awareness of the diverse positions should help us find ways to intentionally consider, accommodate, adopt, and apply what can be utilized in our own research persuasions.

Therefore this dissertation attempts to summarize, integrate, and harmonize these diverse “culture” and “IC” elements in order to draw logical links (or at least fuzzy logic matrices) of how these research traditions affect this project. I consider “culture” to be a complex, historically generated, dynamically evolving set of systems, both functional and meaningful in each situated time, ecological, and relational context.

Though I value the information provided by both the empirical and critical approaches, I am convinced there are benefits from moving toward the merger of multi-method and multi-perspective approaches. This is not just a desire to follow a core tenant of Chinese culture in being a centrist (Confucianism’s “middle way,” *zhongyong* 中庸), but a commitment, wherever possible, to integrate both quantitative and qualitative perspectives, and also to apply interpretative description toward a fuller understanding of culture. Without conceptualized models from which we can infer clear hypotheses that can be empirically tested across cultures, we may end up

brainstorming about cultural platitudes that have no real-world currency in some populations. However, without re-examining those models with open-ended, qualitative approaches to analyze latent or imposed meanings, or looking at them or the cultural systems they represent critically and with broader interpretations, we might miss some of the deep cultural content that might inform the theoretical, contextual, or applied awareness needed. Thus this project seeks to bring each of these strands of research into dynamic interaction toward the investigation of varieties of “Chinese cultural values.”

This is because I further believe that values are (1) an important part of both the historical, traditional, on-going context, (2) a part of emerging, modern, situated dynamics, and also (3) a key point in the decision-making and behavioral choices that face actors in each interaction or cultural situation. Thus, the methodologies adopted in this project will seek to address each set of issues from multiple approaches. The first two-thirds of the dissertation will focus more on historical, literary, and critical analysis, and the latter third will focus on what can be gained from qualitative and quantitative applications. The blending of each is important, not only for a more comprehensive and exhaustive treatment in an academic project like this, but to provide researchers of values with a more balanced perspective and broader set of tools from which to choose from. Hopefully it will also enable researchers to do so in an informed, reasoned, and relevant way.

To this end, my decision to focus intensively on historical developments may need to be substantiated. This stems in large part from my earlier interest and training in Chinese history and philosophy, my extensive reading in and professional association with a wide range of scholars from a number of disciplines, and also from my persuasion that the best way to move forward into the future is to clearly understand the past (cf. Kulich, 2005). This is clearly in line with K. S. Yang and other authors’ “ecological” conceptualization of culture (Figure 1.7). For similar “maps,” see Richard Lewis (1996, 1999, and his reprinted second edition, 2004:67, “Factors leading to the organization of society”) and John Berry (1975).

What a graphical analysis like this primarily shows is the contextual, historical, livelihood, and emergent cultural patterns that have and continue to influence Chinese culture. Such a view shows culture in its situated complexity and enduring influence. We can see how this, or any cultural system, has arisen, evolved, and changed according to diverse factors and influences, both from within and outside. Some would argue that this situated, centuries-long set of cultural influences is what has given Chinese culture both its distinctiveness and relative resistance to dispersion. Chapter 5 will seek to re-examine these to determine if there is indeed a unique “Chinese

personality” or “national character” before examining updated more recent research (Chapter 6) or conducting the studies that appear in Volume 2.

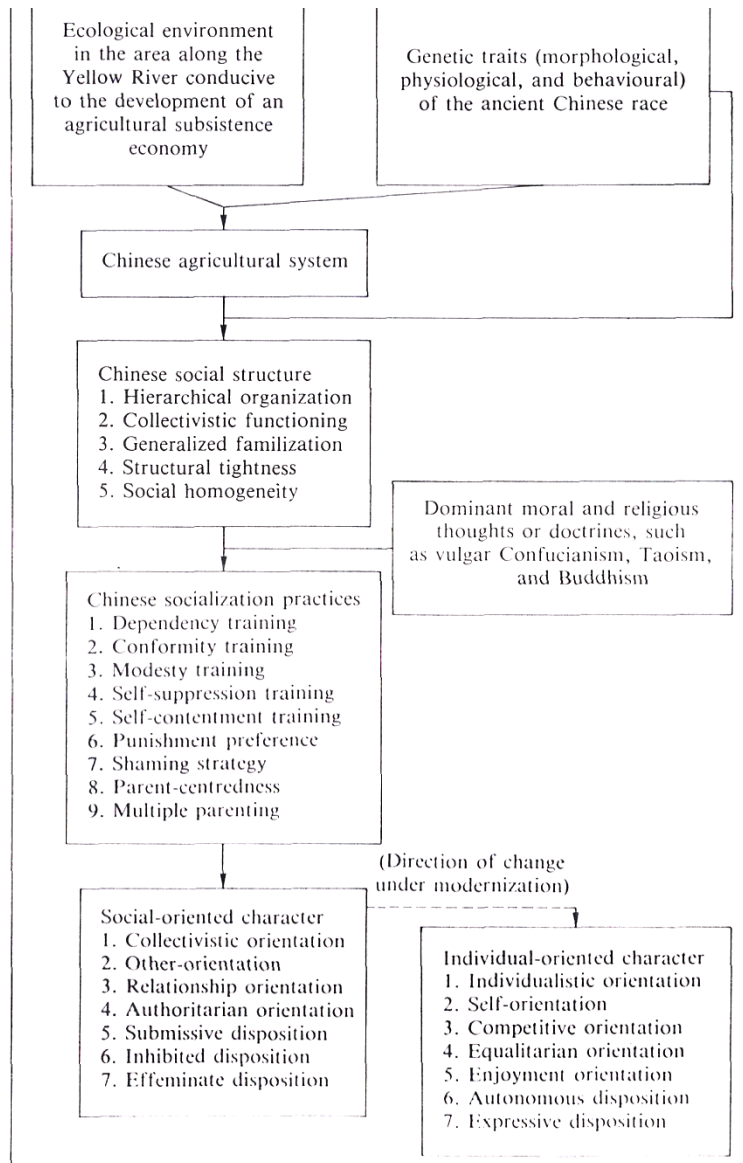


Figure 1.7. K.S. Yang's Interactionist Cultural-Ecology of Chinese Character

Reprinted from Yang's "A Simplified Interactionistic Cultural-Ecological View of the Genesis and Change of Chinese Character," Fig. 4.1 in Bond (1986:162).

1.2.7 Culture as Complexly Framed and Dynamically Evolving

In reviewing the history of the conceptualization and measurement of “culture,” one quickly realizes that there is wide-ranging and contradictory scholarly opinion about which values, norms, and beliefs should be measured to represent the concept of “culture.” We explore an alternate theory-based view of culture via social identity theory (SIT), which suggests that each individual is influenced by plethora of cultures and sub-cultures, some ethnic, some national, and some organizational.

Management Scholars Straub, Loch, Evaristo, Karahanna, Strite (2002)

The next question that must be addressed is: What level of culture is addressed in this dissertation? It needs to be stated that I do not espouse to provide a “complete” picture of “Chinese” values, nor do I dream it possible – at best, this project will provide a number of snapshots of various domains of what some would consider to be important elements of “Chinese culture.” But it is my persuasion that the picture of a culture is an incredibly complex one, with varied domains and multiple levels, that needs to be looked at from multi-layered perspectives. A simple approximation of some of the more prominent cultural expressions that can be examined in any national cultural system is presented in Figure 1.8, although avowedly, a much more complicated diagram would be needed to reflect the true complexity of any specific “culture.”

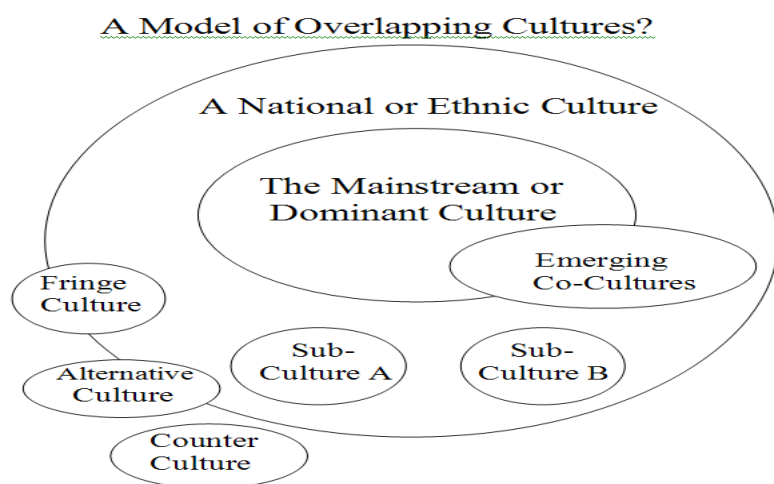


Figure 1.8. Presentation Model for Integrated Levels and Types of Culture

Diagrams have limitations. If culture is truly dynamic, complex, and integrated, then capturing it with pen-and-paper models will inevitably miss something. Chapter 3 and 4 demonstrate several attempts to do so by other prominent scholars (like Triandis, 1972; see Figure 4.1). The benefit of such models is primarily to expose students of culture to levels of complexity they may not have considered before, and to help them understand that even their own, familiar culture is certainly

not as uniform or explainable as they may have assumed it to be. Further, specifically related to this project in the Chinese context, considering the complexity of a relational culture (a term preferred instead of “collective”), analyzing some of the multiple relationship influences (interdependent self-construals) as Markus and Kitayama (1991) have proposed, may also be important, as shown in Figure 1.9.

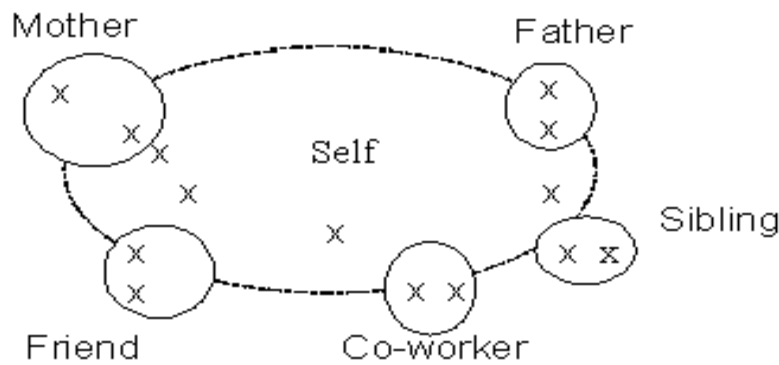


Figure 1.9. Theorized Relations of the Interdependent Self

Reprinted from Markus & Kitayama (1991)

Especially in the Chinese context, geographic, economic, generational, historical, and other antecedent domains contribute to creating a very complex picture of the “culture” that any individual ascribes to, and at multiple levels. A recent preliminary study related to this project did show that Chinese university students in Shanghai endorse varied identity domains related to multiple levels of traditionality and modernity, individuality and collectivity, or in some domains, interdependence (Zhang & Kulich, 2009, represented in Figure 1.10).

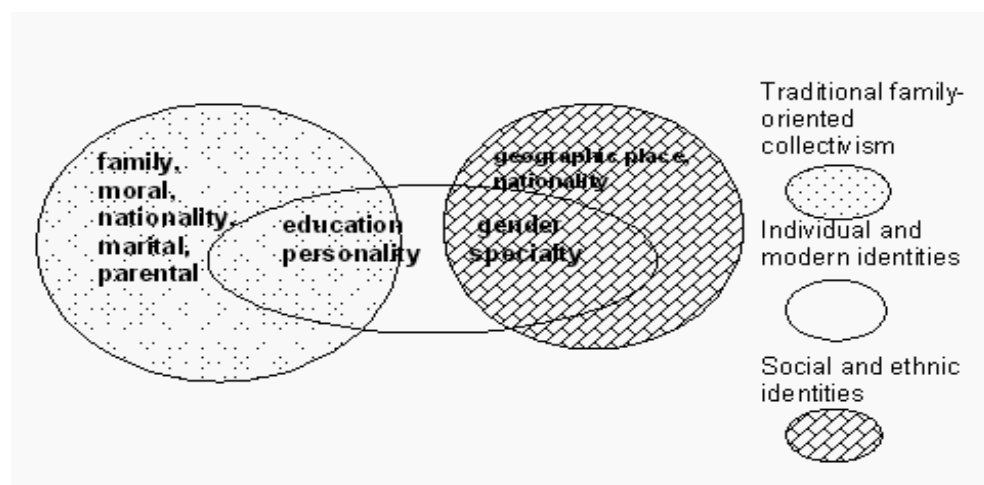


Figure 1.10. Identity Domains Interrelated to Individuality and Collectivity

Reprinted from Zhang & Kulich (2009)

To help highlight some of these complexities, values and identity clarification exercises are often a helpful part of intercultural training (discussed in Chapter 7). To this end, I have often used Figure 1.11 to stimulate students to consider what some of the influences might have been that contribute to defining what their cultural milieu might be (or be becoming):

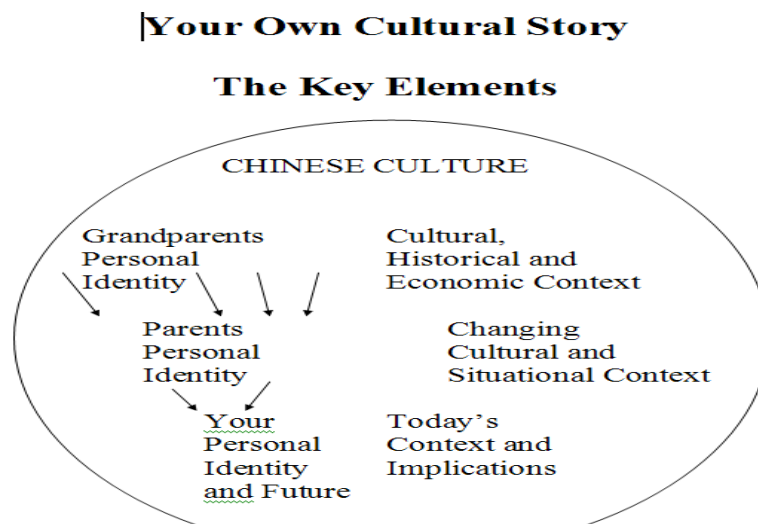


Figure 1.11. Multiple Contextual Influences on Cultural Identity

Other illustrations can also be provided to elicit a wider variety of cultural influences (teachers, media, heroes/icons, friends, and so on). What such endeavors seek to suggest is that our analysis of ourselves or of individuals in any culture is indeed dynamic – at best we are like free-lance photographers who freely attempt to “frame” culture from our limited perspective, awareness, or experience at accessible juncture points. Understanding this limitation is especially important for our analysis of societies undergoing rapid change, as proposed long before Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck (1961) by both Herder and Bastian. I also suggest that we should never limit ourselves to looking at culture from one frame of research focus only, but rather consider both the complexity of levels of culture (see discussion below) as well as the range of research paradigms (Figure 1.12).

Not only is some expression of culture functioning in each of these proposed matrices, but values might also be. In what ways are values national mythical ideas, or expected mechanisms operating in specific contexts, or part of the subjective and hidden aspects of an individual’s software that lead to non-conscious responses? How are values reflected in mainstream or mass trends, or in the contexted social-relationship networks that one operates in, or how are they triggered to help make wise choices among the broad matrix of options an individual faces? How are values espoused in the model citizens that are held up as heroes, or in the proverbs, sayings, image icons, or other

mediated metaphors that are presented, and which values bring one the greatest sense of personal meaning and satisfaction in a given cultural context?

<i>Proposed Multi-Level Framework for Cultural Analysis</i>			
<i>Level of Analysis</i>	<i>Culture as Historically Transmitted</i>	<i>Culture as Socially Constructed</i>	<i>Culture as Personally Interpreted</i>
<i>National Level</i>	Mythic Ideals	Mainstream/ Mass Trends	Model Citizens
<i>Contextual Level</i>	Expected Mechanics	Integrated Meshworks	Mediated Metaphors
<i>Individual Level</i>	Mindless Responses	Matrix Choices	Personal Meaning

Figure 1.12. Multi-Level, Multi-Epistemological Approaches to Analyzing Culture

Proposed in Kulich (2007:226)

This is not to imply that any one of these topics lies resident only in that quadrant – many domains spill over into other areas (and likely interact with neighboring areas). Each of us most likely holds sub-cultural, in-group, and personal myths, and makes choices, finds, or seeks meaning at multiple cultural or analytical levels at the same time. Such a model may cause us to consider more how culture is externalized or internalized, and how this might be reflected in the national versus individual levels represented. Rui Zhang notes that the model stirs up interesting questions like:

How does culture existing at the national level become internalized to be something people can claim to be personal? What is the complex relationship between culture operating at the national/institutional level and culture that provides personal meaning? How does the model shed light on the distinction between culture as *explanans* (culture as an explanatory factor in individual psychology) and culture as *explanandum* (individual factors in the explanation of cultural stability and change)?³¹

The categories are so situated merely to provide a starting point for multiple levels of analysis, and this dissertation will seek to incorporate some of them as starting points in clarifying “Chinese values” in their current expression (such as Chapter 8, focusing on proverbs as potential

³¹ Via personal email correspondence with the author, May 15, 2009.

metaphorical carriers of cultural values). Much more needs to be done to more clearly map out each overlapping domain of such a model, and explain how it can be used in cultural analysis, a project beyond the already broad scope of this dissertation. Nevertheless, some aspects of cultural levels of analysis will be applied.

1.3 Comparative Levels of Analysis in Cross-cultural Research

Cross-cultural psychologists seek to understand the nature of culture, a concept that can only be understood at the collective, supra-individual level. In most areas of psychology, researchers treat each individual as a separate source of data. Cross-cultural psychologists therefore need a clear understanding of the relationship between individual-level and group- or collective-level analysis.

Cross-cultural Psychologist Peter Smith (2002:1)

1.3.1 Distinguishing Cultural- and Individual-Levels of Culture

A common critique or even discounting of intercultural and cross-cultural research is the generalizing of situated data to levels of national abstraction. Many authors write as if their research applies at multiple levels. Lynn Kahle (1996:137), for example, does not even consider them levels, but spheres of application: “The LOV can serve as a useful value measurement instrument in the study of consumer similarities and differences across social units ranging from individuals to countries.” But for most social psychologists, both the level of investigation and the methods applied at that level are important considerations. Peter Smith’s article (2002) is often cited as providing definitive guidelines on this issue (see the quote from his abstract above), as well as clarifying how levels can be confounded in research:

...many investigators and writers have fallen foul of what Hofstede (1980) calls the ‘ecological fallacy’. This occurs when one takes a relationship that has been established between two or more variables at one level of analysis and then assumes that this proves something at a different level of analysis. Most typically, a culture-level characterization of a certain nation is used to explain the relationship between variables at the more familiar individual-level. (Smith, 2002:3)

Hofstede (2006:1) elucidates the development of his own thinking about these levels and why he decided on culture at the national level as the most salient for his work, but he acknowledges what he calls various “levels of aggregation,” whether they are applied to ethnic groups, organizations, occupations, genders, generations, or social classes. He argues that, “Societal, national, and gender

cultures, which children acquire from their earliest youth onwards, are much deeper rooted in the human mind than occupational cultures acquired at university, or than organizational cultures acquired on the job.” He further notes that, “societal cultures reside in (often unconscious) values, in the sense of *broad tendencies to prefer certain states of affairs over others*” (italics his, in citing Hofstede, 2001:5).

Specifically, I suggest that “level of analysis” is more than a methodological issue, even though experimental cultural psychologists generally frame it that way. I propose that such experiments tend to reveal the *meso* (shared sub-cultural level, e.g., Chinese-American and European American differences) and *meta* levels of culture (e.g., how Eastern cultures vary from Western ones, as in Nisbett, 2003). However cross-cultural surveys (usually collecting data at individual levels) tend to focus on *micro* individual levels, though these are usually extrapolated by averaging to the *macro* level of national “culture.” These differences in approach can easily lead to differences in data results. Refining awareness of the impact and outcomes of the “level problem” (expanded below) might rectify or at least explain a number of ongoing debates, such as the much-cited controversy in Oyserman et al.’s (2002) meta-analysis, or the frequent ongoing methodological critiques of survey methods.³²

As suggested below, to see clearly we need not only a pair of bifocals, but multi-focals. And we need to recognize that each approach and each method has its strength in highlighting certain levels of culture, but corresponding weakness in under-representing or overlooking other levels. The now increasingly recognized 3-level model is an improvement on this approach and was used to develop the Figure 1.12 matrix above. However, I now propose that “culture” is differentially operative in at least five (5) levels, and that “levels of cultural association” may at times not be as important as “levels of meaning”, of which there may be at least three types.

I put forward a more refined model because more and more scholars are asking if this bifurcation between individual- and social-level is enough. Dan Landis (2007, 2008:338) cites Pettigrew’s (1996, 1997) multi-level analysis, which includes meta, meso and micro layers of culture (shown in Figure 1.13).

Pettigrew’s model proposes that when we attempt to analyze social phenomenon, we must attend to three levels:

³² For development of these ideas, I am grateful for suggestions made on an earlier draft by Rui Zhang.

1. The Macro Level, which consists of the policies and institutions of the wider society. This might consist of such things as economic and immigration (both within and between countries) policies, demographic realities, and political and like structures.

2. The Meso Level, where groups and individuals interact, where they display their attitudes and receive information from others.

3. The Micro Level, where we consider aspects of the self and its representations and how each persons form their sense of identity. We would consider such individual attributes as attitudes, motivations, memories, etc.

All of the levels interact and influence one another, but it is important that any empirical investigation carefully disentangle and operationally separate one from the other. Otherwise, confounding will occur and causation, and the resulting social policies, will remain problematic. (Landis, 2007:3)

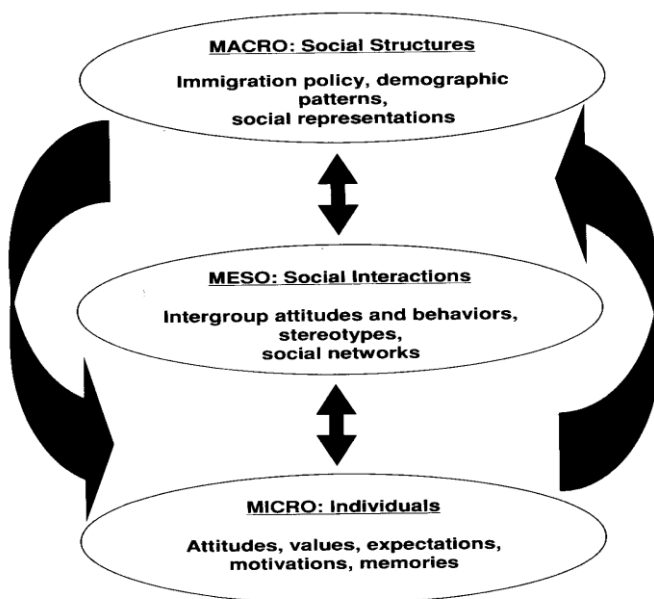


Figure 1.13. Example of a Multi-level Analysis of Culture

Reprinted from Deaux, 2006 as cited in Landis, 2007:3

While this moves us toward a tri-level consideration of how people relate to cultural systems (the national, broad social cultural system, the sub-cultural context, and the interpersonal level), it is important to note that the individual-level is technically NOT considered “culture”, since culture, by definition since Herder, is shared. As Peter Smith posits: “There are many definitions of culture, but none of them suggests an individual has a culture of his or her own. Culture is something that is shared among people” (Smith, 2002:1). Yet individuals in interpersonal

interaction must consider cultural differences, and in research, we can often only assess “individual perceptions” of those micro-cultural domains.

Ball-Rokeach and Loges (1996:293, 294) have suggested a similar multi-level scheme. In their Media Systems Dependency (MSD) theory, the media sits in the middle position between macro and micro. “When a value-choice frame consistently dominates media discourse (on an issue), most individuals’ attitude preferences will be formed within that frame.” They do admit that not all people are so clearly or strongly influenced by the media – there are exceptions and rare individuals who get their value-choice understanding from another information system (from a more informed work context, non-mass media letters, or support groups).

This acknowledgment also highlights the intermediate or *meso* level of culture mentioned several times above. Ball-Rokeach and Loges state that, “Most social issues...involve a macro knowledge construction process in which the media system’s information resources are of paramount importance...[However] value-choices...must be mediated by the one information system that is designed to stand at the junction of macro and micro levels of discourse” (1996: 295). Increasingly, I have noted that scholars are including three levels of culture (individual-, sub-cultural-, and national-levels) in their research designs and presentations. But, the question is whether even this tri-level model is adequate for accurate assessment of culture. From discussions with students about questions in research design, I have worked toward building on extending this 3-level model to a more comprehensive structure (5+3), and explain that below.

1.3.2 Proposing a 5-Level Social/Functional Model of Culture

As an outgrowth of the literature reviewed for this study, I suggest that this three-fold model still has its limitations. If there are universals across cultures, then we can and must also speak of *meta*-cultural domains – those cultural universals and transcendent human commonalities (many authors *assume* or *presuppose* this, but do not always explicitly state this). Then, as in the models discussed above, it is important to consider differentiation at and among national/regional/local influences, so Deaux’s (2006) illustration above based on Pettigrew’s (1996, 1997) three levels is helpful. But the “*meso*” level still seems unclear and to be a complex mix of factors or influences which need to be unraveled. Additionally, each cultural system may locate some cultural identity domains like “ethnicity” or “social status” or “geographical context” at different levels, based on the social composition, historical homo- or heterogeneity, or economic development or diversity of that particular nation. As many critics of intercultural research have noted (cf. Baskerville, 2003; McSweeney, 2002a), in some contexts, to extrapolate to “national” levels might be a very complicated gloss over more pertinent realities.

Under such considerations, the *meso* labeling does seem to potentially describe the sub-cultural, geographic regional, ethno-social domains that people associate with, and provide a useful level of shared “cultural linking”. But if we speak of their truly contextual level of culture interactions, such individuals might actually live in a mixed ethnic, pluralistic community and have to relate to and mediate many different cultures at many different levels on a daily basis. This is where cultural and identity studies overlap – what are the negotiated identities (and related value sets, choices, conflicts) that people must deal with in their life contexts? For this level, I posit a new term, *medio*, to describe the mediated, daily-negotiated level of culture (as Ball-Rokeach & Loges, 1996:295 and others have implied).

Integrating these considerations, our list of cultural levels now looks like this:

- Meta** – the transcultural, universal domains of our “human condition,” or broader civilization groupings of culture, e.g., Asian, Western, Arab
- Macro** – the national, geopolitical “culture” level (nation-state influences)
- Meso** – the “sub”-cultural, geographical, ethnic, social economic groupings
- Medio** – the diverse, complex, contextual living situations that need to be constantly mediated (due to operating at different social levels), negotiated, and interpreted
- Micro** – the interpersonal level of communication between individuals

Hofstede has been critiqued for not first checking whether in the surveys he was using, or the responses he was getting, there might have been “constructs that produce ‘sharedness’ in the first place” (Smith, Bond, and Kağıtçıbaşı, 2006:37). These critiques anticipate a broader classification of levels similar to what I am proposing, suggesting, “We thus need to do individual-level analyses to prepare the way for most valid higher-level analyses, whether these be analyses of marriages, families, organizations, or nations (2006:38). Kwok Leung and his associates (Leung et al., 2005) have proposed a similar set of concentric cultural circles in organizational contexts that roughly correspond to what I am proposing (though he has not used these Latin prefixes, but business related domains).

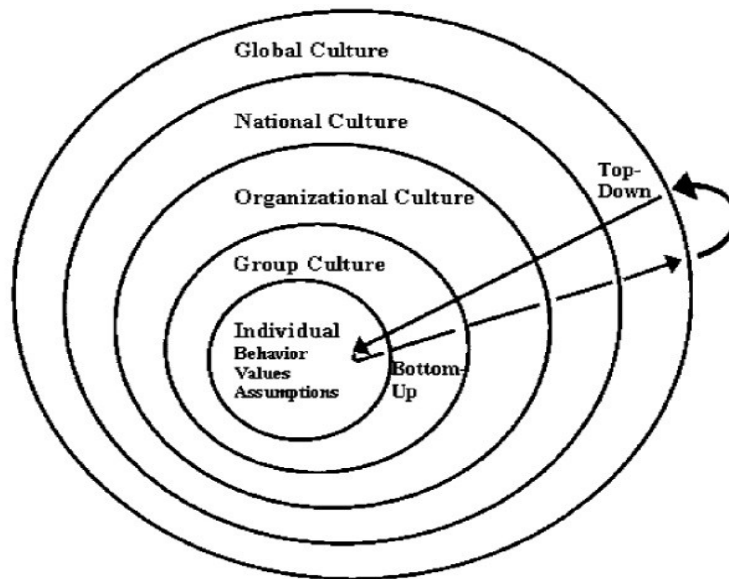


Figure 1.14. Proposed Multi-Level Analysis of Organizational Cultures

From Leung, Bhagat, Buchan, Erez, & Gibson (2005:363)

Where each of these “units of shared culture” fall may still vary in each broader cultural context, but I suggest it is worth our while to parse out these levels more carefully, and at least in emic studies, clarify the specific domains and levels more concretely in order to not be confounding “cultural” influences, or end up comparing “apples with oranges.” I suggest this will help us even better heed Smith’s conclusion that, “Different causal agents are found to affect the same behaviour when its incidence is studied at different levels of analysis” (Smith, 2002:2). But, in examining values or core culture domains, “behavioral” analysis may be inadequate, and we need ways to get us to the deeper level of motivations and meaning.

1.3.3 Considering 3 Additional “Meaning Levels” Imbedded in Culture

Functional levels of association and identity construction may not be enough for the assessment of psychological constructions like “cultural values.” Beyond these, or perhaps integrated with them, an informed post-modernist, or even a Maslowian perspective on self-fulfillment begs us to consider questions of meaning in relation to culture. While meaning might be negotiated at all of the above levels of culture, a review of the literature suggests that it is probably located in two main domains:

1. **Social interactive** levels of meaning (roles, rituals, regulations) – which correlates to an individual’s membership in the established macro and meso levels of culture, and
2. **Social identity** levels of meaning (who I construe myself to be in situations) – which would suit the proposed medio and micro levels of cultural negotiation.

In support of this duality, McGraw and Tetlock (2005:4) state: “Social life is a delicate dance. Human beings are continually implicitly or explicitly negotiating the meanings of transactions and the nature of the social identities they would like to establish in the eyes of others.... These studies show – in interpersonal and political settings [conceptually in the reverse order of the two points above] – that transactions that look acceptable within one relational framing quickly cease to be acceptable in another.” Thus we see that expressed or interpreted values might shift or be reduced in strength (or their meaning might be re-interpreted) at different levels of cultural interaction, primarily due to the contextual and meaning framing.

Both of these meaning levels can reflect the diversity of cross-cultural responses along the intercultural dimension of particularism vs. universalism, first put forward by Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils (1951:77, 82), then later formulated specifically referenced to a Confucian -Western cultural contrast by June Ock Yum (1988), adopted for business cultural comparisons by Fons Trompenaars and Charles Hamden Turner (1997), and applied to intercultural training by Craig Storti’s *Figuring Foreigners Out* (1998). As the experimental results of McGraw and Tetlock (2005:12) show, “framing also matters...” “People draw a normative line in the sand between *particularistic* and *universalistic* relationships – that is, relationships in which people care very much about the identity of the actors from whom they receive goods and services, and relationships in which people are indifferent to the identity of the actors, respectively (Foa & Foa, 1974).” More work is needed to show how these interpretative levels are actually represented in some of the more extensively researched common models, e.g., Fiske’s (1991, 1992) universal theory of social relations, which seems to be mostly a description of meta-culture and at the social-interactive meaning level.

Both of the proposed meaning levels above are primarily external, surface processes of meaning clarification (that which can be seen, experienced, or shared with others). I propose that, especially as “culture” relates to values, and even more at the level where personal value conflicts may occur, there is another internal, often hidden domain of meaning, which I call:

3. **Personal intra-interpretive** level of meaning – where the individual inwardly is struggling to define themselves and their value, belief, attitudinal priorities (similar to what Philip Tetlock describes as conflicts of value pluralism that must be worked out, 1986; Tetlock et al., 1996). This is the subliminal, micro-intrapersonal schematic world that wrestles through value concepts and consistency and constantly has to (is forced by the situation) bring them out (often without a chance to form clear definition) to be affirmed, overlooked or challenged in micro and medio encounters. This fits Fiske and Tetlock’s (1997) framework, which “treats

schemas as usually unconscious cognitive operators that people become aware of only when repeated boundary disputes call competing relational logics to their attention” (cited in McGraw & Tetlock, 2005:8).

There will obviously be some dissonance here, and perhaps more work needs to be done to incorporate dissonance theory, cf. C.M. Steele (1988), who fittingly brings in a self-affirmation variant. Tetlock et al. (1996:34) note that, “the conceptual connections that people forge between abstract values and concrete policy are sometimes startling...” and maintain that, “the key theoretical point is that values are remarkable slippery social constructions that take on different meanings over time and across political cultures.” They seek to accommodate this meaning domain with their “social content postulate” of colliding values: “in particular, the meaning that people attach to competing values and the normative acceptability of trade-off reasoning” (Tetlock et al., 1996:35).

Granted, Tetlock’s model may mostly apply to the question of how to motivate people to be more cognitively integrative when confronted with value conflicts, and there appear to be clear benefits if all of us were better equipped in values clarification. Teaching people how to sort out and understand these “remarkable slippery social constructions” may be a contribution to any educational endeavor that seeks to develop humanities and liberal arts-type programs aimed at enhancing critical thinking toward greater cognitive complexity.

1.3.4 Implications and Applications of Cultural Levels to Values Studies

Besides introducing the overall field of values studies, this chapter has sought to put forward some of the contentious issues and considerations that confront the scholar of any “core culture” domain such as “cultural values.” Besides illustrating some of the vastly different philosophical, conceptual, definitional, methodological, and preferred level approaches to “culture,” this chapter has sought to position culture in such a way that it can meaningfully be analyzed from the entry-point of values, and the coming chapters will show how and why this has been done and can be done.

There are other aspects of “culture” that will need to be clarified later in this dissertation, such as: (1) the other core-culture antecedents that can easily be confounded with values and their proposed interrelationships; (2) the various “processes of culture,” particularly as these are noted as “values shifts.” These include mindsets guided from traditionality to modernity to post-modernity, or from sacred/spiritual/absolute or conservative beliefs about “culture” to more liberal, secularized/materialized/relativistic expressions, Or they include the social contexting of culture

(where values and identity overlap, e.g., Hitlin, 2003, or affect self-construals, e.g., Harb & Smith, 2008), where factors influencing one's desires levels of personal engagement might be mitigated by social constraints that either encourage personal volition or curtail it with impositions (see Section 4.4.5.4).

But because each of these aspects of “culture” has generally been studied in conjunction with “cultural values,” they will be treated in depth in those relevant sections later in this dissertation. The “culture and values” terrain is indeed a complicated and treacherous one, so we will seek to steer clearly through it chapter by chapter. Its specific implications in the Chinese context will then be summarized and mapped out, toward the end of considering how relevant a comprehensive, multi-dimensional, integrated framework like that proposed by Schwartz (1992) is relevant or meaningful in varied cultural contexts in China, especially considering the dynamics of a society in rapid cultural change.

As this chapter has shown, even some of the early work by comparative scholars (e.g., Herder, Bastian) foresaw some of the issues that have continued to be dominant on the values landscape. Social and cultural theory seems to go through waxing and waning phases of intellectual emphasis. Though each new generation of theory is deemed to be an improvement on the past, some themes appear to be recurring, and sometimes in our pomp to declare the old “outdated” and the new “progressive”, we may overlook some of the foundational perspectives that got us to this “new” state in the first place. Figure 1.14 illustrates a possible sequence of “knowledge claims” that this chapter has shown to be somewhat in operation over the years (specifically related to the concept of “culture”):

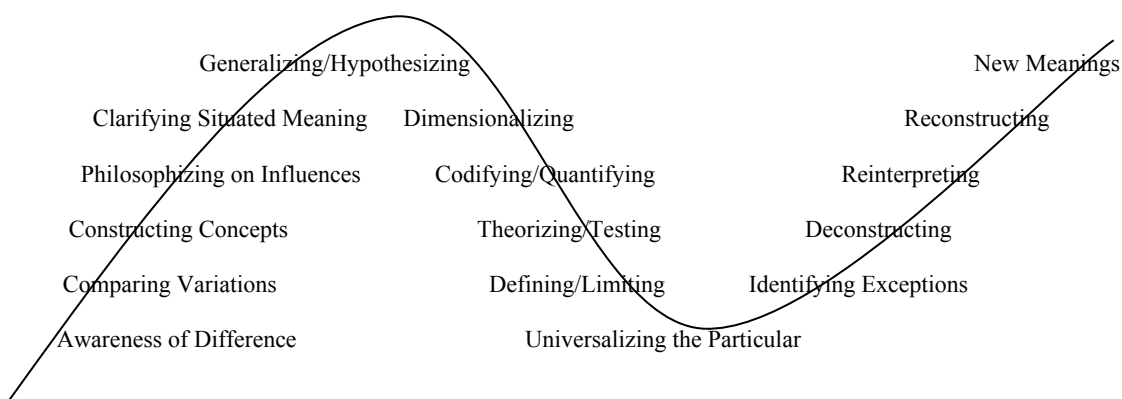


Figure 1.15. Proposed Sequential “Rise and Fall” of “Knowledge Claims” from a Post-Modern Perspective

This wave line could be extended through various peaks and valleys depending on the length of history of an idea or line of research. Each of these sequential developments or deconstructions appear to be filtered through some new prevailing or politically correct mentality/presupposition

that urges “new scholarship” and divergent or “more enlightened” perspectives to promote even more new scholarship. However, some of the foregrounding ideas may end up being neglected or falsely associated with the last prevailing paradigm. For example, once Social Darwinism and Structuralism became entrenched, later scholars appear to assume that all previous theorizing was imbued with such ideas. Similarly, post-World War II conceptions of fascist excesses under the banner of “nationalism” have colored and blurred the very different original conceptualizations that von Herder had advocated.

I included the lengthy discussion on Herder and Bastian above to show how “historical” memory and academic advancements may not always serve us faithfully, and that there are sometimes helpful formulations of concepts embedded in past work that might very well serve developments in the future. But in our academic (also potentially an imbedded, self-serving system and structure) quest for the liberal, progressive flow of ideas, even the post-modernism position may actually end up being as, or more, “progressive” than the modernist position that it purportedly seeks to criticize or correct.

Conversely, through such a lens, Hofstede’s claim as having established, in a Kuhnian sense, a “new paradigm,” may in fact have only quantified the previous paradigm. Yes, his incredibly large data base and multi-national representation set a new benchmark in global empirical studies, but many scholars would not consider it a paradigm shift at all, but rather a statistical methodological shift. As will be shown in the next chapter, the constructs he is often given credit for were, by his own admission, actually posited much earlier by various scholars. And postmodern scholars, in their efforts to deconstruct some of these grand theories, may in fact only be returning to some of the previous postulations of earlier scholars (though that earlier work may have indeed been more broadly descriptive due to the limits of their times and data).

Thus it is a stated goal of this dissertation, insofar as possible, to not overlook some of the historical and conceptual foundations of the field, both in the West and East, and to evaluate these sequences of thought and scholarship, where possible unify consistent or complementary themes, and then broaden current theorizing by linking etic and emic scholarship. This is proposed to be done with a Chinese (re-)assessment and attempted mixed method integration of diverse data with the circumflex theory of Schwartz, in order to put forward propositions to continue both the conversation and diversified research agenda.

1.4 Overview of the Dissertation

To accomplish the stated aims and to help provide the reader with an overview of the general structure of the dissertation, a brief sectional outline is provided here (with the corresponding Research Goal [RG] mentioned earlier in Sec. 1.3 and listed accordingly).

Section One focuses on the Western Values Studies Tradition: Concepts and Foundations:

Chapter 1 has introduced the topic and provided a context for understanding some of the dynamics of culture that affect core culture studies;

Chapter 2 begins to highlight the integrated history of values studies in various disciplines (RG1), but because of the abundantly complex content of each, it first addresses the more classical fields of sociology, philosophy, and cultural anthropology;

Chapter 3 continues with the more theoretical underpinnings of psychology and applications in political science or other related disciplines before summing up how these have shaped the specific focus of values studies in intercultural communication.

Chapter 4 addresses the issues and confounding complexities in the study of values, discussing both:

- A. Critiques and guidelines for analyzing the salience and limits of values as a culturally explanatory factor (RG2),
- B. Areas where values combine with other social-psychological factors to bring more clarity to the state of research regarding the interdependence and/or specific influences of values (RG3).

Section Two: Chinese Values Studies: In Comparison, Indigenization or Modernization

Chapter 5 provides a seminal integrated history of attempts to describe “the Chinese”

- A. Western Historical Attempts to Identify Chinese Values (RG4)
- B. Chinese Descriptions in Comparison (RG 5)

Chapter 6 then focuses specifically on the current state of values studies research in the Chinese context where this dissertation is being produced (RG 6):

- C. Mainland Studies of Chinese Values: Indigenous Emics, Traditionality, and Shifts

Because of the extensive coverage undertaken to incorporate past work on values, these six chapters are compiled together as Volume 1 with the sub-title: The Historical, Disciplinary, & Conceptual Landscape of Value Studies. Volume 2 contains the next six chapters of original data research in this study and is sub-titled: Mixed-Method Approaches and Analysis of Chinese Values. It is also comprised of two main sections.

Section Three: Considering Etic and Emic Approaches to the study of Chinese Values:

Chapter 7 begins to address the methodological issues involved in adapting etic study frameworks to emic situations, and primarily introduces:

Methodological Considerations (RG7) -ways in which established social science etics can be applied and modified by careful emic grounding

Classroom Values Clarification as a context for eliciting indigenous (emic) data

The Schwartz Value Study (SVS) as a basis for integrated research

Section Four: Integrating Approaches – Findings from Emic-to-Etic Surveys

Chapter 8 begins data-driven work to test the theoretical proposals, specifically first from a “language and culture” approach:

Exploratory Pilot Study 1, 2, 3 – qualitative approaches (emic constructed value item lists, descriptions, and values identified in self-reported proverbs and sayings compared with two different instruments)

Chapter 9 extends this process to various quantitative approaches in attempts to integrate data from Chinese contexts into the Schwartz framework. It primarily reports on:

Exploratory Study 4, the Pilot or Baseline study from which the quasi- quantitative approaches (emic into etic statistical and multi-dimensional mapping approaches) were developed. Starting with the cultural level, this chapter seeks to develop standard procedures that can be applied to the later studies.

Chapter 10 then applies these methods to describe, compare, contrast, and report the findings on:

Exploratory Study 5, the quantitative conversion and MDS mapping of 4 cross-sectional cultural level samples from 1995-97 up to 2009, and

Exploratory Studies 6 and 7 – integrative quantitative approaches (moving toward emic-in-etic design, seeking to test and expand the Schwartz framework for cultural relevance in China), including individual-level findings across 4 cross-sectional samples from 2000-2009, and then comparing these to the culture-level results to identify common trends and unique insights.

Chapter 11 then discusses limitations, evaluates the methods used, and presents Study 8 as an attempt to address these by comparing listing, rating, and ranking approaches, as well as comparing “goodness of fit” statistics and sub-matrix mapping. These provide a basis for integrating the “Main Findings” at the item, domain and dimension level.

Chapter 12 then presents “Conclusions and Proposals for Further Study,” suggesting ways in which the integrated model of Schwartz can be more reliably applied in China. It reviews and integrates the work of scholars discussed in the earlier chapters and puts forward proposals for a more historically-, contextually-, theoretically-, and meaning-based values study research process.

1.5 Awareness of Limitations

It is true that no production of knowledge in the human sciences can ever ignore or disclaim its author's involvement as a human subject in his own circumstances...that he comes up against the Orient as a European or American first, as an individual second.

Literary Theorist / Cultural Critic Edward Said (1978:11)

In my now 30 years of living and working in Asia, of observing, befriending, and studying those who call themselves “Chinese”, it has been a personal and ongoing goal to lay ethnocentric, Western/Eurocentric, White/WASP Mainstream Americanized social science biases and persuasions aside. Even then, I may still be subjective and unable to “disclaim the main circumstances of my actuality” as Said argues. My formative years among Chinese now significantly exceed those in my home context, and my tutors and mentors have been many. Yet, as an admitted product of my hybrid contexts, experiences, and limitations, I take responsibility for the inadequacies that this analysis and the project of research that it reports.

Though personal values awareness, educational values clarification, and their study as an academic subject may have parallel histories, it has admittedly historically arisen out of Euro-American developments in various social science disciplines. Thus, in order to move meaningfully forward to new perspectives, it is deemed best to start our discussion with a review of the way the mainline field began.

The next chapter first outlines the core conceptions of the value concept and reviews the contribution of seminal literature reviews. It then considers the historical and philosophical “geography” of Western values studies in two chapters, starting first with the more classic fields of sociology, philosophy, and cultural anthropology. Continuing in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, other approaches and issues that arise in international applications or intercultural approaches will be reviewed, before moving on toward indigenous Chinese perspectives in Chapters 5 and 6 that increasingly guide values research in this context. Such a disciplinary and critical overview has so far been generally lacking in the extensive values literature. It is the position of this project that to better inform future research, much can be ferreted out from the long and storied history of values studies.

Chapter 2: THE HISTORY OF WESTERN VALUES STUDIES, PART 1: SOCIOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Problems of values appear in all fields of the social sciences, and value elements are potentially important as variables to be analyzed in all major areas of investigation.

Raymond Williams (1968:286)

In one guise or another, values play a leading role in nearly explanatory behavioral theory.... Despite their undeniable theoretical centrality, values are perhaps the greatest black box in all of behavioral science.... Few concepts are bandied about more liberally in popular, normative, and explanatory scholarly discourse than that of values.... Despite this, calls for renewed attention to values have been gaining momentum in all of the social and behavioral science disciplines.

Michael Hechter (1993: ix, 1)

2.1 Introduction: The Disciplinary Contexts of Values Studies

This chapter introduces the academic study of values as it has developed in Western societies (the academically well-trodden terrain of values studies). As was suggested in the previous chapter, the European and then American awareness of culture as a determinant or product of human variation that began in historical, ethnographic, and sociological studies set the course for what became the mainstream of early cultural anthropology. This chapter documents some of the significant markers of these developments. Chapter 3 then continues this historical literary review to show how the culture focus was taken up by social psychology and other disciplines. There is a logical and purposeful split in this treatment, first because sociology, philosophy, and anthropology provided most of the early conceptualizations. Publications in these “classic humanities” fields also generally came earlier than the empirical work they inspired in psychology, political science, or other areas of social science. Thus it was deemed helpful both for the developmental presentation and readability to divide these two important strands into two complimentary chapters.

It should be noted that most reviews of values give only cursory attention (if at all) to many of the works discussed in this chapter, as if the old terrain is out-dated, over-worn, or of little use for ongoing conceptualization. However, it is my conclusion that some of the “new” work may benefit from more richly incorporating some of these past perspectives – there are some important rediscoveries to be made. Further, presenting this in progression helps confirm the author’s

position that the disciplinary development trajectory (illustrated in Figure 1.15) sometimes pushes academic inquiry toward narrowing our scope to the more finite aspects of theory building or new paradigm building, both good and important processes, but not if they cause us to lose, or at least overlook, some important strands that may better explain, broaden or more inclusively integrate new work. As anthropologist Fredrik Barth wisely summarizes in his chapter entitled “Are Values Real?”:

It is hardly that questions asked a generation ago have been answered. But sometimes in science, once-central concepts simply fade away as a new perspective emerges; or a paradigm may contain a key conceptual primitive that itself is left unanalyzed; or concepts that are considered unfashionable—but are necessary to grasp the object of study—are discretely introduced into the discipline’s descriptive prose without receiving due recognition in the theoretical framework. (Barth, 1993:31)

Thus, beyond philosophical approaches to axiology (the branch of knowledge dealing with values embedded in diverse fields), this chapter seeks to consider the multidisciplinary roots of varied “values study” approaches to glean and gather insights that may better inform the ongoing cross-cultural application of value studies. In the early development of this dissertation, I primarily planned on providing an integrated chronological coverage of the significant values studies, so that the reader could note what came before and how that influenced later studies. But the unfolding complexity of the field made it clear that chronology alone was not enough. There are also a wide range of divergent conceptions and approaches to values, and it increasingly became clear that disciplinary assumptions, and even intra-disciplinary research distinctions and trends, were part of this differentiation, so a decision was made to track both the disciplinary linkage of certain lines of research as well as the chronological development within, and where appropriate, across fields.

Overall, this chapter and the next seek to address the first research goal (RG1) presented in the introduction (see Sec. 1.3) in providing a critical and integrated history of values studies in the various disciplines from which this field developed in Western contexts (from primarily English language literature). This chapter is intended to lay the groundwork for the more critical discussion on important issues in values studies (still primarily from the Western tradition) put forward in Chapter 4 before investigating Chinese culture approaches to the study of values (Chapters 5 and 6). Then methodological issues related to this research project can be meaningfully discussed in Chapter 7 and applied in the later chapters (Chapters 8-10). Therefore we begin with an examination of the scope and potential latent content of the values concept.

2.2 Multiple Domains of the Values Concept

Since empirical research on values has been conducted by people who “differ widely in disciplinary origin, in substantive theoretical interests and modes of investigation” (Inkeles & Levinson, 1969:435), it is not surprising to find that the term “values” has been used with many different connotations. (Zavalloni, 1980:74)

The history of the study of values is a long and complicated one, partially due to the great diversity of conceptions and definitions, and even shifts in the meaning of the concept of values (which Kolb, 1957 documents and Spates, 1983 summarizes). Whether the concept arises from the conceptions mentioned before of a “social mind” (Giddings, 1898:20), early definitions of “mores” (Sumner, 1906:59) or “the mind” that was to be studied in primitive cultures (Boas, 1911), Boas’ student Ruth Benedict was one of the first to argue that a culture could only be understood by systematic study “of the motives and emotions and values that are institutionalized in that culture” (Benedict, 1934:49; in Spates, 1983:29).

2.2.1 Definitional Aspects of Value(s)

Early theorizing on values (e.g., by philosopher Ralph Barton Perry, 1926, and German psychologist Eduard Spranger, 1921/1928) suggested that a value is any object of interest, and that men’s personal preferences are reflected in varied values attitude types³³. Other philosophers posited that value and/or values comprise several aspects. They may be intrinsic or extrinsic, that is, either an end in itself or a means to an end. Intrinsic examples include ethical or moral orientations (our determination of goodness, right/wrong, justice) and aesthetic preferences (desires for beauty), whereas extrinsic values would include tangible or monetary value (the exchange of labor for capital, economics). Further:

The value concept has been employed in two distinctively different ways in human discourse. We will often say that a person “has a value” but also that an object “has a value.” These two usages have been explicitly recognized by writers from various disciplines, such as Charles Morris in philosophy (1956), Brewster Smith in psychology (1969), and Robin Williams in sociology (1968). Thus, at the outset we must make a decision whether a systematic study of values will turn out to be more fruitful if it focuses on (1) the values that people are said to have, or on (2) the values that objects are said to have. (Rokeach, 1973:4)

³³ According to Spranger (1914/1921/1928), there are six such areas, which then became the basis for the Allport and Vernon Study of Values (1931).

He then goes on to categorize the two main schools and their leading scholars and publications, a list well-worth consulting. This dissertation will primarily take the position of values as the criteria, or standards that people hold (in keeping with Rokeach, 1973 and Williams, 1968).

A second set of paradoxical elements encapsulated in values is they represent both that which is desired (objects, acts, qualities to which are given value) and desirable (the preferences, attitudes, or ideals accompanying those), and of “valued” aspects which can be both means and ends (which Rokeach, 1973, later termed “instrumental values” and “terminal values”). Raymond Firth (a student of Malinkowski’s economic anthropology), clarified this duality:

To speak of values implies recognition of preference qualities of relationships between means and ends in social contexts. Values involve a grading of things and actions in terms of their relative desirability...those that are socially sanctioned and simultaneously serve the best interests of both the individual and society, integrating the preferences arising from “ought” as well as “want”. (Firth, 1953/1964:221 cited in Barth, 1993:33)

Clyde Kluckhohn sought to sum up the values literature available in his time and produce an integrated definition, which succeeded in becoming (and is still) the most cited conceptualization of values (as noted in the opening page of Chapter 1):

A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable with influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action. (Kluckhohn, 1951:395)

He further notes, “It should be emphasized, here, however, that affective (“desirable”), cognitive (“conception”), and conative (“selection”) elements are all considered essential to this notion of value.

In Kluckhohn’s seminal postulations on the efficacy of the values concept, he sought to incorporate both an emphasis on the complexity of domains and levels, and what Barth (1993:33) considers “a troubling double focus on the presumed requirements of both individuals and group – what is often referred to in the literature on values by dichotomizing the desired and the desirable.” Among several of the notable and quotable descriptions of values, Kluckhohn posited:

Values define the limits of permissible cost of impulse satisfaction in accord with the whole array of hierarchical, enduring goals of the personality, the requirements of both personality and sociocultural system for order, the need for respecting the interests of others and of the

group as a whole in social living. The focus of codes or standards is on the integration of a total action system, whether personal or sociocultural. (Kluckhohn, 1951:399)

Building on that line of research, the sociologist Robin Williams, added his clarification:

We start with the observation that all continuing human grouping develop normative orientations – conceptions of preferred and obligatory conduct and of desirable and undesirable states of affairs. Such normative orientations are highly diverse across different societies, and are concretely very complex. Essentially, however, the most important types of normative elements are norms (specific obligatory demands, claims, expectation and rules) and values (the criteria of desirability). (Williams, 1979:15)

Rokeach (1973) in particular adopted these conventions in clarifying his definitions of beliefs, norms and values in order to make “values” an identifiable element for systematic research.

But Kluckhohn’s (and later Williams’, Rokeach’s, and many other’s) avowedly Parsonian conception of values as (1) motivators to action, as (2) equivalent indicators of a social structure or cultural system, and as (3) predictors of behavior, or even as (4) operational in behavior, has been rejected by many anti-universals, situated-action, and context-oriented scholars (e.g., Barth, 1993; Kessing, 1974, 1982, 1987). The behaviorist B. F. Skinner vigorously denied that men possess values, but rather that there exists “the reinforcing effects of things,” or behavioral operant reinforcements (1971:104). Since the work of Clifford Geertz (1973), anthropologists have shifted increasingly away from values toward the meaning of symbols and action in situated settings.

This dissertation generally acknowledges both, but upholds the view that values are what people in cultural contexts are said to have or hold (the person and preference side of values) in line with the long tradition that Rokeach framed and inspired (Allport, Vernon & Lindzey, 1960, Kluckhohn, 1951, Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961, Maslow, 1959, 1964). Cross-cultural psychologists like Geert Hofstede and Shalom Schwartz both cite and build on a conception of values as being writ large in national cultures. I can agree with this at some levels of abstraction, as mentioned in Chapter 1, though I will argue that more personal and contextually near levels of culture may provide more meaningful insights into values.

Schwartz, in summarizing his integrated universal structure of values (uniquely framed at both the individual *and* cultural levels), which has now been tested across more than 70 cultures, notes:

I view culture as the rich complex of meanings, beliefs, practices, symbols, norms, and values prevalent among people in a society. The prevailing value emphases in a society may

be the most central feature of culture.... These...express shared conceptions of what is good and desirable in the culture, the cultural ideals. Cultural value emphases shape and justify individual and group beliefs, actions, and goals. Institutional arrangements and policies, norms, and everyday practices express underlying cultural value emphases in societies. (Schwartz, 2006:34, 35)

But many of those who were once considered “cultural” anthropologists now debunk such an influential conception of culture as well as such overarching values and, countering structure, argue for “agency.” An important proponent for this symbolic, meaning-oriented view of culture is Ann Swidler, who posits that:

Culture consists of such symbolic vehicles of meaning, including beliefs, ritual practices, art forms, and ceremonies, as well as informal cultural practices such as language, gossip, stories, and rituals of daily life.... Culture's causal significance [is] not in defining ends of action, but in providing components that are used to construct strategies of action. (Swidler, 1986:273)

In her more recent book, she continues her dialogue with the classical and contemporary culture literature, and questions: “what aspects of a particular cultural schema make it dominating, pervasive, and enduring” (Swidler, 2001:213) and where and how can culture be said to be “causal?” Her view is that culture is largely taken for granted and immersed in experience, thus it is largely invisible and is difficult to study (2001:19). Yet, because culture “provides people the tools they need to interact with confidence with the world that surrounds them, it is a crucial, if misunderstood, piece of the sociological puzzle (Lamont, 2004). Her approach is thus guided by an “identity model of culture” (cf. Hitlin, 2003; Zavalloni, 1980; Zhang & Kulich, 2008; this dissertation section 4.4.5.4), where culture is “causally significant” (Swidler, 2001:105) not because it consists of enduring values but because people adopt strategies of action for which they are practically equipped. “Culture facilitates, but does not determine, action by making some patterns of action more ‘enactable’ than others” (cited in Lamont, 2004:1202).

Adam Kuper (1999) argues that one’s background, context, and resulting intellectual persuasions are likely some of the strongest determinants in one’s view of culture (1999:xi) and values (1999:57, 58). Is not the current culture and values debate also likely a “context-situated” one? So while some scholars may argue that it is more “enlightened” or post-modern to distance oneself from those now meaning-laden (historically burdened?) meta-conceptions, we must remember that such a paradigm may only make sense in the post-industrial relativistic, Maslowian, individuated-meaning age that Western citizens enjoy.

Might we have to admit that more interdependent, socially-, or nationally-linked modernizing citizens of other societies may still hold to “myths” of shared cultural values? Post-modern anthropologists might be just as guilty of wielding the intellectual tools of inquiry developed in a society at one stage of development and misapplying those to a society that perceives them quite differently (or is mostly unable to perceive them at all). It will be worth evaluating whether the tools of the previous scholarly generation are actually more relevant to the current personal and social stages of development of a society like where segments of China may be situated now.

Thus, we see that “values” like its parent term “culture” has become a hotly contested concept, falling into similar epistemological and paradigmatic battles. Before examining how this conflicting terrain developed and where it now stands in relation to the present study, we next briefly consider the potential scope of the concept. Exactly what types of human values might there be (raising again the question Schwartz and associates set out to empirically determine)?

2.2.2 Categorical Types or Domains of Values

Reading the voluminous, and often vague and diffuse, literature on the subject in the various fields of learning, one finds values considered as attitudes, motivations, objects, measureable quantities, substantive areas of behavior, affect-laden customs or traditions, and relationships such as those between individuals, groups, objects, events. (Kluckhohn, 1951:390)

Richard Kilby, in his more pedagogically oriented *The Study of Human Values* (1993), suggests there are at least 29 related types that can be included as values domains (see Table 2.1). He argues that, “the number of types of values that we list depends upon the definitions of human values that we employ (1993:1).

Not all who look at this list will consider these areas to be mutually exclusive (and perhaps they need not be so), but such a categorization scheme nevertheless helps us at the outset consider the complexity and multi-layered domains of the topic under study. In commenting on his categorical types, Kilby notes,

...the special merit of a listing of this sort is that it may give one a concrete conception of the nature of human values and of the many different forms that they take, for otherwise the subject is so vague and contradictory that one may come away thoroughly confused. (Kilby, 1993:3)

He also notes that most people may only know of a few specific values, and may benefit from learning more about their broader extent.

Table 2.1. Kilby's Suggested Value Types

Moral Values and Conscience (e.g., Maccoby, 1980)	Political-economic Structuring Values	Motive-derived Values
Valuing Other's Personalities (behaviors/traits of others, e.g., Allport & Odbert, 1936)	Values Concerning Man's Relation to Nature	Temperament-dictated Values
Ideal Self Values	Valued/Esteemed Persons	Retrospective Valuations
Interpersonal (Social/Relationship) Values	Valued Total Patterns of Life (Worldviews, e.g., Morris)	Values Relating to Death
Marital Values	Standards of Judgment	Valued Material Objects
Gender (Sex-role) Values	Political-economic Structuring Values	Limited-domain Values (including institutional)
Child Rearing Values (e.g., Harris, 1987)	Valued Sensory-perceptual Experience	Social-class/Sub-cultural Values
Goals of Life/Ways to Live (desired end states)	Aesthetic Values (artistic beauty/music values)	Society-wide Valued Activities
Work Values (realized in one's occupation, e.g., Harris, 1987)	Valued Activities/Involvements that Give Meaning to Life	Universal Values? (e.g., Kluckhohn)
Occupational Values (assigned to job types)	Deeply Personal and Interpersonal (Growth) Values	

Source: Constructed from headings in Kilby (1993:3-29)

This is indeed an important aspect of classroom values clarification exercises – opening course participants' minds to the broad diversity and wide domains of values so that they can begin to sort out their own (which will be discussed in Chapter 7). But before we discuss specific applications of values lists (in Chapter 8), it is worthwhile to document the cluttered terrain of what scholars from various disciplines have determined to be the actual content of such domains or dimensions that can be generalized across (some) cultures. In the next section, we begin mapping out the historical development of values studies, starting with highly cited conceptual or literature reviews.

2.2.3 Related Disciplines Producing Values Study Reviews

The study of values is central to and involves the intersection of interests of philosophers, anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists. Values are presumed to encapsulate the aspirations of individuals and societies: They pertain to what is desirable, to deeply engrained standards that determine future directions and justify past actions. Values have been postulated as key constructs in the socialization process, and have found their way into cultural, religious, political, educational, occupational, and family research.

(Braithwaite & Scott, 1991:661)

Investigations into values have served a formative role in the development of several disciplines. Levitin (1968/1973) declared “The empirical investigation of values remains an isolated area within the field of social psychology, although it is usually assumed important in this field. In the related disciplines of anthropology, sociology, and philosophy, it has received considerable attention” (Levitin, 1973:489). Since that early review, values studies have become less isolated and more applied, especially in disciplines like communication studies or intercultural communication.

In spite of widespread acceptance of the relevance of values to human activity at both the individual and social levels of analysis, developments in the field have been hampered by problems of definition and doubts about the empirical viability of the construct. Concern about theoretical fragmentation and conceptual diversity was a major theme in Levitin’s (1968) review. Smith (1969) concurred that the empirical study of values had “started from different preconceptions and...altogether failed to link together and yield a domain of cumulative knowledge (p. 98).” (Braithwaite & Scott: 1991:661)

And they suggest that Rokeach fundamentally helped change that situation in the decades following (the 1970s and 1980s).

2.2.3.1 Mapping Seminal Literature Reviews in Various Disciplines

Since values represent a meeting point between the individual and society, values research is potentially well suited to explore cross-cultural variations within an interdisciplinary framework, by articulating the goals of [philosophy], cultural anthropology, sociology, and psychology.

(Zavalloni, 1980:74)

Over the years there have been a number of reviews on the developing state of values studies. Among the earliest were Cantril and Allport (1933), Duffy (1944), and Dukes (1955). These three

early reviews all noted the dominance of the Allport-Vernon Study of Values (1931) as the most popular scale of that time. This scale was updated several times, notably with Lindzey (Allport, Vernon, & Lindzey, 1951, 1960) and used extensively until the work of Rokeach (1967, 1968, 1973) superseded it.

Robinson and Shaver document the parallel development of many other scales (1973:489-496) noting that only a few of these enjoyed wider use: “most of these instruments conceived of values as personal goals or interests rather than as moral imperatives. “Perhaps all were influenced directly or indirectly by Spranger’s contention that there were ‘various types of men’ who could be identified by their dominant interests” (Robinson & Shaver, 1973:490; cf., Spranger, 1914/1921/1928). They also concur with the purpose of this chapter, noting that, “though these early efforts at scale construction have been largely ignored, the theory and techniques evolved during their development may still be of interest...”.

Thus, at the outset of this study, we seek to first harvest the historical record of values studies through seminal or diverse disciplinary reviews, then will discuss the specific development of these strands in their respective fields of study. Table 2.2 was constructed to provide an overview of the main summaries that have been generated on the enterprise of “values studies.”

We note that sociologists carried out their own review of work on values at well-spaced out intervals, the earliest by Adler (1956) and almost concurrently, Kolb (1957), then notably by Spates (1983) and more recently by Hitlin and Piliavin (2004). Though sociology has also moved toward more context-oriented concerns, that latest review and corresponding comments by Hechter (2000) urge the continued consideration of values, and this trend is seen with several scholars, especially in relation to the sociological study of identity (cf. Hitlin, 2003; Kohn, 2006), social class, parental relationships, and personality (e.g., Hitlin, 2006; Kohn, Li, Wang, & Yue, 2007), and moral development (e.g. Hitlin, 2007), which will be discussed more in later chapters.

Table 2.2. Foundational Literature and Conceptual Reviews of Values Studies

Year	Philosophy	Cultural Anthropology	Sociology	Psychology	Academic Focus
1933				Cantril, H., & Allport, G.	Empirical Applications
1926	Perry, R. B.				Conceptual Outline
1944				Duffey, E.	Empirical Applications
1949	Lepley, R.				Conceptual
1951		Kluckhohn, C.			Definition/Classification
1955				Dukes, W. F.	Comparative/Evaluative
1956	Morris, C. W.				Conceptual/Empirical
1956			Adler, F.		Conceptual
1957			Kolb, W. L.		Conceptual/Theoretical
1958	Pepper, W. C.				Conceptual/Theoretical
1965		Firth, R.			Conceptual/Critical
1969				Smith, M. B.	Empirical Review
1968			Williams, R. M., Jr.		Conceptual Review
1973				Levitin, T.	Empirical Applications
1979			Williams, R. M., Jr.		System Change/ Stability, Evaluative
1980				Zavalloni, M.	Overview & Empirical
1983			Spates, J. L.		Critical/Conceptual
1991				Braithwaite, V., & Scott, W.	Empirical Applications
1993			Hechter, M.		Overview/Theoretical/ Behavioral
1993		Barth, F.			Critical/Naturalism/ Contextual
1997				Smith, P. & Schwartz, S.	Cross-cultural Empirical Applications
2001				Oyserman, D.	Cultural Theory/ Empirical
2004			Hitlin, S., & Piliavin, J.		Conceptual/Theoretical

Note: These represent the specific sources located and consulted for this study.

2.2.3.2 Mapping Influential Works from Culture-oriented Psychology

The handful of major attempts to study values empirically have started from different preconceptions and have altogether failed to link together and yield a domain of cumulative knowledge. (M. B. Smith, 1969:98)

Levitin mostly agrees with Smith's assessment of that time, that "During the two or three decades in which these early attempts were made to characterize human values, anthropologists and sociologists for the most part (rather than psychologists) have made the major contributions to the conceptualization of values. Anthropologists have examined culture patterns and life styles; sociologists have studied ideologies and mores, while psychologists have tended to focus on more narrowly circumscribed constructs such as attitudes, motives, valences, and cathexes" (Levitin, 1973:490). The explanation for this is that values judgments at that time were considered to be "outside the boundaries of an empirical discipline, and furthermore, "because values were based on irrational or inexpressible feelings there were not accessible to available psychometric techniques" as well as "their resistance to manipulation in laboratory experiments" (1973:491).

"The second major problem, once the psychological study of values is accepted as legitimate, is to find a fruitful conceptual or theoretical framework from which to initiate research" (1973:491). It is the position of this project that the careful work of Shalom Schwartz and his associates have finally developed and offered that long-awaited comprehensive framework. This met a glaring need that was unaddressed for decades (Hofstede's limited-context sample, empirical methods and binary dimensions did not meet with warm or significant welcome in sociological or anthropological circles). Levitin noted that, "the rubric 'values' included everything from utilities in decision theory (Becker & McClintock, 1967) to preferred 'ways of life' (Morris, 1956a)" (Levitin, 1973:491). More careful definition was, and is still, needed.

However, the situation now may not be as dire as M. Brewster Smith or Teresa E. Levitin noted at the cusp of the 1970s. Empirical approaches to values studies have boomed, especially in psychologically-oriented research. Several lines of potential integration of concepts and application have developed. Based on a review of these reviews and other works, I have written two historical and conceptual review essays (Kulich, 2009a, 2009b) to show the linkage of diverse strands of values research to communication studies theory and research developments. Below, some of the major works that have pushed the "values studies" paradigm forward are listed (see Table 2.3). Note that more than half of this work has been in the first decade of this the new century. The case for the current currency of values studies is even more persuasive when we note that this list only represents groundbreaking books, not including the large volume of scholarly

articles produced by Geert Hofstede, Peter Smith, Shalom Schwartz and their associates. From all indications, values research is alive and well!

In the discussion that follows, I will primarily focus on both the reviews and seminal works that have been most influential (and most referred to) in the later values studies literature. This outline is based in part on the updated overview from the later edition of Robinson and Shaver (Levitin's was in their 1968/1973 compendium) written by Valerie A. Braithwaite and William A. Scott (1991). Current values scholars themselves trace their work to a variety of influences. Hofstede cites the influence of Mary Douglas (1973a, 1973b) and more specifically of Alex Inkeles and Daniel Levinson (1954/1997). Other authors cite other underpinnings, each of which the following discussion will seek to acknowledge in order to better frame current developments.

Table 2.3. Landmark Studies Including Reviews on Values Concepts or Studies

Year	Scholar	Primary Discipline	Focus/Theme/Contribution
1954	Inkeles, A. & Levinson, D.	Sociology and Psychology	National Character Review Toward Dimensions
1959/70	Maslow, A.	Psychology	Developmental and Scientific Values
1968/73	Rokeach, M.	Psychology	Conceptual/Theoretical Categorization/Listing
1970	Handy, R.	Psychology	Values Measurement
1970	Bem, D. J.	Psychology	Conceptual on Beliefs
1980	Hofstede, G.	Cross-cultural Psychology	Introducing Values Dimensions
1993	Hechter, Nadel, & Michod	Sociology, Anthropology, and Economics	Reconsidering Domains and Relevance of Values Studies
1996	Seligman, Olson, & Zanna	Social Psychology	Highlighting Various Approaches to Values Research
2001	Hofstede, G.	Cross-cultural Psychology	Documenting Values Dimensions and Applications
2004	Vinken, H., Soeters, P., & Moller, P.	Social & Cross-cultural Psychology	Review of Major Values Studies and Dimensions
2006/7	Esmer, Y. & Petterson, T.	Social Anthropology & Social Psychology	Review of Major Values Studies and Issues
2007	Minkov, M.	Cross-cultural Psychology	Extending Values Dimensions

Schwartz has provided the most *a priori* theoretical approach to date (and the one this dissertation primarily focuses on in the later chapters) in integrating and extending the tradition of Rokeach and Hofstede with both careful, coordinated, empirical design, and a more-comprehensive theoretical framework. Understanding the landscape as it developed should help us better understand the ways in which this theory can develop further in specific cultural applications. The

study of values may be even more complex than Smith et al. (2006) suggest, for there are distinct philosophical, sociological, anthropological, psychological, and communications studies approaches to values that need consideration. Later in the next chapter (3), we will also briefly review other related disciplinary approaches, though they are largely beyond the scope of this dissertation.

2.3 Chronological Contributions to Values Studies Across Disciplines

The concept of values supplies a point of convergence for the various specialized social sciences, and is a key concept for integration with the study in humanities.

(Kluckhohn, 1951:389)

However, in spite of some promising starts toward interdisciplinarity, particularly the efforts of...[the] Kluckhohn[s]...this direction has been comparatively neglected; each field pursues values research from one point of view

(Zavalloni, 1980:74)

Having provided a general overview of the values concept and the disciplinary diversity that stimulated early thinking on values, this section now examines specific contributions that each discipline made to formulations of and approaches to values study. Many of these ideas can be traced back to postulations on culture by von Herder, Bastian, Tylor, Malinkowski, and the other early European ethnological anthropologists (discussed in Section 1.4.3). Though there are various streams of clarifying cultural values around the world, the Western tradition of cultural comparison has certainly set the agenda for most of the social sciences and is still at the core of most comparative work, whatever its contributions or drawbacks might be.

Some of this comparative awareness of culture difference predates the clear demarcations of disciplines and is impressionistic in nature. Some of the early works to influence the English speaking world were the historical analysis of Belgian/Dutch scholar Gustaaf Johannes Petrus Renier's *The English: Are they Human?* (1931/1956) and the comparative descriptive work by Spanish polyglot engineer/journalist/diplomat/scholar don Salvador de Madariage y Rojo, *The English, The Germans, and the French* (1929),³⁴ who later also wrote more on national characteristics (or what he called nation psychology) in *Portrait of Europe* (1967).

³⁴ These first two works are noted as informing George Taylor's interest in values comparisons (see Russo, 2000:ix) as he recruited Alexander Leighton and many prominent scholars (e.g. Ruth Benedict, Clyde and Florence Kluckhohn), for the war-time study of foreign cultures in the FMAD.

Comparing European nations was one area of great interest, as noted by a similar book by the Russian historical philologist, essentialist and educational philosopher, Michael John Demiashkevich (1938) *The National Mind: English, French, German*. But the contrastive awareness of “other” civilizations was also coming into the forefront, important examples being missionary Alfred Smith’s detailed descriptions of the Chinese in *Chinese Characteristics* (1894) and Ruth Benedict’s classic work on the Japanese (which will be discussed more below), *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946/1974). And we were even compelled to look at our own cultures through the eyes of others, such as French scholar Alexis de Tocqueville’s comparative analysis (*Democracy in America*, 1835/2000) and other cultural interpreters (like the “national character” scholars mentioned below).

Yet even in the so-called “Western tradition,” there is a very complex landscape and set of divergent emphases. Insofar as scholars influenced the emergence of the direct study of values, they will be highlighted here for their contribution³⁵. Though this chapter could be arranged several ways, in the conceptual scheme of things, it was largely the European sociologists who noted the influence of values on specific human conditions, and then the philosophers who set out to clarify those concepts, so these are the fields with which we will start.

2.4 Values Recognition in the Sociological Tradition

2.4.1 Early Sociological Representations of Core Cultural Elements

European scholars were some of the early observers of elements, which would later be attributed to values. “Classic sociologists” like Émile Durkheim (1893/1933) focused on social facts (not methodological individualism), noting differences of organic vs. mechanical solidarity between societies, suggesting that religion and morality could be explained through basic social interaction, and establishing quantitative, experimental methods for the development of sociology as a social science. Ferdinand Toennies (Tönnies, 1887/1957) distinguished between the emerging types of social groups, which he labeled *Gemeinschaft* (community) vs. *Gesellschaft* (society) relationships, theorized about social change, and developed new statistical approaches. Max Weber (1904/1976) noted “ideal types” across societies and the “spirit” (a prototype of values) that contributed to capital and development. Vilfredo Pareto (1916/1976) focused on the analysis of sociology and economics, linking individuals’ choices to income distribution, putting forward the first cycle theory on the nature of society, and pioneering methods for social-economic statistical

³⁵ An overlapping, but more general review of how some of these same strands of thinking or research influenced or were incorporated into cross-cultural psychology is provided by Otto Kleinberg (1980).

analysis. Coming at a time when Western European societies were embarking on paths of industrialization and modernization, these scholars launched new approaches to and inspired sustained interest in the examination of socio-cultural differences.

Other sociologists, such as Albion Small and George Vincent, touched on the idea of a populations' "common will" in *An Introduction to the Study of Society* (1894); William Sumner in *Folkways* (1906) discussed "ways of doing things" together with the "faiths, notions, codes, and standards of well living that inhere in these ways"; and Franklin Giddings, in *The Elements of Sociology* (1898), hinted at values as "generalized by people in concrete social settings for a host of purposes". In general, "values" were still at that time "unknown phenomena whose nature had to be ferreted out by careful *in situ* empirical analysis" (cited in Spates, 1983:29, 34-37). Interest in a conception like values was increasing, but was not yet isolated or clearly termed.

Daphna Oyserman (2001:16151) suggests that values were initially treated as vague constructions and were not de-subjectivized or considered useful in the social sciences until Thomas and Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1921). They provided the first sociological definition of a value as "any datum having an empirical content accessible to the members of some social group and a meaning with regard to which it is or may be an object of activity" (1921:21; Spates, 1983:29). The actual word "values" was not employed in most of the pre-1930 studies. It grew out of conceptions related to the sense of "ethics" or ideological "spirit" (Weber, 1904-5), the "social mind" (Giddings, 1898:20), the concept of "mores" (Sumner, 1906:59), of "the mind" of primitive cultures (Boas, 1911) (cf. Spates, 1986). Even in the post-1930's period it was intermixed with concepts like "unconscious cannons of choice" (Benedict, 1934), "cultural themes" (Opler, 1945), the unconscious system of meaning (Sapir, 1949), and "a world view" (Redfield, 1953; reemphasized and linked with "ethos" in Geertz, 1973).

Not until the definitive anthropological work of Clyde K. M. Kluckhohn (1951, 1954, and 1956, in which he considered it the central core of meaning) and of his wife, Florence R. Kluckhohn, and colleague, Fred Strodbeck (Kluckhohn & Strodbeck, 1961) did values *per se* become specific research focal points, and even then they were still treated as analytical concepts, representing an "abstraction" of the researcher, though C. Kluckhohn argued they reflected internalized patterns in individuals (Kluckhohn, 1954; cf., Zavalloni, 1980:78).

2.4.2 Theorizing and Empiricizing Value Patterns: Parsons and Kohn

2.4.2.1 Talcott Parsons' Pattern Variables 1951

The group led by Talcott Parsons drew inspiration from European scholars like Pareto, Durkheim, and Weber and worked to put forward his concept of functional structuralism suggesting that values were cultural ideas – “moral beliefs to which people appealed for the ultimate rationales of action” (Spates, 1983:28, 29). Parsons' and Shils' co-edited book, *Toward a General Theory of Action* (1951), had five chapters specifically addressing and advancing values study; a significant and highly cited one by Clyde Kluckhohn and another putting forward what became classically called as “Parson's pattern variables.” These furthered the conception of “values orientations” – systems of linked values in an actor's mind, which guided behavior in society. Hofstede documents this formulation as being instrumental to his early dimensionalizing (2006a), and it also strongly influenced Gudykunst and Kim (2003:85-87) and many other intercultural communication scholars.

Hofstede noted that this system of “multidimensional classification” offered by U.S. sociologists Parsons and Shils (1951:77) claimed that all human action is determined by five “pattern variables,” which they saw as choices between pairs of alternatives:

1. Affectivity (need gratification) versus affective neutrality (restraint of impulses)
2. Self-orientation versus collectivity-orientation.
3. Universalism (applying general standards) versus particularism (taking particular relationships into account)
4. Ascription (judging others by who they are) versus achievement (judging others by what they do)
5. Specificity (limiting relations to others to specific spheres) versus diffuseness (no prior limitations to nature of relations)

Parsons and Shils asserted that these choices are presented at the individual (personality) level, at the social system (group or organization) level, and at the cultural (normative) level. They did not take into account that different variables could operate at different levels. (Hofstede, 2001:30)

This assertion is interesting regarding the discussion on levels of cultural analysis in Chapter 1, for though Parsons and Shils also argued for analysis of at least three levels, most cross-cultural psychologists have only done so at the perhaps more convenient individual and cultural/national levels. Hofstede is one of the few who has proposed a separate set of values dimensions for

organizational analysis (his IRIC study, e.g., in Hofstede et al., 2010:353-360), though due to the limits of his sample, these have not been widely adopted.

These conceptions “were responsible for elevating value analysis to major status in sociology for a time” (Spates, 1983:28-31) and also shaped the influential Harvard Values Study Project begun in 1948. But as sociologist Spates notes in his critique: “Work on values rose to preeminence under Talcott Parsons and his associates during 1950-1965. Nevertheless, the theory they produced was flawed: It lacked sophisticated empirical support, imposed preordained categories on reality, and was formulated at an unresearchable level of abstraction” (1983:27). Though there has been a reaction against structuralism and for many years (from the 1960s to the 80s) sociologists did not give the values construct (or culture) much attention, these conceptualizations nevertheless had great influence in other fields, and found voice especially in the work of the Kluckhohns, and continue to appear imbedded in current day values research, whether that of Hofstede, Trompenaars, or Schwartz.

2.4.2.2 Melvin Kohn: The Influence of Social Class on Parenting Values

One of the few sociologists to keep the study of cultural values consistently in focus was Melvin Kohn and his associates (1959, 1969, 1990). But they did so by moving away from culture-at-large examinations to contextual factors that might differentiate sub-cultural expressions of values, especially as they impact mental health (see Kohn’s second edition, 1977). This was in part in keeping with the sociological agenda, as both Durkheim and Tönnies had focused some of their study on the causal factors of suicide. In a more advanced medical system, Kohn looked at earlier stages of mental disturbance, and at values learned at home as a possible influence. His specific focus started with studying parental and children’s values as expressed by social class. “Kohn’s survey was constructed of a series of initial interviews and pretests in which parents were asked to expound their own values for their children” (Spates, 1983:41). Out of this was developed the Kohn Parenting Values Survey (Kohn, 1977).

Kohn operationalizes values more broadly than others. He asks for a ranking of 13 characteristics applied to a hypothetical child the same age as the respondent’s own children. Kohn’s index taps into constructs similar to Schwartz’s values (“self-control,” “honest,” “trying hard to succeed”) as well as items more akin to personality descriptions (“neat and clean,” “good manners,” and the gendered “acting as a boy/girl should”). (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004:370)

In the author's evaluation, this reflects a common problem in many values studies designs – the lack of differentiating between those items that are actually desirable values statements, and those that are attitudes or related to personality.

Methodologically, “in Kohn's survey, parents were given a list of 13 qualities, and were asked to say which three they most wanted and which three qualities they least wanted to foster in their children” (Rohan & Zanna, 1996:263). In noting this, Rohan and Zanna feel compelled to add clarifying comments as to which values in the list serve “instrumental (means-end) goals and which serve expressive (relationship-related) goals” for their purpose in research. All this reflects another problem in early value list studies - which items are contextually preferred, and therefore do not provide a wide or universal range of values? Hitlin and Piliavin (2004:370) comment that “historically, the bulk of values research has revolved (implicitly or explicitly) around the value of self-direction.” Yet, Kohn and associates have produced a whole body of research that deals with self-direction as it relates to social class/stratification, occupations and occupational conditions.

The conclusion of much of their research is that measures of occupational self-direction (and success orientations) explain more the development of parental values than do educational measures (supported by Alwin, 1989). Given that the bulk of such research projects (or at least the instruments) have come out of the US, this general contextual bias comes as no surprise. As Griswold notes (2005:265), “sociology being sociology, class continues to be the *sine qua non* in cultural analysis. His overarching thesis is that one's or one's family's...

...position in the larger social structure affects (and is affected by) personality primarily because of the strong linkages of these conditions of life to individual personality [and values]. When one focuses on class and stratification, as I tend to do, these proximate conditions of life are necessarily mainly occupational, particularly (but not only) the occupational conditions that facilitate or impede the exercise of self-direction in work...

(italics his, Kohn, 2006:xiii-xiv)

But what has not been often reported is that Kohn not only set this benchmark paradigm, but he and his associates have increasingly addressed cross-cultural comparisons, with samples from Italy in his second study (Kohn & Pearlin, 1966; Kohn, 1977), then Japan and Poland (1990), more recent work from the Ukraine, and now China (Kohn 2006, Kohn et al., 2007). He further notes that it was assurances from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences on the translation and publication of several of his works in Chinese that caused him to link these studies as a sequence more clearly in his mind (2007:xvi). And the results of this cross-national work have been the identification of several distinct dimensions that much more clearly differentiate “orientations to

self and society” than the broad labels of individualism and collectivism. Using LISREL 8 his team “developed confirmatory factor-analytic measurement models for all these dimensions of orientation...and wherever possible...used the same set of items” for each study (Kohn, 2006:22). They are reported here because of the possible link for the etic work of Schwartz as well as emic Chinese studies.

Authoritarian conservatism. Conceptions of what is socially acceptable – at one extreme, rigid conformance to the dictates of authority and intolerance of nonconformity; at the other extreme, open-mindedness.

Personally responsible standards of morality. A continuum of moral positions from believing that morality consists of strict adherence to the letter of the law and keeping out of trouble, to defining and maintaining one’s own moral standards.

Trustfulness. The degree to which one believes that other people can be trusted.

Self-confidence. The positive component of self-esteem – the degree to which one has confidence in one’s own capacities.

Self-deprecation. The self-critical component of self-esteem – the degree to which one disparages oneself.

Anxiety. The intensity of consciously felt psychic discomfort.

Fatalism. The sense of being controlled by outside forces, or at the other extreme, of having some control over one’s fate.

Idea-conformity. The degree to which one believes that his ideas mirror those of the social entities to which he belongs. (Kohn, 2006:22 with specific items reported in his Table 1.5: 24-29)

Both the eight dimensions and 50 items are rich with possible meaning and application to values studies in societies in change (the underlying focus of his study: *Change and Stability*, 2006). And while some dimensions are more likely to be considered personality domains or psychological disposition (a conflation problem to be discussed in Chapter 4) rather than strictly values (e.g., we would not necessarily value anxiety or fatalism), some of these conceptualizations may provide important explanations toward the eventual integration of emic and etic studies attempted in this dissertation.

Spates (1983:43) praised what he considered to be careful contexting in these studies (reflecting perhaps a sociologist’s preference for localized description rather than cross-cultural universals from Kohn’s earlier work?) noting, “What makes the work of Kohn (1977:17-20) and Rokeach (1973:24-5) especially refreshing is that both investigators make at least partial efforts to ground their measures in data gathered from the populations studies.” This is indeed needed, but perhaps

not always from a US American context, as well as not to assume that such data is normative for other populations. In fact, this is one of the focal points of ongoing sociological work – to clearly steer away from the ‘normative’ and understand behavior in situated- and meaning-oriented interaction.

2.4.3 Summary on Sociological Contributions

Early twentieth-century sociology drew a clear line between culture and society, which was sometimes called structure. Both the Marxian and Durkheimian traditions regarded culture as a misleading translation of social fundamentals. Weber, and Talcott Parsons after him, placed more emphasis on culture's guiding capacities regardless of where it came from. Simmel saw the tragedy of modernity as involving culture's reduced ability to guide anyone, but they all saw a difference between culture and that which it reflected, guided, or obscured. Disciplinary boundaries seemed to reinforce this distinction.

(Griswold, 2005:255)

Wendy Griswold's assessment of this diffuse and segmented history is a helpful one. Though she maintains that a new boom regarding sociology's interest in culture began again in the mid-1980s, that attitude has been more ambivalent toward values. Whether the research falls into what she calls the “sociology of culture” school, whereby “culture was a dependent variable produced by and registering some social process or formation, or the “cultural sociology” camp, whereby “culture was an independent variable shaping socially significant outcomes” (Griswold, 2005:254), values are considered contrived, divisionary (i.e. Harrison & Huntington, 2000), populist (if not demagogic), simplistic dichotomies of *how and when* “culture matters” (Griswold, 2005:264). Yet, she urges, “Culture sociology needs to evaluate these claims or risk irrelevance...But acknowledging the possibility of some culture patterns, some systemic tendencies – for example, cultures where tolerance is a value, institutionally embedded, symbolically elaborated, and cultures where it is not—seems a step that is both appropriate, and at this point, inevitable” (2005:263, 264).

2.5 Values Conceptualizing in the Philosophical Tradition

As in many philosophical problems, so in the problem of value we have to cope first with a term of unsettled meaning...let us not assume any particular limitations on the meaning of the term. Let us not assume, for instance, that there is one common meaning or common character for all the objects denoted by the term...For if we make any such assumptions, we may define ourselves out of some of the most significant material in the field that our colleagues are studying...Let us admit it to be possible that value refers to a heterogeneous field and that perhaps some quite different thought connected experiences are equally named value. (Pepper, 1949:245)

2.5.1 Early Philosophical Perspectives: Values as Morality and Ethics

Among the personal, social, and philosophical pursuits of civilized human beings, clarifying one's identity (who am I? the relation and significance of self to others) and one's own or group's values (what is important to me individually? to us collectively?) have been among the central themes that men and women have wrestled with in their intellectual, social, and communicative development. The questions of right action, civic morality, and meaningful relational standards certainly figured prominently in the recorded writings of the early philosophers. Values played a central role in the classical thought and rhetoric of many traditions, whether that of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, or St. Augustine around the Mediterranean, or of Confucius, Mencius, Lao Tzu in China, or of the Brahman Vedas, the Upanishads, Lord Mahavira and the Jains, or Siddhartha Buddha in the Indian peninsula, or Zoroaster in Persia. Clarifying human behavior by elucidating the value of certain preferred character or moral traits is a common theme interwoven in the history of human development, a dialogue later continued by political or religious figures from Moses, to Jesus, to Muhammad, to Mahatma Gandhi, to Martin Luther King, Jr.

Though any discussion of values could delve into classical thought, the primary occupation of this dissertation is to consider how these have become the fulcrum for current comparative culture study. To explore that tradition, cursory mention of the great thinkers of the Enlightenment certainly served as an intellectual springboard. Interestingly enough, in relation to this project, many of them also developed their philosophical formulations with the Orient, and specifically China, as a reference. Some of these will be further discussed in Chapter 5 with specific reference to "Chinese values", but here a brief overview is provided.

Jonathan Spence notes that perceptions of China figured significantly into the positive humanistic interchange promoted by German polymath Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (Spence, 1998:82-88), Charles Louis de Secondat Montesquieu's global understanding of governing power in *The Spirit of the Laws* (1998:90-95), broadminded Francois-Marie Arouet Voltaire's *Candide* as well as in his *History of the Manners and Spirit of Nations* (1998:95-98), and the other German polymath/historian Johann Gottfried von Herder (1998:99-100, already discussed in Chapter 1, cf. Mackerras, 1999:33-36). These obviously had an influence on the dialectical philosophizing of Kant and Hegel. Though many of these perceptions (particularly of China) were idealized, moralized, or Orientalized (Mackerras, 1999:2-3), they still sowed the seedbed out of which interests in comparing cultures and integrating a cultural perspective arose in other emerging academic fields of study. The field of philosophy took both an empirical, scientific approach, as well as a descriptive, comparative one, as detailed below.

2.5.2 Values as Preferences/Interests – Perry and Spranger (1920s & 30s)

Ralph Barton Perry (1926, 1954) was one of the early modern philosophers to focus on values. Mainly considering the one-dimensional property of value, or what is called the “valence of values” he focused on the object side – the value that objects are said to have. In his work at Harvard promoting naturalism and “new realism”, he construed values as representing interests and preferences, and his work was complementary to the psychological work of Eduard Spranger (1914/1921/1928), which came out in English translation not longer after his own *General Theory of Value* (1926). A pupil of William James, he edited James' *Essays on Radical Empiricism* (1912) and also produced a Pulitzer Prize winning study of his mentor, *The Thought and Character of William James* (1935).

Perry (1926) argued that interest is "the original source and constant feature of all value" and defined interest as that which belongs to the motor-affective life of instinct, desire, and feeling. He was concerned with the problem of comparative value, noting that interests often conflict. He held that morality originates with the conflict of interests, and moral value consists in the most inclusive integration of interests - "harmonious happiness."

From these and other beginnings, the philosophic literature on values seems to have several streams. One stream would be the descriptive, historical school, in which “the value” of values is discussed as ideals from antiquity that can serve in the (re-)shaping of problems in the present or future. An early milestone in this tradition was initiated by John Dewey's challenge to reexamine fundamental issues of value. Thirteen eminent philosophers took up the challenge and their work and criticisms and rejoinders to each other were reported in Ray Lepley's *Value: A Cooperative*

Inquiry (1949). Besides Dewey's, and Lepley's oft-cited chapters there are essays by semiotic philosopher and social psychologist Charles Morris, and philosopher Stephen Pepper (both of whom produced important book on values, 1956b and 1958 respectively). Specifically, each of the writers responded to several key conceptualizations that Dewey had put forward:

In the present state of the subject of value, the decisive issue is methodological: From what standpoint shall the subject matter of valuings and evaluations be approached? What postulates shall determine selection and treatment of this subject matter?... the field in which value-facts belong is behavioral, so that the facts must be treated in and by methods appropriate to behavioral subject matter. (Dewey, 1949:64)

2.5.3 Values in Philosophical Theorizing – from Dewey to the CVRP

2.5.3.1 Dewey's, Pepper's, Lepley's Theoretical Clarifications, 1940s & 50s

Another methodological conclusion...is that there is no peculiar class of things (much less of "entities") to which value-qualifications can or should be attributed. The previous pint indicate that "value" is an adjectival word, naming that which is a trait, property, qualification of some thing – in the broad sense of thing mentioned. It is like, say, the words, good, fine, excellent. What is now added is, in effect, that when value is used to designate any special class or category of things, it is used as an abstract noun. (Dewey, 1949:66)

The questions these philosophers were seeking to ask then were issues like the following:

1. What connection is there, if any, between an attitude that will be called prizing or holding dear and desiring, liking, interest, enjoying, etc.?
2. Irrespective of which above-named attitudes is taken to be primary, is by itself a sufficient condition for the existence of values? Or while it is a necessary condition, is a further condition, of the nature of *valuation* or *appraisal*, required?
3. Is there anything in the nature of appraisal, evaluation, as judgment or/and proposition, that marks them off, with respect to their logical or their scientific status, from other propositions or judgments?
4. Is the scientific method on inquiry, in its broad sense, applicable in determination of judgments and/or propositions in the way of valuations or appraisals? Or is there something inherent in the nature of values as subject-matter that precludes the application of such method? (Lepley, 1949:5)

The response of the discussants is enlightening. Concerning Dewey, Charles Morris noted his "lifelong concern with the field of value is one of the major influences which has brought us today to the frontier of a scientific axiology. His work has helped to remove the terminological and

methodological barriers which have frustrated scientific work in this field” (Morris, 1949:211). In line with Perry, he also concurred that “...axiologists take as their task the study of *preferential* behavior, that is, what Dewey has called caring-for behavior or selection-rejection behavior” (Morris, 1949:211).

Charles Pepper responded both with attempts at definition of values (and sought to be conceptually inclusive where possible as the lead quote in this section suggests) as well as to propose specific steps forward. “The first methodological suggestion is to avoid verbalism in our study, that of the second to avoid definitional or a priori preconceptions, that of the third to direct our study upon factual materials within the field and permit these materials themselves to inform us of the nature of the field” (Pepper, 1949:246). Several of these philosophical notes were referred to later, several became larger studies (e.g. Morris, 1956a), and several influenced other work, like that of Maslow (1970). One might question the inclusion of these philosophical musings on value, but they were very instrumental in the development of the field (noted by Levitin, 1973). Charles Morris, a philosopher committed to empirical work, conducted some of the earliest data-based studies and will be examined in detail in the next chapter as it included psychological perspectives.

2.5.3.2 The CVRP’s Comparative Approach, 1980s & 90s

Another line of research has been more recent, producing the many volumes of the CRVP series: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy. Most of these important conceptual and regional specific articles are available from the Council’s website: <http://www.crvp.org>. The series started (Series I) with the head topic “Culture and Values” and at least 22 volumes have come out under that rubric. Series II was devoted to Africa and Islam, and Series III to Asia, most of the first 16 volumes being devoted to “Chinese Philosophical Studies.” Of specific interest to this study are titles like Series III Vol. 16, *The Bases of Values in a Time of Change: Chinese and Western* (Buncha et al., 1999), as well as Series I (Culture and Values) Vol. 19, *Philosophical Challenges and Opportunities of Globalization* (Blanchette et al., 2001.)

Philosophy, like most fields, is one of multiple traditions and diverse academic agendas. The volumes in the CRVP series are particularly focused on Chinese-Western dialogue and decry the “restrictive, and indeed destructive,” effects of post-renaissance rationalism and reductionism (McClean, 1999:1, 2). They seek to encourage descriptive balance and harmony:

What was left unattended was the synthetic appreciation of the unity and integrity of reality. There resulted a pattern of dualisms between mind and matter, subject and object, individual and community. This has constituted the destabilizing fault line of modern thought and

generated not only continual tremors but the more vicious extremes expressed in exploitation, oppression, and war. (McClean, 1999:2)

This philosophic analysis of dualisms is indeed helpful for the intercultural scholar, since our field is spawned by the Western scientific paradigms that grew out of rationalist lines of thinking like Bacon, Locke, and Descartes. “This attempt to restrict human awareness to the sciences suggests the extent of the constructive project which lies ahead if philosophy is to retain modern achievements while expanding the structure of reason, recognizing additional dimensions of the person and making possible authentic growth” (McClean, 1999:2).

2.5.3.3 Hansson’s Formal Mathematical Representation of Values, since 2000

Another stream is the formal representation approach put forward by scholars like Sven Ove Hansson. This is an attempt to use mathematical representation notations to systematically describe all the logical observations, definitions, theorems, and lemmas of possible values and norm choices. He points out “formal representations of values and norms are employed in several academic disciplines and specialties, notably economics, jurisprudence, decision theory, and social choice theory” (Hansson, 2001:xi). He admits however that “formalized philosophy is by no means uncontroversial” (2001:3), and we might add that for most intercultural values scholars, not necessarily comprehensible.

Though the mathematical symbolism of the logician is obtuse, the values scholar can affirm his explanation that “a representation in formal language is always the outcome of a simplification for the sake of clarity, or in other words an *idealization* [italic his].” (2001:3).

To idealize in this sense means to perform a “deliberate simplifying of something complicated (a situation, a concept, etc.) with a view to achieving at least a partial understanding of that thing. It may involve a distortion of the original or it can simply mean a leaving aside of some components in a complex in order to focus the better on the remaining ones. (McMullin, 1985:285, cited in Hanson, 2001:3)

Values fit very much this sense of ideals that the Oxford English Dictionary describes as “something existing only as a mental conception.” (Hansson, 2001:3).

Another helpful admission from Hansson (2001:5) is “since different idealizations can clarify different aspects of one and the same concept, it is futile to search for definite or uniquely correct philosophical analyses or explications. Different types and styles of idealizations of one and the same concept should be seen as complements rather than competitors.” This will help us as we try

to reconcile the multiple dimensions or frameworks put forward by various values scholars – we do not need to try to fit them all into one idealized system, nor see them in competition, but merely note the benefits and deficiencies in each representation, and apply that which is useful for the system/context/situation under consideration.

He also notes (Hansson, 2001:8) that, “Philosophical or scientific model-making is always a trade-off between simplicity and faithfulness to the original.” Another helpful classification from his philosophical system is the concept of *monadic* (classificatory) values concepts, such as ‘good,’ ‘very bad,’ and ‘worst,’ which evaluate a single referent (which the Schwartz Value Survey and List of Values utilized), as compared to what he calls *dyadic* (comparative) values concepts, such as ‘better,’ ‘worse’ and ‘equal in value to,’ which indicate a relation between two referents (which is what Osgood’s semantic differential or Rokeach’s sorting process in effect do, as well as items poled opposite each other on Schwartz’s circumplex).

Fehige and Wessels (1998:xxv-xxvi) note that moral philosophers have used other categorizations of preferences: intrinsic vs. extrinsic preferences, self-regarding vs. other-regarding, synchronic vs. asynchronic preferences, etc. These show that philosophers have also been struggling with ways to categorize, describe, and understand values. As Hansson admits,

The values held and endorsed by an individual are complex and intricately connected with that individual’s beliefs and emotions. The very process of isolating her values from the rest of her mind involves a considerable idealization, and the further process of expressing these isolated values in terms of a binary relation takes idealization one step further. (Hansson, 2001:7, 8)

He further notes, that in actual human experience, “different types of preference relations may be needed for different purposes” (2001:8).

2.5.4 Summary of Philosophical Contributions

Ronald H. Epp (1979) is one who argues that teaching and studying values is an important part of “Metaphilosophy” and outlines a methodological approach he uses in his Introduction to Philosophy and Problems in Ethics courses. The traditions from which this dissertation primarily arises (social-psychology and educational pedagogy) recognize these significant contributions of philosophy to the clarification of values concepts. Levitin (1973:493) noted,

Philosophical distinctions in the study of values have also been utilized. Included among those which have influenced psychological conceptions are the differences between intrinsic (inseparable from an object of situation) and extrinsic values; between instrumental (means) and inherent or terminal (ends) values (e.g. Rokeach, 1968); implicit (known only to the subject) and explicit (known to outsider observers) values. (Levitin, 1973:493)

Levitin also notes, “Philosophers point to the so-called ‘positivistic fallacy’ of equating the desired with the desirable, of viewing the majority preference as the worthy preference” (1973:497, footnote 4). These philosophical perspectives have had an important impact on the conceptualization and attempted measurement of values in other fields.

2.6 Values Studies in the Anthropological Tradition

Once this enterprise in the scientific analysis of values is well launched, the philosophical discussions of ethics are likely to take on more points. The process is not that of replacing moral philosophy by descriptive ethics, but of providing moral philosophy with an empirical base and a conceptual framework....The role of such a special science as anthropology in the analysis of values is not to replace philosophical investigation, but to make it relevant.

(Geertz, 1973:141)

As was already introduced in the preceding chapter, deriving von Herder’s historical conceptualizations, Bastian developed his early ethnographic field-based anthropology. This influenced Tylor’s British cultural conceptualizations and the tradition that came to America through Bastian’s student, Franz Boas. For most values reviews, Tylor or Boas are cited as the starting point for considerations of values, which I argue is a case of historical amnesia and conceptual anemia hopefully corrected in the first chapter. In this chapter we will now move on to the point where most cultural anthropological historians start, mapping the influences that developed the American fields of comparative culture studies.

2.6.1 Early Anthropological Orientations toward Comparative Culture

To document this “early” anthropological work on values, Spates (1983:29) refers to Firth (1983). They both note that Franz Boas and his students were especially interested in identifying facets of “the mind of primitive man” (1911), many of which would now be considered values orientations. Tylor’s contemporary, Radcliffe-Brown (1922:264) suggested that members of a tribe came to know what had value only through beliefs “impressed upon him by tradition” (with a utilitarian definition of values). Probably the first to use the term in more of the way that intercultural

scholars now do was Boas' student Ruth Benedict (1934:49) who argued that a culture could only be understood by a systematic study "of the motives and emotions and values that are institutionalized in that culture." Later came the work of Clyde and Florence Kluckhohn and the Harvard Values Project, started in the 1950s, which will be discussed more below. Hitlin and Piliavin (2004:360) note, "Currently, anthropology does little with the concept of values, especially compared with the conceptual heyday in the 1950s and 1960s (for which they cite Barth's review, 1993).

Contemporary anthropology has little to offer in the way of explicit theory and analysis of values. It takes only the most cursory examination of the titles or recently published books and their chapter headings, or a sampling of the indexes of influential contemporary texts, to discover this striking silence. This is in marked contrast to the 1950s and 1960s when the study of values was prominent. In important sectors of the literature of that time, the analysis of the value system of a culture was intended to capture the most constitutive, inner core of another way of life: and by the comparative study of values one hoped to reveal the essence of being human. (Barth, 1993:31)

However, anthropologists continue to work on defining and clarifying culture and meaning (in which values are embedded). Since this dissertation will also address cultural change, the definition offered by Mary Douglas (an influence on Hofstede's work) is instructive:

At any point in time the culture of a community is engaged in the joint production of meaning....In reality, the connected meanings that are the basis of any given culture are multiplex, precarious, complex, and fluid. They are continually contested and always in the process of mutual accommodation. (Douglas, 2004:88)

Landis (2007:7) goes on to explain that,

Douglas' definition suggests that culture is dynamic, ever changing, and certainly modified as the demographics of the community change as through immigration, expatriation, and migration. Nevertheless, there will generally be a dominant culture that will change at a slower pace than those that are brought to the locale by newcomers. The culture will also change due to political and economic policies put in place by the local and national governments. (see also Landis, 208:340)

What we now call "values studies" in the West developed in the latter half of the 20th Century. The early studies noted above and referred to by Hofstede and Oyserman became part of a trend in the humanities toward cultural comparison, generalized description, and analysis that eventually became called "national character" studies.

In retrospect, these cultural characterizations had various motives. Two main trends seemed to fuel the intellectual curiosity of such studies –either they sought to compare, contrast, and describe (1) comparable nations, often to determine the superiority of one over the other, or to do the same with conceptions of (2) traditional and modern societies. Respectively, these studies sought to identify:

1. What historic, linguistic (language and culture), and nationalization factors worked together to influence differences, especially on the European continent? Though proximal “neighbors,” how could scholars account for the increasingly obvious cultural differences that were being noted, even as societies had increasing contact (toward understanding, improved, peaceable contact – correctives for wars)? There was no small amount of ethnocentrism among some authors pointing out the flaws of other cultures.

2. What features could be identified in traditional, unspoiled societies that might provide clues to the social evolution of cultures, or as correctives for the social problems being created by rapid industrialization and modernization (visions of a modern utopia)? Likewise, there was no small amount of idealization both ways, some authors elevating aboriginal cultures and others envisioning progressive heavens on earth.

Since these studies were groundbreaking and in many ways overlapping, sorting out general research directions is not easy. A number of scholars had different focal points at different times. Though some of their work was carefully constructed, in these early days of theory construction, most publications were quite generalized. A thematic analysis turns out to not to be as productive as a general introduction to the scholars or their respective schools. This section seeks to retrace the influences of that history in the US as it influenced what eventually became the field(s) related to intercultural communication.

2.6.2 Fieldwork on National Character: Boas, Mead, Gorer, Bateson

2.6.2.1 Franz Boas, Columbia University and New Impetus to Study Cultures

Columbia University in New York played a very influential role in bringing culture to the forefront of both linguistics and anthropology. Edward Sapir (a student of Franz Boas) and his student Benjamin Whorf committed themselves to comparing the language content and structure of native cultures. Their work eventually put forward the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that language and culture are inexorably linked. Psychiatrist Abram Kardiner (1939) in his work with anthropologist Ralph Linton (1936, 1945) were applying Freud’s principles of the psychoanalysis

of individual personality to “cultural personalities” suggesting cultural determinism, influencing a number of prominent scholars, including Geoffery Gorer and Francis L. K. Hsu (discussed below).

Concurrently and even predating them, Franz Boas was breaking new ground in cultural anthropology. With his post-graduate German training in both physics and geography and documented experiences living among “First Nation” peoples in the Pacific Northwest,³⁶ Boas advocated moving beyond subjective description to applying scientific methods to understand the “mind” of peoples through ethnographic anthropology. This was cultivated from his 1885 work at the Royal Ethnological Museum in Berlin with Adolf Bastian and other Herder/Humboldt influenced scholars, noted in Chapter 1. In 1887, after fieldwork on Baffin Island, Boas wrote “The Principles of Ethnological Classification” suggesting:

Ethnological phenomena are the result of the physical and psychical character of men, and of its development under the influence of the surroundings....'Surroundings' are the physical conditions of the country, and the sociological phenomena, i.e., the relation of man to man. Furthermore, the study of the present surroundings is insufficient: the history of the people, the influence of the regions through which it has passed on its migrations, and the people with whom it came into contact, must be considered.³⁷

These principles toward empathetic empiricism were put forward in his influential books, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (1911), *Anthropology and Modern Life* (1928/2004) and *Race, Language, and Culture* (1940).

His students and cohorts put his general ideas into practice and wrote influential works on a number of specific societies. Among them were Alfred Kroeber, Robert Lowie, Edward Sapir, Margaret Mead (including work with Gregory Bateson, who for a time was her husband), Ruth Benedict, and each of the Kluckhohns, who also worked for a period at Columbia. In 1949, Alfred Kroeber summed up the principles of empiricism that defined Boasian anthropology as science:

- (1) The method of science is to begin with questions, not with answers, least of all with value judgments.
- (2) Science is dispassionate inquiry and therefore cannot take over outright any ideologies "already formulated in everyday life," since these are themselves inevitably traditional and normally tinged with emotional prejudice.

³⁶ From “Franz Boas”, Retrieved on February 19, 2009, from <http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/Franz-Boas>

³⁷ Ibid.

(3) Sweeping all-or-none, black-and-white judgments are characteristic of totalitarian attitudes and have no place in science, whose very nature is inferential and judicial. (Kroeber, 1949)

Boas was constantly re-evaluating his work and learning from and with his students. This “Boasian commitment to learn from one’s informants and let the findings of one’s research shape the one’s agenda”³⁸ built an incredible linkage among these scholars. Margaret Mead documented this scholarly network in her never-completed *Learning to Live in One World*. She also sought to provide institutional and organizational support for them, founding the Institute for Intercultural Studies in 1944. The institute was dedicated to "advancing knowledge of the various peoples and nations of the world, with special attention to those peoples and those aspects of their life which are likely to affect intercultural and international relations." Through this committed, gifted group of scholars and the unique opportunities provided for US government support for the studies of other cultures during World War II and afterwards through the Foreign Service Institute (cf. Leeds-Hurwitz, 1990, Rogers et al., 2002), the influence of Franz Boas played a major role in shaping the foundations of intercultural communication and its interest in dimensions of core culture and values.

2.6.2.2 Margaret Mead – Contrastive US Culture Descriptions

Margaret Mead may not have focused on values studies directly, but her applications of Boas’ method were influential and her understanding of a shared societal personality and cultural determinism also made her a key proponent in the emerging field of national cultural studies (1951; 1968) and eventually the emerging field of intercultural communication (cf. Leeds-Hurwitz, 2010). Mead’s anthropological studies focused first on Pacific island culture (*Coming of Age in Samoa*, 1928) then applied that method to describe the US (*And Keep Your Powder Dry*, 1932). This trend of seeking to describe Americans set a trend that has continued, more recently with L. Robert Kohls quintessential guide (now on-line) *The Values that Americans Live By* (1988), Edward Stewart’s (with Milton Bennett) *American Cultural Patterns* (1991), and Gary Althen’s perennial top seller *American Ways* (1988, 1st ed.; Althen, Doran, & Szmania, 2003, 2nd ed.; Althen & Bennett, 2011, 3rd ed.) among those many books continuing to give a general overview of US values, communication style and preferred behaviors.

³⁸ Ibid.

2.6.2.3 National Culture Studies – Geoffrey Gorer and Gregory Bateson (1940s-60s)

Concurrently the English anthropologist, Geoffrey Gorer, was formalizing an approach to national character studies. Gorer first studied aspects of Japanese culture, using Erich Fromm's psychoanalysis approach to identify unique developmental aspects of a culture (e.g., parental roles and relationships, toilet training, discipline, aspects of emotional development, environmental influences). His most influential work was *The American People: A Study in National Character* (1948/1964), which spawned new interest in mapping other cultures. In the heyday of such national personality studies, he further expounded his approach to the concept of national character (1950) and its link to theory and practice (1953).

Gregory Bateson (1942/1976) was another one of its influential proponents, suggesting that, "The concept of character could be seen as representing the present accumulation of learning from the past, and as such it makes an essential contribution" (in Hofstede, 2001:13). Bateson argued that social determination caused enough observable uniformity to be observed across a nation: "However heterogeneously a nation may be composed, its parts interact and thus affect each other, and even a negative adaptation represents an adaptation" (ibid.).

Hofstede concurs that "national character" was a popular research subject in anthropology in the 1930s to 1950s" (2001:13). Based on the anthropological research trend of the time (especially the ongoing Columbia school of Abram Kardiner and Ralph Linton) linking culture and personality, it is no wonder that the two were wed into studies of national cultural personality. Inkeles & Levinson (1954/1997:17) define national character as the "relatively enduring personality characters and patterns that are modal among the adult members of the society" (noted in Hofstede, 2001:13). Hofstede notes however that,

The national character concept lost popularity in mainstream Anglophone cultural anthropology in the mid-1950s. Its lasting legacy was the introduction of psychological concepts into anthropological studies...I believe that the crisis of the national character concept in anthropology in the mid-1950s was due to oversimplified theories that could not be improved for lack of adequate research methods. Traditional anthropological methods were unable to tackle the complexity of whole nations...[and] remained a simplistic stereotype and could not acquire the status of an empirically derived common component in the thinking and activity of the various members of a nation...[but] where anthropologists lost interest in the issue of national character, psychologists took it up. (Hofstede, 2001:13, 14)

2.6.3 State-sponsored Studies – Taylor, Leighton, Benedict, Hall, Kluckhohn

2.6.3.1 George Taylor and Alexander Leighton – Wartime Study of Culture

As already noted, the study of culture in the 1940s and 50s was academically thriving, and due to a number of reasons, a split in the field developed. The Second World War helped precipitate this division between scholars (1) who held to “cultural determinism” (i.e., we are what we are due to our upbringing and cannot change that, e.g., Gorer, Meade, and generally Benedict; see

Zavalloni’s examples of these scholars attempts to link values “as the result of early socialization,” 1980:79) and those (2) who held to progressive, modernist “cultural modification” aims (i.e., we want to understand cultural backgrounds to correct deficiencies and make them better). Martin and Nakayama (1999) capture this with their line contrasting the “scholarship of regulation” with the “scholarship of radical change” (see Figure 1.2).

The latter was the approach of scholars working for the US military, particularly George E. Taylor, 1940s head of the Far Eastern Branch and later the Office of War Information (OWI), which recruited and funded the work of many of these early scholars through its Foreign Morale Analysis Division (FMAD) under the directorship of Alexander H. Leighton (see Taylor, 2000:ix; Leighton, 2000:22). Together, they attracted and helped launch the work of Clyde Kluckhohn, Florence Rockwell Kluckhohn, Talcott Parsons, Fred L. Strodbeck, and later Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead joined them. With the support of the government, anthropologists used the techniques they had developed in small-scale societies to analyze the “national character” of so-called “complex societies” during WWII. Many of those reports started out as policy guidelines for how the US could win the war as well as “win the peace.” These studies of “culture at a distance” reflected the work of what has been called the “cultural interpersonal school”:

A blend of psychological, sociological, and anthropological analysis was typical of this work, and at its heart lay the conviction that microscopic questions about individual personality and behavior and macroscopic questions about societal patterns and problems were nothing but two sides of the same coin. (Herman, 1995:33)³⁹

³⁹ Retrieved December 17, 2010, from <http://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft696nb3n8&chunk.id=d0e529&toc.depth=1&toc.id=0&brand=ucpress&query=FMAD>

2.6.3.2 Ruth Benedict – Patterns of Culture Applied

As mentioned earlier, the other student of Boas to establish herself was Ruth Benedict. Her *Patterns of Culture* (1934) was a watershed in discussing conceptions, methods, and insights into studying cultures. In it she argued that a culture could only be understood by systematic study “of the motives and emotions and values that are institutionalized in that culture” (Benedict, 1934:49; also noted in Spates, 1983:29). This she indeed practiced. Like others in the Leighton FMAD team who gathered information from various groups of immigrants to the US, as well as from publications and films, these studies were reported in a variety of influential papers and books. Benedict’s groundbreaking study on the Japanese, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946), undoubtedly became the best-known work applying the principles that Mead and Metraux’s later summarized in *The Study of Culture at a Distance* (1953). Her 1946 work still frequently republished and widely read in Japan and in other Asian societies as a classic national character study.

After the war and Ruth Benedict’s death in 1948, the think tanks of scholars splintered. One group, called the Research in Contemporary Cultures project (based at Columbia, and related to scholars like Linton and Kardiner), was headed by Mead and continued to use psychoanalysis to produce studies that viewed culture as “personality writ large.” This is what some later writers would call “Big C” culture – national culture as being equal to national personality or national character. Other scholars joined the Kluckhohns in the Harvard Values Project or sociologist Talcott Parsons in his social structuralism projects, also at Harvard.

2.6.3.3 Edward T. Hall – Cultural Categories and Intercultural Communication

Virtually none of the standard literature reviews on values refer to Edward T. Hall’s contribution to this area of study. Usually he is credited with bringing shape and paradigm framing to the broader parent field, that of intercultural communications. But, we must remember that in the 1940s and 50s “intercultural communication” did not yet have this name, its conceptualization at the intersection of culture and communication had not yet occurred, and the study of nonverbal communication as a “silent language” component of intercultural communication had not been recognized. The field was in a pre-paradigmatic era before 1950 (Rogers et al., 2002:8).

Nevertheless, Hall’s work at the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) integrated many of the streams of thought discussed above and generated much of the terminology later used in the field of intercultural communication once it emerged in the 1970s for the analysis of core cultural components. It was Hall’s work that adopted Georg Simmel’s (1908, 1921) concept of the

stranger, William Graham Sumner's (1946/1940) concept of ethnocentrism, and Benjamin Lee Whorf's (1940) linguistic relativity theory. These and other theoretical lines of work would shape the focus and tools of the IC field.

Primarily Leeds-Hurwitz (1990) and later Rogers, Hall, and Miike (2002) have provided thorough reviews on Hall's contributions. They note that Hall early advocated that the concept of intercultural communication...involved more than the mere exchange of words. Cultural systems of beliefs, values, and worldviews were also involved (Rogers et al., 2002:16). But the word "values" only appears twice in their article, and both are cited here (there is not even one reference to "values" in Leeds-Hurwitz). They note that based on Hall's work, "American and Japanese intercultural communication scholars began studying U.S./Japanese communication behavior in the 1970s, stressing the differences in individualism/collectivism, low-context/high-context cultures, self-disclosure, and other values (Condon & Saito, 1974, 1976; Barnlund, 1975)" (Rogers et al., 2002:15).

Perhaps one reason why Hall is not cited is that, as the pioneer of the field, he was generalizing in broad-stroke terms and seeking to identify the basic differences and variations across cultural systems. Since so much work had been done on verbal communication (through Sapir, Whorf, and their student, Hall's colleague, George Trager) Hall was intent on mapping the non-verbal and behavioral aspects, coining the terms of proxemics and chronemics. For these reasons Hall should probably not be cited as a values scholar, since that particular area of study had not yet been clearly defined. He was more concerned with what Harry Triandis (1996) later called "cultural syndromes" – the broader tendencies by which cultures can be compared. Interestingly, of those who do focus on values, only Trompenaars has included the Hall space or time constructs as values dimensions (1993).

Hofstede (2001) is one of the few other recent values scholars to include Hall in his treatment, though admittedly marginal and only in one area – the high and low context division. "In practice, HC communication is more often found in traditional cultures and LC communication in modern cultures [in which a linear line is assumed] so that the HC/LC distinction overlaps at least partly with the traditional/modern distinction...[and] with collectivism versus individualism" (2001:30). But as models are related to specific contexts, consideration of Hall's early conceptualizing is increasingly taken into consideration (e.g., Hofstede et al.'s linking of high context with collectivism, 2010:109; or domain specific work on Chinese values, as discussed in Section 6.4).

2.6.3.4 Clyde and Florence Kluckhohn – the Harvard Values Project

As mentioned above, Clyde Kluckhohn put forward the most quoted definition of values (1951:395 in Parsons' book) including explicit or implicit conceptions of the desirable and selection from available modes, means, and ends of action. Applying Parsons' ideational, patterned rubric, values were now considered "instigators of behavior 'within' the individual" (Kluckhohn, 1951:396). Clearly functionalist, deterministic, and behaviorist, his formulation fit that era and has continued to provide a useful construct for the positivist sciences of communication research and psychology (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004:362). However, Kluckhohn allowed for symbolic interpretations with his less-cited but equally significant definition:

Culture consists of patterns...acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values. (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952:357)

It was, however, his wife, Florence Kluckhohn, who first departed from Parsons' deterministic ideas, extended her husband's work toward choices in a "hierarchy of values" (F. Kluckhohn, 1950:376), and put forward the first empirically developed framework with the publication of *Variations of Values Orientations* co-authored by Fred Strodtbeck (1961, completing the project after Clyde passed away). Joining a team of social scientists that eventually became called the "Harvard Values Project, they sought to operationalize Clyde Kluckhohn's theoretical definitions by framing values based on "general life situations." Using questions about real-life, universally experienced situations, variations across groups could be identified. Their interest was in how people in all societies settled on a range of options to answer five common human questions. These were tested in five communities within a forty-mile radius of an area in the US Southwest called Rimrock and included Texan homesteaders, a Mormon settlement, a Mexican-American village, a loosely bound Navaho band, and an integrated Zuni Pueblo tribe. *Variations* (1961) produced the first theoretically tested multi-level values orientations model (VOM), with a range of responses to each of the five "universal issues" that cultures must consider:

1. *Human nature* orientation (evil - mixed - good);
2. *Man and natural environment* orientation (subjugation - harmony - mastery);
3. *Time* orientation (toward past - present - future);
4. *Activity* orientation (being - being in becoming - doing); and
5. *Social relationship* orientation (lineality - collaterality - individualism).

The Kluckhohn team sought to include other domains such as orientations toward space (here–there–far away; or in Hills’ more recent work, space as privacy for individuals–families/groups–everybody), gender (male–female–both), proposals for work (contribution–achievement–financial security), and state-individual relationship or economic orientations, but none have yet been established as part of the VOM (Hills, 2002).

The model has been used in divergent group conflict resolution, in examining changes in cultural mores over time, and to create cultural awareness of diversity in intercultural training, but has not led to standard measures or any degree of predictive validity. The original authors and others admit this, noting it provided “a belief system that logically preceded and undergirded all other aspects of culture” (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961: Chap 1; Spates, 1983), “based...on the assumption that people in all cultures...face the same fundamental problems and so must develop normative and preferential ways to deal with these. Although their measures need much further work, this seems to be a productive beginning at combining the insights of psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists” (Levitin, 1973:499).

Marissa Zavalloni underscores this contribution, but notes “these existential notions are assumed to guide concrete behaviors, and are represented in the survey schedule by situations that rural people face everywhere” (Zavalloni, 1980:82). This rural limitation is seldom noted and may also explain the lack of predictability or usefulness in clearly distinguishing differences between most other cultural systems (e.g., Chinese and American “value orientations” do not differentiate much at all in their scheme). The VOM items and the framework were intentionally developed in the Rimrock context, perhaps with an unperceived, lingering, Boasian bias toward primitive societies or peasant communities. This may suggest or be misused to imply a cultural developmental model from traditionality to modernity. This might explain why it has been meaningfully applied to progressive US industry vs. native American Indian negotiations (e.g., Russo, 2000), “however its relevance to other groups, e.g., urban dwellers is doubtful” (Zavalloni, 2000:83).

Trainers like L. Robert Kohls have used this framework effectively as a training tool to develop awareness of potential cultural differences. It works especially well for the “modern” USAmerican sojourner (Kohls, 1984/2001; Kohls & Knight, 1994; and the author initially followed suit), who may need to consider adjustments to traditional societies. However, it appears to need modification when comparisons are made to other modernizing contexts like China (e.g., Chi & Kulich, 2010a, 2010b). “Value orientations” may actually represent more of an aggregate set of beliefs (each composed of several value items) than of “values.” It will be shown later in section 4.4.1.3 and in Figure 4.2 that they seem to equate more closely with empirically derived “belief

constructs” like Social Axioms (Leung & Bond, 2002, 2004) than with studies of value dimensions. This will further considered in Chapter 4.

2.6.4 Describing Cultural Dimensions: Geertz, Inkeles, Douglas, Hsu

2.6.4.1 Clifford Geertz – “Thick Culture” Description

Clifford Geertz, extending the work of symbolic interactionism, pioneered both thought and applications toward interpretative anthropology. Though values were not much present in his seminal 1973 book (only a few notations on pages 130-131 and 140-141), his work on ethos and worldview did provide a starting point for the study of values. He termed these cultural meaning symbols “The Thick Description of Culture” in his first chapter:

The view of man as a symbolizing, conceptualizing, meaning-seeking animal, which has become increasingly popular both in the social sciences and in philosophy over the past several years, opens up a whole new approach not only to the analysis of religion as such, but to the understanding of the relations between religion and values. The drive to make sense out of experience, to give it form and order, is evidently as real and as pressing as the more familiar biological needs. (Geertz, 1973:140) [This also was a precursor to Schwartz’s later definition as values providing understandable cognitive frames for biological needs.]

The undertaking of values studies, and especially values clarification exercises has been to provide conceptual awareness to help with the understanding and ordering of such units of core-cultural meaning. Geertz argues that “symbolic activities – religion, art, ideology...seem to be...attempts to provide orientation for an organism which cannot live in a world it is unable to understand” (1973:141). This also presupposes Fritz Wallner’s epistemology of *Constructive Realism* (1994) where human beings construct a “scientific microworld” by which they meta-communicate to explain their “lifeworld”, and Heidegger’s (1966) “originate thinking” and “essential thinking” (as cited in Hwang, 2007:255).

Such a stress does not imply a removal of beliefs and values from their psychobiological and social contexts into a realm of “pure meaning,” but does imply a greater emphasis on the analysis of such beliefs and values in terms of concepts explicitly designed to deal with symbolic material. (Geertz, 1973:141)

This is in fact a key focus of this dissertation – to consider what approaches provide those “explicitly designed” concepts that can identify, deal with, or understand the values that have symbolic meaning in specific cultural contexts. Geertz suggested that by approaching culture through ethos and worldview...

...anthropologists are beginning to develop an approach to the study of values which can clarify rather than obscure the essential processes involved in the normative regulation of behavior. One almost certain result of such an empirically sophisticated, symbol-stressing approach to the study of values is the decline of analyses which attempt to describe moral, aesthetic, and other normative activities in terms of theories based not on the observation of such activities but on logical considerations alone. (Geertz, 1973:141)

This perspective is critically important to this dissertation in that the author argues that deriving a prioritized list of “cultural values” only does *not* help scholars to fully understand cultures in comparison. I suggest the need is to (1) let research participants in varied specific contexts emically produce the set of values that mean most to them, and then (2) ask them to help us as researchers take the next step toward explicating the meanings and contextual significance of the important values that emerge. This is not “one size fits all” research, as each cultural group clearly has its own set of certain thick, meaning-rich concepts that one or even two related “standard values items” might not do adequate justice to.

Geertz was also one of the early proponents to urge the consideration of negative values (in the author’s terms, looking at not only the “do’s” but also the “do not’s”). Values research should seek to uncover some of these “cultural rules” – what does the culture affirm? What does it condemn? Various values clarification exercises can be used to get at this level of the symbolic values script. As Geertz maintains, “it is not only positive values that sacred symbols dramatize, but negative ones at well. They point not only toward the existence of good but also of evil, and toward the conflict between them (1973:130). This was an enlightened early admission that values systems as they actually exist are likely combined with varied, diverse, positive and negative elements. The size and time constraints of this dissertation limited some of the “counter-values” mapping that I originally conceptualized, but this is certainly an important endeavor for future values research. In explicating the fuller meaning of key “thick” cultural concepts that guide or are affirmed in Chinese populations, we will also need to know what alternatives counter them or are shunned.

2.6.4.2 Alex Inkeles and Daniel Levinson – National Cultural Dimensions

Though these and other concepts provided some breakthroughs, social scientists found it difficult to clearly delineate content for scale development. In an attempt to systematize existing literature, sociologist Alex Inkeles and psychologist Daniel Levinson (1954) conducted an extensive review, noting that studies carried out in the first half of the twentieth century were characterized by extensive overlap of dimensions, subjective choices, inconsistent levels of analysis (individual,

group, or culture), and methodological weaknesses. They argued that a set of *standard analytic issues* was needed and suggested three:

1. *Relation to authority*;
2. *Conception of self*, including the concepts of masculinity and femininity; and
3. *Identification of primary dilemmas/conflicts* and how to deal with them, including the control of aggression and the expression versus inhibition of emotion.

The manner by which each of these is handled in a cultural system was thought to have functional significance both for the individual personality as well as for the social system (suggesting the dual level of analysis that many later scholars would follow). These laid the foundation for Geert Hofstede's later development of cultural dimensions (1980, 2001).

2.6.4.3 Mary Douglas – Conceptualizing Cultural Dimensions

Dan Landis considers British scholar Mary Douglas to be “one of the pre-eminent modern anthropologists” (Landis, 2007:7, 2008:340). Certainly, her conceptualizations have had a significant influence on Geert Hofstede. She proposed a two-dimensional ordering of “cosmologies” (ways of looking at the world): (1) “group” or inclusion (the claim of groups over members) and (2) “grid” or classification (the degree to which interaction is subject to rules) (Douglas, 1973a). Hofstede notes that Douglas (1973b) saw these as relating to a wide variety of beliefs and social actions; views of nature, traveling, spatial arrangements, gardening, cookery, medicine, the meaning of time, age, history, sickness, and justice (Hofstede, 2001:31).

Douglas herself applied the “grid” and “group” dimensions on the level of subcultures of groups and categories of people rather than on the level of national cultures (the *meso* level that I have affirmed above). But for “culture = nation” scholars, Hofstede suggests that the same dimensions are applicable to any level of aggregation. In statistical work on his own sample, Hofstede (2001:39 note 87) confirms that, “There is a conceptual similarity between Douglas's classification and the IBM dimension of uncertainty avoidance and individualism.”

2.6.4.4 Francis L. K. Hsu – Establishing Psychological Anthropology

After growing up in China and teaching at Peking University, Francis L.K. Hsu eventually came to Columbia to work under the tutelage of Ralph Linton (1936, 1945) and was also influenced by Abram Kardiner (1939). Though not subscribing to the Boasian approach, mainly because Linton and Boas were not in agreement on conceptions of methods of investigating culture, Hsu sought establish a dedicated field of “psychological anthropology.”

He specifically sought to compare civilizations (big “C” culture writ very large) at the levels of values and social organization. Since he is largely overlooked in most Western reviews on values studies, his many notable books will be discussed in Chapter 5, since they relate more specifically to the comparative study of Chinese culture. An example is his influential study *Clan, Caste, and Club* (1963), which investigates the social structure and values of China, India and the US and could be considered a pre-cursor to evaluations of collectivism and individualism along in-group and out-group demarcations, each also providing illustrations of Douglas’ group and grid conceptualizations. Anthropological values work was finally showing some signs of becoming non-Western.

2.6.5 Summary of Anthropological Contributions

The history of cultural anthropology as it relates to cultural values is a long and illustrious one, a virtual “who’s who” of landmark scholars who shaped not only their own field, but all those related to the comparative study of cultures and core cultural elements. Many fields are indebted to the contributions of Boas, Benedict, both of the Kluckhohns, and Geertz and the scholarship they inspired. Though in his time not so deeply appreciated by his own field, Edward T. Hall’s broad integration of themes and postulation of ideas was singularly influential in launching the field of intercultural communication, and its subsequent focus on values studies, which integrated much of the work highlighted by these and other early scholars. The seminal theoretical conceptualizations put forward by Parsons, Inkeles, and Douglas formed the framework on which Hofstede structured his research, analysis, and dimensionalizing to push intercultural communications into its next more quantitative, proscriptive, and applied phase.

But as Chapter 1 noted, though cultural anthropology was a fertile seedbed for other disciplines, the field itself has splintered across various fault-lines regarding ideological and epistemological conceptions of culture, and by extension, of the pertinence or plausibility of values and value systems. Pick up any cultural anthropology book today and one hardly finds the word “values” in the index. Some scholars, like Richard Sweder, have continued to suggest the salience of values research within and across cultures, as have the many contributors in books like *Culture Matters* (Harrison & Huntington, 2000), arguing for the importance of clarifying variations of values in diverse political, social, and ethical contexts. But overall, cultural anthropology has abandoned cultural values, and ironically even “culture” as a defining construct.

One of the most recent anthropological pieces to deal with values studies in comparative context comes from Hans-Peter Müller and Patrick Ziltener (2004). In their review, they take up the issue of Hofstede's suggested "collective programming of the mind" where values "have very old historical roots (some, for example, going back as far as the Roman Empire)" (Hofstede, 2001:11):

Some of the values are able to explain normative preferences and individual behavior, but they need further explanation. Values are not suspended like clouds over some types of social landscapes, but are better compared to captive balloons: flexible, but secured to the ground...We present...the connection between traditional social structures and values... Based on field research from the first half of the 20th century, past conditions are recorded, namely the forms of social organization of some 2000 ethnic groups in Africa and Asia. From this data for 87 countries were obtained by aggregating population-weighted ethnological data. These are the ethnological indicators that can be linked to quantitative value analyses. (Müller & Ziltener, 2004:123)

They also reframe the discussion on the underlying theme or assumption of a traditional to modern linear trajectory of "development," noting:

...that the concept of development points here to two different fields of significance: on the one hand to the long-term historical and cultural development of, say, the last 10,000 years (social evolution) and on the other hand, to modern developments such as industrialization, economic growth, and the improvement in the living conditions of national populations. (Müller & Ziltener, 2004:125)

Their work helps analyze how these two development models contribute to or detract from *cultural homogeneity* (or heterogeneity, with a negative sign; or for some authors, *cultural fractionalization*) and the resulting structural complexity of societies (2004:125-127). It also points to distinctly different logic and development patterns for Asian and Western societies (2004:139), discussed by critiquing the efficacy of Hofstede's dimensions. They note that:

...the specific Western pattern has been interpreted not only in terms of rising levels of income per-capita, but even more so of increasing cultural heterogeneity in the range of everyday life... In Asia, development tends toward 'national cultures' (Hofstede, 2001:13-14) that strengthen ritualized and extrinsic mechanisms and methods, on institutional and individual level, regulating social behavior. (Müller & Ziltener, 2004:139)

These predictions of ongoing national/cultural homogeneity, even under dynamics of culture change, provide significant considerations for the specific studies carried out in Chapter 8-11 in this dissertation. Perhaps “culture” is not changing as much as we sometimes assume in the detailed evaluation of a specific level. Western models need to be rethought in other contexts.

In ways such as those stated above, anthropologists and ethnographers continue to pioneer new ground, both being inspired by or challenging the cross-cultural work of scholars such as Hofstede or Schwartz, finding ways to link the tools, topics, and approaches of their discipline to the ongoing development of values and culture studies. Naturally, these are nested in the belief and praxis system of the scholar, so to conclude this chapter I provide a review of some of these diverse epistemological orientations.

2.7 Summarizing Epistemological Positions on “Culture”

Returning to the issues raised in Chapter 1, if anything, this chapter has suggested that the “culture” debate is far from over, and may actually be getting more complex. Henk Vinken, Joseph Soeters and Peter Ester (2004:7) suggest that “at least three dominant perspectives are to be distinguished in cross-cultural studies: a postmodernist perspective, a ‘particularist’ one, and a ‘dimensionalist’ one.” I will highlight their first two definitions in reverse order, as this chapter suggested that the particularist/structural perspective came first, and the post-modern is a more recent development:

A “particularist” view upholds the belief in structures and patterns, but is associated to cultural studies in which particular subjects of analysis are stressed, either being work values, religious beliefs, political convictions, or other types of domain specific cultural values, beliefs, and attitudes (e.g., Ester et al., 1994; Arts et al., 2003). Emphases in theory and empirical work are not put on addressing an overarching system, a cultural canopy, which connects the various culture domains. The core business of this type of analysis is focused on the assessment of states of and developments in particular, seemingly mutually unrelated domains. In this perspective, the individual, or better still, social groups of individuals, is not playing an important constitutive role in culture, but it neither emphasizes culture as a unifying pattern. (Vinken et al., 2004:7)

The postmodernist view stresses the role and importance of the productive, playful individual, and individual who is producing, instead of reproducing culture in his or her own particular way and for his or her own means (if at all for any means)...in this type of analysis we are witnessing a cultural “Big Bang” on a truly global scale in which culture

loses both its traditional bedrocks and basic guiding capacities and in which individuals become solipsists devoted to a continuous personal re-invention of culture. This is also the stream that even goes as far as stating that “cultures do not exist” (Van Binsbergen, 1999) Still the awareness that individuals play with culture and stretch cultural concepts, and hence create hybrid and ambivalent instead of one-dimensional entities, is important because it prevents theoretical oversimplifications. (Vinken et al., 2004:7-8)

I have intentionally left dimensionalism last as it has proven to be an important thread throughout comparative cultural studies, and forms the clearest link with the next chapter:

“Dimensionalists”... are on a quest for a systemic whole that crosses life domains and groups of individuals. The dimensionalist study aims at finding the ultimate, most frugal, and yet most meaningful basic set of axes with which to explain the broad range of attitudes, beliefs, lifestyles, and the diversity of practices among large populations and/or organizations across societies. The very focus is on empirically validating the existence of a unifying, universal (etic...) pattern, that regardless of social differentiation, displays homogeneity, is broadly shared, and has the power to shape people’s identities, attitudes, and all other aspects of their culture. (Vinken et al., 2004:8)

The studies discussed so far in the ever-changing fields of sociology, philosophy, and anthropology have been mostly contesting the first two positions. They either ask (1) to what degree is culture still a structured system, meaningful at some level of shared experience or focus (particularistic), or (2) to what degree have societies moved toward Maslow’s predicted state of self-fulfillment (the post-modernist position) such that few, if any, shared dynamics are salient enough to be isolated, and rather a relativistic, meaning-oriented approach to contextual experience should be applied?

The challenge to post-modernism, especially for research in Asian or more specifically in Chinese societies, is that it presupposes that all individuals in all societies are moving in some enlightened way toward what Vinken and his co-authors call “an ‘everyone can be anyone’ phase of hyper-individualization” (2004:7). Those who live in more systemically hierarchical, interdependently relational, educationally culturally-norming societies may find such a “self-actualization” perspective incredulous, laughable, or just plain out of reach or reality. For them, the “outdated,” reified, or even deterministic conceptions of culture (as a mindset, as mental software) might make more situated sense, and they might just agree with Triandis that, “Culture is superorganic (does not depend on the presence of particular individuals)...” (1995:6). To explicate this perspective we move to the next chapter, since dimensionalizing has been a primary task of both psychologists

and some political scientists, and has also been extended in the work of some global or media theoreticians and international education or business pragmatists.

Though much of the grounding of the intercultural field and the interest in comparative values studies started in the disciplines covered thus far (sociology, philosophy, and cultural anthropology), more recent work has certainly been rooted in other areas, primarily in psychology in its various social, cultural, and cross-cultural variants. As a social science, this in turn has stimulated the study of values in other applied human sciences. The next chapter will deal with this important psychological tradition and outline other disciplines, particularly as they relate to or have influenced the focus of his dissertation – applications for the intercultural communication clarification and study of values.

Chapter 3: THE HISTORY OF WESTERN VALUES STUDIES, PART 2: PSYCHOLOGY, OTHER FIELDS, AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

No one theoretical approach dominates the study of values, although several have been proposed. Some of these theories included Maslow's (1970) hierarchy, cognitive consistency (Rokeach, 1973), social adaptation (Kahle, 1986, 1996; Kahle, Kulka, & Klingel, 1980), functional theory (Kehlman, 1976; Kahle, Kambara, & Rose, 1994; Sheth, Newman, & Gross, 1991; Sheth, Stern, & Gross, 1991). Contributions come from psychology (Miao, Olsen, Bernard, & Luke, 2003) and sociology (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004).

Kahle and Xie (2008:576)

In the previous chapters we documented the varied strands of culture-oriented research that launched the field of values studies. The waxing and waning interest in “culture” and its redefinition in various academic contexts was highlighted in Chapter 1, and discussed as to how these related to interpretations and investigations of “values” in Chapter 2, particularly in the classic fields of sociology, philosophy, and anthropology. In this chapter we will move on to the field that has most directly and sustainably carried values research, especially the one which has pushed values theorizing forward – psychology. Then this chapter considers how that body of research has influenced related disciplines in the social sciences (especially ongoing political science and global business studies), as well as how these have pushed forward values research in the now well-established field of intercultural communication.

In retrospect and as a preliminary observation for what follows, human personality theory had an incredible influence on most of the early culture-related fields. While early sociologists and cultural anthropologists tended to look at collective personality (individual personalities writ large at the culture level—national character), it seems that social psychologists primarily tended to look at individual personality variances via values. Values research at the individual level, and then, as the size of national samples has increased, normed to national culture indices, has been a key focus in the field. Whether all these measurements were truly of “values” or related psychological domains is a question still being debated, and is addressed in Chapter 4. But in reviewing these academically close and theoretically driven fields, this chapter highlights some of the key trends of and posits conclusions on where the field of intercultural communication values studies is now positioned.

3.1 Values Research in the Psychological Tradition

At the same time that values appear to be dethroned as the causal agents of behavior, as links to transmit social reality from generation to generation, and as the roots of social order, values now reappear as a major focus of psychological research.

Zavalloni (1980:114)

At least in the delimited area of cross-cultural psychology, this expectation has been substantially fulfilled (Bond & Smith, 1996). Most of the currently popular models of cultural variation rest upon the analysis of value differences... This is an exciting and very active field of investigation; but because it is still young, there are many methodological problems and theoretical confusions to which attention must be drawn.

Smith and Schwartz (1997:79)

3.1.1 Psychological Foundations for the Comparative Study of Values

Similar to the origins covered in the previous chapter, there are classic roots for psychologists as well. European scholars like Geert Hofstede (2001:13-15) look back to the origins of comparative cultural study in the work of Wilhelm Wundt (the father of experimental psychology) with his multivolume and influential *Völkerpsychologie* (the psychology of a people/group, Wundt, 1911-20). Wundt presented “a comparative analysis across countries of language, myths, morals, religion, art, and law, put into a psychological context” (Hofstede, 2001:13). Hofstede notes that the first more analytical work applying this approach was by one of Wundt’s students, Roberto Michels, who published a study on sexual behaviors across cultures (*Vergleichende Liebeswissenschaft*, 1911) – the first truly cross-cultural study?

But most early psychological values studies were informed by the conception that culture is related to personality and followed occupational interest research that built on the work of Spranger’s six types of men (*Lebensformen*) (1914/1921/1928). John Holland’s Theory of Occupational Career Choice (1973, 1997) is still based on this paradigm, applying the conception of six career-orientations. Lewis Leon Thurston, who also focused on the empirical validity of values studies (Thurston, 1954, 1959), also did early work developing a similar vocational interests inventory (Thurston, 1931).

Spranger's specific interest types were: theoretical (empirical, critical, rational discovery of truth), economic (practical, tangible utility), aesthetic (artistic, experiential, symmetrical beauty and harmony), social (altruistic, philanthropic, loving kindness), political (leadership, competition, struggle for power, and influence), religious (communion with the cosmos, mystical wholeness, unity) (extrapolation from Levitin, 1973:503). Later Super (1949) also put forward occupational interest areas from which arose the concept of "work values" (1970), which were also adopted by the consumer value researcher, Lynn Kahle (1983, see the discussion below). This model of "values as interests" continues to be seen in those measures that seek to categorize six or more areas where specific values might be expressed (a kind of attitudinal guide-map) (e.g., Allport et al., 1960; Gordon, 1967⁴⁰; Shorr, 1953⁴¹).

Based on the more extensive reviews of values studies in social-psychology (i.e., Levitin, 1973; Braithwaite & Scott, 1991), I seek here to determine which of the multitude of studies were the most influential, and to lay out the chronological development and interrelationship of social-psychological empirical approaches to the study of values. Following the style of how Everett Rogers, William Hart, and Yoshitaka Miike mapped the intellectual influences on Edward T. Hall (Rogers et al., 2002:7), Figure 3.1 was developed in an attempt to diagram the influence and development of early social psychological empirical values studies.

It should be noted that this figure mainly covers the early work up until 1970 so as to provide an illustration of the fertility of the values studies venture in social psychology. As with any field of study, time brings maturity, and by 1970, a number of solid studies had emerged that others began to build on and refine, most notably Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck's (1961) framework for those *explaining* cultural comparisons (e.g., later applied by Kohls, 1984/2001; Stewart, 1971; Stewart & Bennett, 1991, Prosser, 1978/1985), Morris "Ways to Live" (1956b) for those *doing generalized* cross-cultural analysis, and most significantly, Rokeach's Values Survey (1967, 1973) for *conceptual, theoretical, and empirical* foundations.

And like any field, some values studies moved to more specific foci within the values spectrum. The next significant advances in general frameworks after Rokeach were those of

40 Gordon's second Survey of Personal Values also measures six values (see the more detailed treatment below) and is critiqued by some scholars (e.g., Braithwaite and Scott, 1991:738), due to this personality trait limitation found in much of the early research.

41 "Shorr's Test of Value Activities assessed the intensity with which an individual avoids or shows interest in four kinds of activities: theoretical, social aesthetic, and economic...similar to the Study of Values but does not force a respondent to choose one activity at the expense of another" (Levitin, 1973:497). Though only taping four types, it clearly arises from the work of Spranger and modifies Allport & Vernon's work.

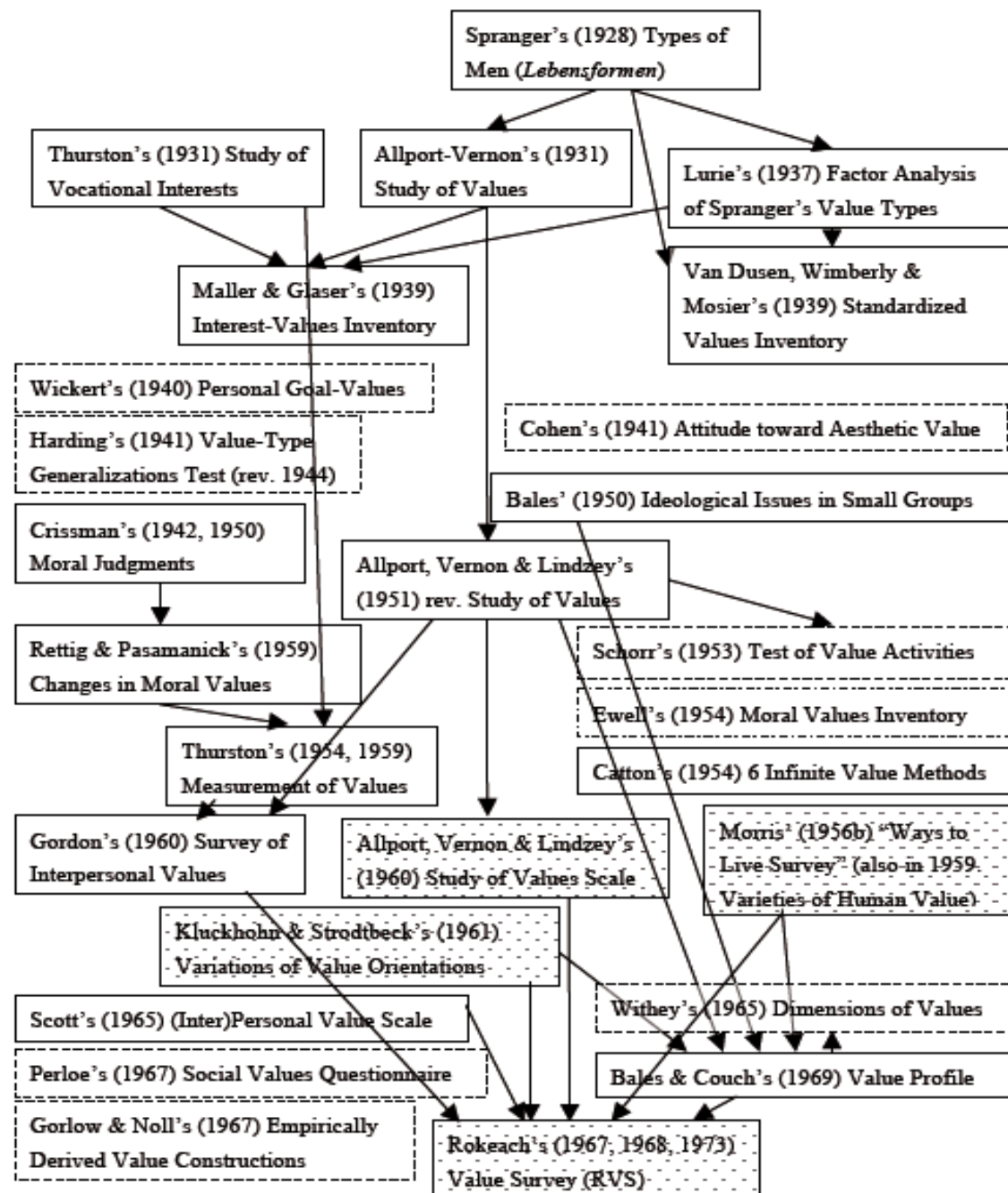


Figure 3.1. Developmental History of Social-Psychological Empirical Values Studies

Symbol Key: Solid Text Box – Influential Studies; Dotted Text Box – Marginal or Single Studies; Shaded Box – Foundational Studies for Later Applications; Arrows – Influences.

Created from Levitin's (1968/1973:489-502⁴²) and Braithwaite & Scott's (1991:661-753) reviews.

⁴² This summarizes general values measures and does not include specific values measures of unidimensional values like achievement, religious, or occupational values, nor does it include measures developed for children or teens (1968/1973:495).

Hofstede (1980, 2001) and then by Schwartz (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987; Schwartz, 1992). Like previous reviews, “only studies or instruments taping general values were selected.” I have also not incorporated studies before 1970 that were extensions of values in other areas.⁴³ Braithwaite and Scott give a similar list of their criteria (see 1991:669). For the purposes of this review, any post-1970 studies that have not gained much attention by “mainline” values scholars have also been left out (though listed in Braithwaite & Scott, 1991:666-746), like:

The Goal and Mode Values Inventories (Braithwaite & Law, 1985),
Life Role Inventory – Values Scales (Fitzsimmons, Macnab, & Casserly, 1985),
Conceptions of the Desirable (Lorr, Suziedelis, & Tonesk, 1973)
The East-West Questionnaire (Gilgen & Cho, 1979)
The Morally Debatable Behaviors Scales (Harding & Phillips, 1986)

I have also chosen not to focus on studies like the Allen L. Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (the EPPS: Edwards, 1959), since it is not considered a measure of values by most scholars (appearing mainly in Zavalloni, 1980:101 of the studies examined so far) and taps instead individual motive/interest/preference aspects (cf., Pietrofesa & Wurtz, 1970). Yet the fifteen motives and needs Edwards developed from Murray’s list might be useful for future comparisons to Schwartz’s or other frameworks: (1) Achievement; (2) Deference; (3) Order; (4) Exhibition; (5) Autonomy; (6) Affiliation; (7) Intraception; (8) Succorance; (9) Dominance; (10) Abasement; (11) Nurturance; (12) Change; (13) Endurance; (14) Heterosexuality; and (15) Aggression (cf., Pietrofesa & Wurtz, 1970). And more than 10 studies in Taiwan have applied Edwards’ EPPS to varied Chinese contexts (see Table 5.8).

Hofstede further tested his work with G. W. England’s Personal Values Questionnaire (PVQ: England, 1967a), (not to be confused with Schwartz’s Portrait Values Questionnaire) but few, if any, other values authors mention that study. It appears to mainly have organizational management applications, appearing in publications like the *International Journal of Value-Based Management* (1967a) and *Academy of Management Journal* (England, 1967b).

Constructing such a diagram can be helpful in allowing readers to both assess the link of lines of research, as well as the arbitrary or not carefully considered claims made by some writers. For

⁴³ Such extensions are related to occupational measures, achievement values (e.g. Bonjean et al., 1967), specific national values like American “core values” (e.g. Gruen, 1966), values based on hypothetical situations such as role conflicts (e.g. Carter, 1956; Stoffer & Toby, 1951), verbal and behavioral value measures (Grace & Grace, 1952, Brown’s Chapter 8, 1965). See Teresa Levitin’s footnotes, 1973:495 for brief descriptions of each.

example, one author asserts that “one of the first applications of survey methods to the study of values” was Buchanan and Cantril (1953) who assessed mutual stereotypes held by representatives in several countries (Zavalloni, 1980:91, 92). First, we note from the figure that this was clearly not as “early” as many other projects, and second, we question if the study of stereotypes was actually a “study of values” as defined by the general field documented here. Similarly, her note that “in a later study, Cantril (1965) undertook a cross-nation comparison of values in fifteen nations as reflected through people’s definitions of their basic strivings and personal concerns” (Zavalloni, 1980:91, 92). Perhaps this was bordering on notions of “values studies,” but reference to that specific research project does not appear in any of the later seminal reviews located.

In the discussion that follows, I mainly highlight the key shaded studies in the figure, as these continue to be referred to, both internationally and in China, or provide some comparative insights relevant to our focus on applications related later to the theory of Schwartz. In keeping with Braithwaite and Scott’s analysis (1991:668), less frequent usage already in the 1980s has led me not to discuss Ewell’s (1954) Inventory of Values, Perloe’s (1967) Social Values Questionnaire, or Shorr’s (1953) Test of Value Activities (or the measures that influenced them). I have also not included or discussed those studies that have linked values with various kinds of attitudes or behavioral outcomes (cf. Williams, 1979:23). With such a broad landscape of research related to values, only the more significant, influential, oft-cited and enduring studies are highlighted below.

3.1.2 Empirically Conceptualizing Values – Allport, Morris, Gordon

3.1.2.1 Allport, Vernon & Lindzey’s Study of Values, 1931, 1951, 1960

Gordon Allport and his colleagues initiated one of the earliest attempts at developing a specific values survey. Applying Spranger’s (1914/1928) work to values, the “Study of Values” was first developed in 1931 and “assesses the relative importance of six basic interests or personality motives” (Levitin, 1973:503). Though called “one of the best and certainly the most ubiquitous of scales of values” (1973:505), in today’s understanding of what values are one has to ask if it is really measuring “values” or personality traits, attitudes toward interests or preferences. “It measures preferences, not what ought to be preferred” (Levitin, 1973:505), as Allport et al. (1960:3) admitted: the instrument measures “the relative prominence of six basic interests or motives in personality: the *theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political, and religious*.”

The test is composed of 45 items, 30 of which are forced choice and 15 which require rank ordering (with each of the 6 values represented by 10 of the 60 possible answers) so that both

internal and external validity ratings are quite high (see Cantril & Allport, 1933; Duffy, 1940; Hogan, 1972) and the ease of use of each successive version⁴⁴ of the test gave it wide usage.

Braithwaite and Scott provide an extensive reference list of the many applications of the instrument (1991:671) as well as tests of the factorial scheme (1991:672). Hofstede used it, along with three of Gordon's instruments (mentioned below, with others) in the early 1970s on different samples of his IMEDE management students "to explore convergence between different instruments and the IBM questionnaire" (Hofstede, 1972; 2001:49, 74, n10).

But the notable limitations of the instrument include, (1) "this scale measures only the relative strength of each value⁴⁵; thus a high score on one scale necessitates a corresponding reduction on one or more of the other scales;" (2) it is "standardized on college students who are primarily in liberal arts (N = 8369)...there is still insufficient data to allow for generalization beyond this narrow range of subjects"; and (3) the "test vocabulary is difficult enough to require a fairly high level of education," although the 1960 version improved this somewhat (Levitin, 1973:504-505). Braithwaite and Scott add to this that the instrument "is dated with sexist language" and that it "measures preference, interest, beliefs, choice and behavioral intentions, with fewer than 20% of items tapping conception of the desirable (1991:672). Though once popular, care must be taken with its use, and more recent measures seem to have superseded it theoretically and statistically.

3.1.2.2 Morris' Ways to Live Survey, 1956b

An often-cited early values study is Charles W. Morris' *Ways to Live* survey.

Morris (1956b, 1964) argued that values were indicated by the preferential behavior exhibited by an organism toward an object or situation. While they could be stimulated by social, psychological, or biological causes, they were not infinitely variable. Rather, they coalesced around 13 main orientations, which Morris called "Ways to Live." These were defined for research purposes in a series of philosophic statements – e.g. "Way 3: This way of life makes central the sympathetic concern for other persons...." (1956b:16, cited in Spates, 1983:37, 38)

⁴⁴ Levitin notes that the third edition in 1960 only made changes to the manual and score sheet, not to the 1951 test itself. For more details see that description of successive test improvements (1973:505).

⁴⁵ Rohan & Zanna (1996:255) and Braithwaite & Scott (1991:672) also emphasize this relative strength, ipsative data aspect. Levitin explains, "This is not necessarily a deficiency in the test, but it is a fact that both must not be forgotten in evaluating scores and may make interpretation difficult by imposing negative correlations and making prediction more troublesome" (1973:504) due to the "zero-sum independence" of the differing scales creating problems for data analysis, as noted by Braithwaite & Scott.

Though Charles Morris was primarily a philosopher (and is mentioned in the section on Dewey, Pepper, and Lepley in Chapter 2:75-76), he was also committed to the empirical development of models based on scientific research. Like a number of the Aristotelian “polymaths” of earlier generations highly competent in many disciplines (e.g., Bastian, Spencer, Boas), Morris was well-versed and academically influenced by Dewey’s pragmatism, Peirce’s semiotics, Mead’s symbolic interactionism (1938), James’ empirical realism, and Lewis’s (1947) valuation of knowledge. In particular, having studied with George Herbert Mead at Chicago before taking his post at the University of Florida, we note Mead’s semiotic influence in Morris’ *Signs, Language, and Behavior* (1946). He acknowledges these influences as follows:

The belief that a scientific study of values might also advance the enterprise of the humanities was in part related to the philosophical tradition of American pragmatism. Peirce, James, Dewey, Mead, and Lewis were major influences on my thinking, and they had all believed that evaluations were much like scientific judgments and (with some variations) that a scientific study of values and evaluations not only was possible but would be of service to man in his characteristic activity as a valuer. It seemed desirable to put this philosophic position to a serious empirical test.” (Morris, (1956b:viii)

This empirical examination of values will be detailed in the psychological section, as Morris crossed over disciplinary lines in the development of his study. My previous reaction Morris work was that it was a broadly conceived (like early work often is) values-beliefs hybrid list of 13 generalized items. I was not sure why it was used by Yang (1972) in Taiwan research (1986:117-120), mentioned in Bond’s *Handbook* article (1996:176), discussed in Yang’s (1996) treatment of Chinese personality in the same volume, and used by Garrott (1995a) in the Mainland. Though tested in various cultures, results seemed to reflected inconsistencies and unclarity of the exact meaning construed by each item across different cultures.

However, the research for this dissertation enlightened me, and also showed that even the authors above seem to have overlooked important aspects of Morris’ work, specifically his empirically derived dimensions and their circumplex relational structure highlighted below. Levitin (1973:552-555) gives the instrument ample coverage and praise: “In sum, Morris has amassed an impressive collection of data of multidisciplinary interest. The test is a careful and creative effort, and his main conclusions are adequately supported” (Levitin, 1973:554). In describing the instrument, it is noted that, “This scale measures conceptions of the good life. The 13 ways to live include values promulgated by the major religious and philosophical systems.” These are based on

some of the earlier work of Morris related to the life-ideals of Eastern and Western cultures⁴⁶ (or I would suggest, civilizations, e.g., Jones & Morris, 1951; Morris, 1956b). “The first seven ways were developed by combining various strengths of the three basic components of personality Morris had delineated in his *Paths of Life* (1956a)...which yielded six patterns, and a seventh combined option. Tests on several-hundred college students yielded three more responses, and the last three ways were added several years later to include more extreme alternatives (see Morris & Jones, 1955).

Though primarily developed with American college students, the significance of Morris’ survey is that it was both early and widely used beyond the US, with (mostly collegiate) samples from India, China (each fairly sizeable), Japan, Italy, Norway, Canada, England (reported by Levitin in 1973:553) and other countries since. Morris and his colleagues also used the survey to compare results to temperament (Jones & Morris, 1951), connotative meanings (Osgood, Ware, & Morris, 1961) and value changes over time (Morris & Small, 1971). “This instrument is particularly useful in comparing value differences among distinct social groups, and has been used in extensive cross-cultural research” (Levitin, 1973:499). Triandis (1972) sees the paragraph format as an advantage since the cross-cultural researcher is relying on the translation of several sentences rather than one (noted in Braithwaite & Scott, 1991:687). Zavalloni notes that the scale also brought in a balance of items: “the first six ways embody values important to the continuing operations of a society (stressing the conservation of what has been achieved, sympathetic concern for others, and reconstruction in the face of new problems) while the last seven are essentially individualistic and contain no stress on social responsibility (1980:85).

Some reviewers note the “mixed conception of values” in the scale, “which include values both as what is desired and as what should be preferred (Levitin, 1973:499). Further critiques note that 1) “A major problem with this instrument is the complexity and abstract quality of each paragraph. Both positive and negative imperatives, preferences, clichés, specific activities and even poetry... may be found, in differing combinations in these paragraphs. The phrasing is often so lacking in rigor and clarity that precisely what the subject was responding to becomes unclear (Levitin, 1973:554). 2) The scales do overlap a great deal, some value domains (e.g. related to intellectual activities) are neglected, and the Likert scale for normatively appropriate items seems inappropriate. 3) There “is no information on the extent to which respondents, prior to taking the

⁴⁶ “The Ways to Live items were originally derived from combining three basic components of personality (Dionysian: the tendency to release and indulge existing desires; Promethean: the tendency to change and remake the world; and Buddhistic: the tendency to regulate self by holding desires in check) that expressed themselves in major religious, ethical and philosophical systems in the world (Braithwaite & Scott, 1991:685).

test, saw the ways as distinctly different, conceptually clear and unambiguous” (Levitin, 1973:553).

Critiques aside, the more I read about Morris work, and the more seriously I took his work. What often goes unreported in most literature is that the “ways to live” survey was factor analyzed by Morris and his colleagues and yielded five factors (which is important for potential comparisons to Bales and Couch below, and the later dimensions of Hofstede, Schwartz, Inglehart, and Minkov). These were identified in the American student sample, and similarly reported for Indian college students, and are as follows:

- 1. Social restraint and self-control**
- 2. Enjoyment and progress in action**
- 3. Withdrawal and self-sufficiency**
- 4. Receptivity and sympathetic concern**
- 5. Self-indulgence or sensuous enjoyment**

More interesting to me was the potential structure that emerged with an analysis of the reported factor loadings (Levitin, 1973:552). Working from the sources I had, I re-examined the reported data and the positive and negative correlation between these factors, I thought there must be a way to map this out in a way that would reflect a structure of dimensions that could be compared to the work of other scholars like Schwartz. Figure 3.2 represents my attempt to plot these factor relations in opposition and relationship to each other.

The striking point was the staggered, overlapping of items in the relationships of factors derived. Morris seemed to not have just generated independent binary factors (as Hofstede is often accused of) but showed co-relationships and interaction (e.g., items under the proposed factor Self Indulgence/Sensuous Enjoyment not only factored at the opposite pole of the Social Restraint/Self Control factor, but also loaded opposite Receptivity/Sympathetic Concern). These offset relations seemed to suggest a “star” of interrelationships, and the more information I located from his and other scholar’s reports, the more it seemed there must be a way to diagram this in a type of circular fashion akin to Schwartz. Only after I managed to get a copy of Morris’ original work through a second hand bookstore and read through the data treatment did I amazingly discover that Morris had actually done this at the end of his book!

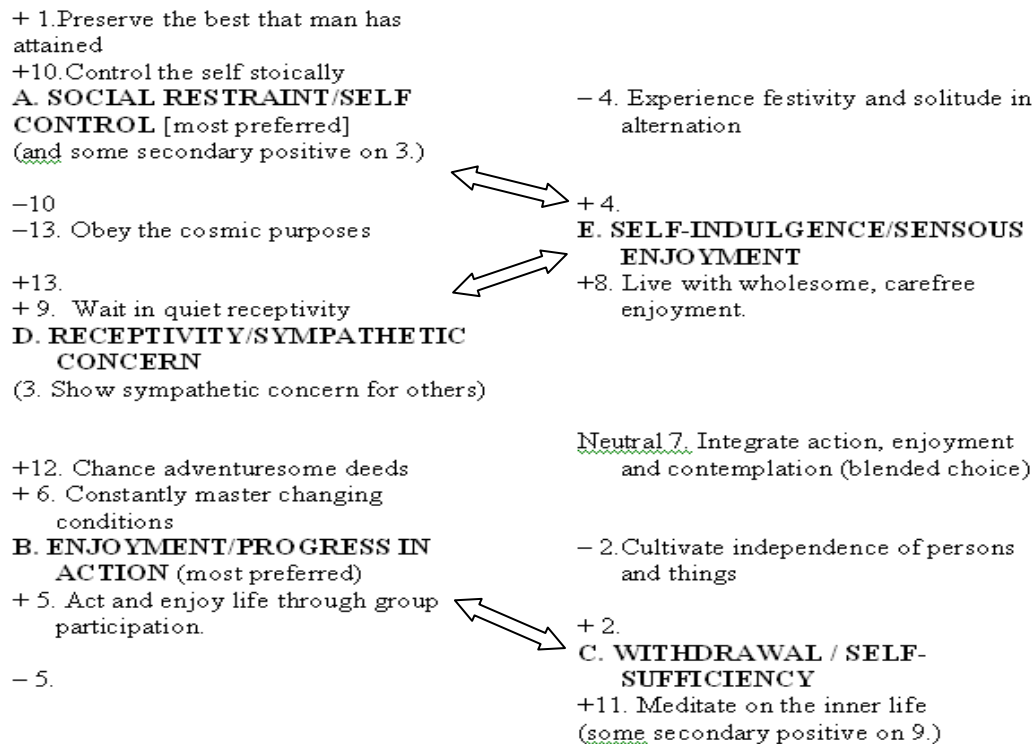


Figure 3.2. Plotting the Relations of Morris' 5 "Ways to Live" Factors

Based on reported factor relations initially from Levitin (1973:552) and then from Morris (1956b:32-34) using Morris' original factor alphabetical factor labels and the all 13 Ways to Live descriptions.

Similar to my sense of discovery initially building information from second hand summaries, Morris himself reports his enthusiasm for the structure that emerged:

The strongest impression which this study has made upon its author is one of orderliness, of structure, in the domain of values. It is as if one discerns the contours of a region, though the recorded observations do not yet permit careful map-making. What underlying structure in the domain of values is suggested...? (Morris, 1956b:198)

As he notes, at best he can only provide a "somewhat idealized form of what this structure appears to be...Because this diagram is a two-dimensional representation of a more complex dimensional structure, it cannot present adequately the complexity of the relations involved...and...the spatial positions given to the Ways are approximations" (Morris, 1956b:200). His figure (3.3) for the ideal relation of dimensions is one that I have never seen mentioned or republished in anyone's work since (though it clearly foreshadows the dimensional relationships that Schwartz proposes) – it seems to have been overlooked.

What this model suggests is that Schwartz is not the first to propose a circumplex, interrelationship of value domains (and it does not seem that he claims to, though other writers attribute him with

that advancement, cf., Hitlin & Pilivian, 2004). It also suggests that “dimensionalizing” scholars may have not paid careful enough attention to the interrelationship of items – in attempts to rotate data until clean factorial solutions arise, some of the cross-correlations may be missed that Morris noted with less sophisticated computer power. Granted, Morris developed this model at an early stage of quantitative research – both his survey items and empirical methods can, and have, been improved on. After Figure 3.3 an important critique noting this is cited.

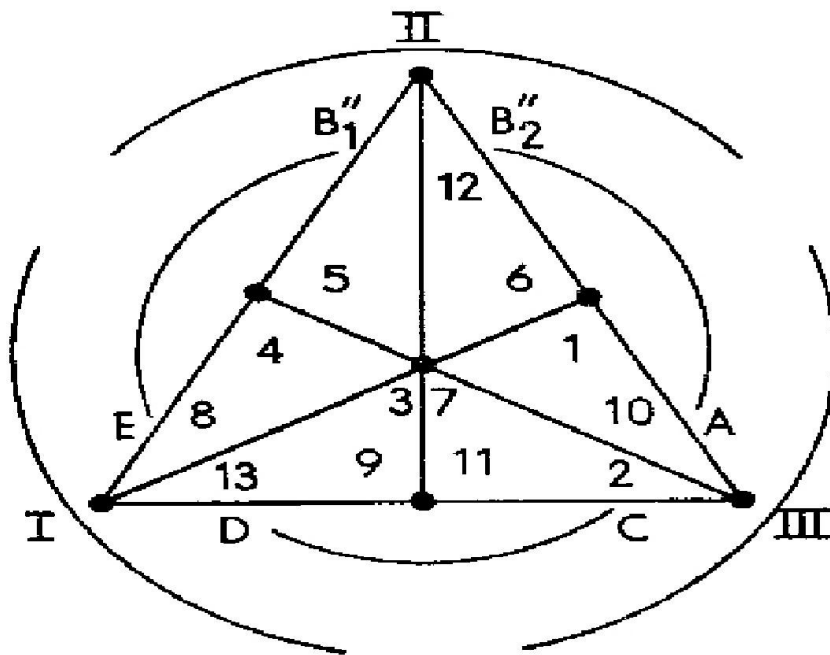


Figure 3.3. Morris' Idealized Model of the Structure of Values (1956b:201)

The factorial structure of the Ways to Live has been examined by Morris and his coworkers (Morris, 1956; Morris & Jones, 1955), by K.S. Thompson (1981, and by Hofstede (1980).... Thompson, however, reported a two-factor solution, not only for his own data but for a reanalysis of L. Jones and Morris' (1956) data. Thompson attributed the difference to the factoring techniques used, but details of his factor solutions are not provided. Hofstede's (1980) reanalysis of Morris' Ways to Live data from six countries also pointed to a two-factor solution. He identified the first factor as “enjoyment” (Ways 4, 7, 8, and 12) versus “duty” (Ways 1, 2, 6, and 10). The second factor was labeled “engagement” (Ways 5 and 13) versus “withdrawal” (Ways 1, 9, and 11). Although Thompson and Hofstede both identified two bipolar factors, the solutions themselves differ considerably. Until these problems are resolved, the Ways to Live are probably best conceived as 13 separate, though clearly not independent, variables. (Braithwaite & Scott, 1991:686)

And even early scholars, like Winthrop (1961), as well as Dempsey and Dukes (1966), are also critical on the construction, validity and behavioral application of the ways to live survey. Though

it shows fairly strong internal validity (see Levitin), independent validation of the instrumentation is a need highlighted by several authors. Dempsey and Dukes (1966) conducted Q-sort methods and found negative within-path interim alpha's (r) within 11 of the 13 paths and proposed a shortened version of the survey without the discordant items. They converted the original Morris list to 110 statements or items, reduced those with poor interrelationships, and revised each of the 13 way paragraphs to less than 50 words (see Braithwaite & Scott, 1991:691). Gorlow and Barocas (1965) did another Q-sort, which yielded clusters different than those of Morris (both reported in Levitin, 1973:554).

Yet, at this stage of values research, we might do well to revisit the approach, model, and multi-dimensionality of Morris' work, especially as the earliest attempt to include broad emic conceptions from various civilizations into an etic survey. The achievement of Morris was in his own words, three-fold: "...the attainment of a cross-cultural interval scale for measuring values; the isolation of five value dimensions that appear (with minor variation) in the three main cultural samples (e.g., the United States, China and India); and the accumulation of a body of evidence in supporting in its totality a field conception of values" (Morris, 1956:184).

Yet Morris also modestly notes, "Since, however, the number of subjects used in the ratings was small, this result can only be regarded as suggestive. How far the value structure exhibited by the Ways hold for other content as well can be determined only by further research" (Morris, 1956:202). The work of Shalom Schwartz and his associates is encouragingly doing just that. Though I have not yet ascertained if Schwartz mentioned Morris study as an influence on his work, it certainly reflects a similar field/matrix conception that is also confirmed in Schwartz's later circumplex values model, and the interrelations of the two should be further explored. Further, it may provide clues for the study of Schwartz's Hedonism type, which has been a problem in SVS research conducted in China: "Chinese students had the highest score on a factor indicating enjoyment and progress in action as well as withdrawal and self-sufficiency" (Zavalloni, 1980:86).

3.1.2.3 Gordon's Survey of Interpersonal Values (SIV), 1960

In my early development of a "canon" of important values studies, several instruments escaped my attention. Leonard V. Gordon's surveys are not often mentioned, but have been used in some cross-cultural work. His first questionnaire was designed specifically for the Survey of Interpersonal Values (SIV) (1960, 1975) and then later he published his Survey of Personal Values (1967). The earlier and more widely utilized SIV "measures the relative importance of six values (support, conformity, recognition, independence, benevolence, and leadership) associated with the

way in which people relate to one another” (Braithwaite & Scott, 1991:736-738; explained more fully in Levitin, 1973:514-515). This instrument was more carefully developed from factor analysis of 210 items whereby the resulting 10 constructs were reduced to 7 with one unpopular term (aggression) eliminated to yield the resulting 6 (see Braithwaite & Scott, 1991:738 for the list of applications and replications), as was the parallel SPV instrument and Gordon’s Personal Profile (GPP).

The SPV was “intended to measure 6 ways in which an individual can cope with his environment” (Zavalloni, 1980:101) and has been used in Japanese and American student cross-cultural comparisons (Kikuchi & Gordon, 1966, 1970). Though an update of earlier work (partially from his Q-sort analysis of Allport’s Study of Values: Gordon, 1972), the author notes the similarity to the domains to Spranger and Allport: (1) practical mindedness, (2) achievement, (3) variety, (4) decisiveness, (5) orderliness, and (6) goal orientation. Braithwaite and Scott only mention the SPV, and argue for not including it or Gordon’s later scales “because they bear a stronger resemblance to personality traits than to values” (1991:738). Increasingly, the psychometric research on personality has been called into question:

The vast literature on personality testing failed to produce a body of knowledge generally acceptable to psychologists. In fact all personality instruments may be described as controversial, each with its own following of devotees. (Buros, 1970:25 as cited in Zavalloni, 1980:102)

Hofstede documents the use of three of Gordon’s measures as part of his independent sample testing and convergence explorations with his IBM questionnaire (2001:49): the Survey of Interpersonal Values (SIV), the Survey of Personal Values (SPV) and Gordon’s Personal Profile (GPP) (Hofstede, 2001:74 note 10). He notes that the highest *r* correlation coefficient was with an item on Gordon’s SIV (Hofstede, 2001.:74 note 11). Hofstede considers Gordon’s work important enough to relate his data or dimensions to it in a number of his discussions (Hofstede, 2001:93, 102, 126, 128, 163, 232, 297, 455 note 34, 509). Though I personally find the next scale (by Bales and Couch) to be more carefully developed, Gordon’s scales have clearly enjoyed more applications and research support.

3.1.2.4 The Bales and Couch Value Profile, 1969

A surprisingly overlooked inventory⁴⁷ in later social-psychological literature is the foundational work done by Bales and Couch (1969) – in fact, like Gordon’s work, I did not have it in this dissertation until late in its development. I highlight their work because I think it could be considered the “Schwartz a priori integration of the time.” I suggest this label since it was the first to carefully incorporate all the significant concepts and scales up to that date (specifically the work of Allport, Vernon, & Lindzey, 1951; F. Kluckhohn, 1950; Morris, 1956), the sampling procedure attempted “to represent as many value areas as possible” (Levitin, 1973:528), and because it specifically generated four important factors that later and even recent work have repeatedly recognized and substantiated.

This “general purpose inventory of values was developed for interpersonal relations research”, was “extremely comprehensive” and represented “a very large domain of value positions on which people differs” (144 distinct variables after the initial 252 items were reduced using discriminant first factor analysis) (Levitin, 1973:528, 529), yielding four orthogonal factors:

- 1. Acceptance of authority** (what Hofstede later termed Power-distance, or Schwartz, 1992, as Autonomy at the culture level, or as power and security at the individual level),
- 2. Need-determined expression vs. value-determined restraint** (similar to Schwartz’s 1994 culture-level Autonomy vs. Embeddedness (and specifically the individual-level neighboring domains of self-direction, stimulation, and hedonism vs. benevolence, tradition, and conformity), or more similarly termed as Indulgence vs. Restraint by Minkov, 2007 from WVS data),
- 3. Equalitarianism** (possibly similar to Schwartz’s culture-level Hierarchy vs. Egalitarianism, 1994), and
- 4. Individualism** (what Hofstede and others would label Individualism-Collectivism).

This is significant in that I have previously credited Hofstede with first expanding on the Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck framework to de-conflate their Social Relations Orientation into two dimensions: separating power relation preferences from individualized preferences. But Bales and

⁴⁷ Hofstede does, to his credit, mention their work (2001:8), acknowledging that “they collected nearly 900 different formulations of values used in different instruments, in theoretical literature, and in group discussions they had organized. Using 500 U.S. students as a test population, they reduced the statements statistically to four clusters: authority, self-restraint, equality, and individuality.” I find it interesting that these two sentences are all he allots them, and that no further reference is made in his extensive volume, even though his dimensions bear some similarity. One could argue that these dimensions actually fit Schwartz better, but more research is needed to check their compatibility.

Couch not only preceded this, but factored out a third dimension – Equalitarianism (much earlier than Schwartz). This might be particularly relevant and discernable in Western cultures (as the construction of the instrument was in the US, and even Withey's 1965 comparative study was from the US American view of Russians) but may also relate to the Schwartz self-directed/ universalism/ benevolence domains, and provide a more fruitful demarcation of power and hierarchical domains in non-Western cultures. A general problem in survey research is that our factors are limited to the constructs and items we are using – most likely every scale has content-meaning gaps that need to be included and re-analyzed (has Schwartz has been doing in his on-going data base development).

Also significant was that Bale and Couch's factor analysis choices considered space. It appears that techniques like the Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) that Schwartz later employed were not yet readily available (cf. Guttman, 1968), though they noted, "that various rotations gave various factors, and the underlying space should be the basis of comparisons made" (Levitin, 1973:529). Bales and Couch themselves noted "the underlying factor space seems to be congruent with that obtained by Morris and others...." (Bales & Couch, 1969:3-17).

Though conducted in 1961 and published earlier, Withey's work (1965) was "based on the most important items from this Value Profile" (Bales & Couch, 1969). Applying values studies to international relations (specifically US-Russian public civil defense practices), Withey selected the three highest loading items on each factor for his 12-item instrument survey of 1475 Americans. "Data from a representative national sample, when factored, yielded the same four dimensions as the Value Profile" (Levitin, 1973:498). Independently, J. Robinson (unpublished, but noted in Robinson & Shaver, 1973:533), used these same 12 items to replicate the four dimensional factor structure originally obtained by Bales and Couch (1969), though analysis also revealed the items were "highly susceptible to agreement response set" biases (Levitin, 1973:533). The use of a six-point rating scale also draws criticism, reflecting the constant potential conflation problem facing all values researchers:

The agree-disagree response continuum is not consistent with values as conceptions of the desirable, but it is of note that the notion of "oughtness" is incorporated into some of the value statements. Other items, however, can probably be more accurately described as related beliefs or attitudes than as values. (Braithwaite & Scott, 1991:694)

Though generally praised for its broad coverage, sampling procedures, analytical rigor, and dimensions identified, perhaps an explanation for the seeming lack of influence, applications, or later replications of this instrument is that no reliability or validity data "were encountered"

(Braithwaite & Scott, 1991:694). They do print the shortened questionnaire, with each of the four scales represented by 10 items, which could be useful for future research comparing these dimensions to Hofstede's latest VSM08, Schwartz or other dimensional measures.

3.1.3 Establishing a New Standard - The Rokeach Values Survey (RVS)

The *tour de force* and enduring new benchmark of values research was the seminal work of social psychologist Milton Rokeach. Norm Feather noted that Rokeach first began to articulate his ideas on the structure of values in his Presidential address to the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI) in the late 1960s (which was later published as Rokeach, 1968). "He argued that, although the study of values was a central concern of the social sciences, it had been neglected by social psychologists when compared with the amount of attention they had given to the study of attitudes and attitude change" (Feather, 1996:215). In his subsequent publication of *The Nature of Human Values* (Rokeach, 1973), "he provided a careful conceptual analysis of the nature of values and distinguished values from related concepts such as attitudes needs, and norms" (Feather, 1996:215). In that book (1973:5), Rokeach adjusted his definition to fit the more meaning-centered paradigm of the 1960s and 70s, stating that values are "enduring beliefs that a specific mode of conduct is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence."

Significantly, Rokeach added the important refinement distinguishing two levels of values – those that are instrumental (operative, practical) values and those that are terminal (ideal or hoped for) values, both of which gave meaning to action (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004:362). Schwartz notes, however that even though "it is possible to form indexes for values types from the items in the Rokeach survey...[as he did in Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987]...these indexes are less well-defined...and the coverage is less broad because power and tradition values are omitted" (Schwartz, 1996:22). I propose this can best be understood if we view Rokeach as an *emic* study of American values during a period of dramatic social change (the 60s and 70s). Thus "old-world" values like authoritarianism and traditionalism would not have been as evident in that period of civil rights, free love, and anti-establishment protests.

The Rokeach lists, especially the terminal values 18, have been consistently used in multiple research endeavors, especially those seeking to link values to actual attitudes or behaviors (cf. Ball-Rokeach et al., 1984; Kristiansen & Hotte, 1996). Another key contribution by Rokeach was his early idea of "belief congruence," later developed into the theory of cognitive consistency (Rokeach, 1973), which became a foundation for prejudice and racism studies (see Sec. 4.5.2.4). Multiple authors praise and cite the pioneering work of Rokeach in renewing interest in or laying

foundations for their work on values. “Rokeach’ contributions helped to revitalize the study of values. Over the past 25 years social psychologists have given more attention to values in areas such as cross-cultural psychology, attitude theory, and political psychology” (Feather, 1996:215).

3.1.4 Considering Values as Needs – Maslow and Kahle

3.1.4.1 Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs/Values, 1970

Some scholars, particularly Lynn Kahle, suggest that Abraham Maslow’s (1943, 1970a) theory of social development interchangeably used the terms “values” and “needs” and treats the Maslow’s hierarchy framework it as a values schema⁴⁸. Schwartz and his associates also understood Maslow’s work as suggesting constructs that fit a frame for values dimensions:

Most theories treat their motivational constructs as independent (e.g., McClelland, 1985) or as related hierarchically (e.g., Maslow, 1965). [This] value theory suggests that these constructs can be organized into a motivational continuum built around two dimensions,

(1) **conservation vs. openness** and

(2) **self-enhancement vs. self-transcendence**.

A structural analysis of the Maslow needs by Ronen (1994) in 15 cultures revealed just such a structure. Security needs opposed self-actualization needs (dimension 1) and esteem needs opposed belongingness needs (dimension 2). (Schwartz, 2005a:50)

Maslow “assumes that individuals developmentally progress through a hierarchical transition of values...progressing from the physiological to the safety to the social to the esteem to the self-actualization stage” (Kahle, 1996:146; Kahle & Xie, 2008:576). The work of Inglehart and associates on the World Value Survey would support this, as their dimension of survival values moving toward self-expressive values closely follows Maslow (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005), though they do not cite Maslow directly. Kahle suggests that these ideas of values or stages are “valid and useful in consumer psychology,” but he admits that Maslow’s hierarchy has not been able to be confirmed empirically (some of the disconfirming studies are listed in Kahle & Xie, 2008:576).

Maslow carefully put forward and categorized several lists. One of them (15 categories) he considers to be ultimate and thus “further unanalyzable ideal qualities” that he calls “Values of Being” (B-values) that could be rationally appealed to in psychotherapy instead of religious terminology (see his Appendix G: “B-values as descriptions of perception in peak-experiences,” 1970b:91-96) for which he also provided an analytical illustration (Appendix I: “An example of B-

⁴⁸ This is an acceptable position, given the fact that Maslow actually edited a book, inviting noted authors like Jacob Bronowski, Ludwig von Bertalanffy, Erich Fromm, Gordon Allport, Paul Tillich, and others to write on their areas related to values entitled, *New Knowledge in Human Values* (1959).

analysis” 1970b:103-116). These descriptive aspects of reality he distinguishes from his attitudes and emotions that he calls B-cognizer (a list of about 20 feelings people express in religious experiences). And in keeping with his self-actualization needs model of human development (1943/1970a), he also encouraged “Growth Values” (see his Appendix H: “Naturalistic reasons for preferring growth-values over regression-values under good conditions” 1970b:97-102).

Some developmental, economic, or globalization theorists and comparative culture writers seem to imply that cultures develop toward higher-order values (as implied by Maslow). But this is an assumption this dissertation considers to be a dangerous and potentially western imperialist imposition. The use of Maslow as an argument for “progress”, “modernization”, or other frames of judgment placing the status of one society over another is to be cautioned (agreeing with Kohls critique, 1984/2001). In fact, Maslow himself warned against this in several of his writings in arguments against the superiority of some sanctioned values sets or (especially religious) beliefs over others:

This volume springs from the belief, first that the ultimate disease of our time is valuelessness.... The cure for this disease is obvious. We need a validated, usable system of human values, values that we can believe in and devote ourselves to because they are true rather than because we are exhorted to “believe and have faith.” (Maslow, 1959:i)

The final and unavoidable conclusion is that education—like all our social institutions—must be concerned with its final values, and that this in turn is just about the same as speaking of what have been called “spiritual values” or “higher values.” These are the principles of choice which help us to answer the age-old “spiritual” (Philosophical? Religious? Humanistic? Ethical?) questions...” (Maslow, 1970b:52)

When “hierarchy” is mentioned in this paper, it is not in terms of Maslowian individual or social development, but in the “rank-ordering” of a person’s own complex inventory of values. This actually seems to be the way that Milton Rokeach understood it. As one review notes, “Rokeach (1973) suggested the existence of values derived from Maslow’s (1970a) theory of needs. Maslowians viewed values as separately embedded rules, but they missed the dynamic nature of value systems and environmental influence (Kahle & Xie, 2008:577).

3.1.4.2 Kahle's Consumer Psychology List of Values (LOV), 1983

Also focusing on simplicity of conception and application, Lynn R. Kahle (1983) and his associates (Beatty et al., 1985) developed a List of Values (LOV) survey, using single items to measure nine values in consumer behavior research (and later an alternative Values and Life Style measure, the VALS, Kahle et al., 1986). This approach is rooted in Piaget's learning theory (1952), which assumes that "information may be assimilated into existing cognitive structures, such as values, or it may accommodate the existing cognitive structures into the more refined structures that result from additional interaction" (Kahle, 1996:135). "In this view values function and change via the same processes of adaptation and accommodation that characterize other cognitive changes in Piagetian theory" (Kahle & Xie, 2008:576). This also fits Maslow's ideas on social development mentioned above. Kahle calls this social adaptation theory (Kahle, 1983, 1996; Kahle, Kulka, & Klingel, 1980), which claims that; "values are situationally salient when individuals adapt to various life roles in part through value development and value fulfillment" (Kahle & Xie, 2008:577).

With only nine general values listed, this is another attempt at simplification and ease of use. Kahle justifies this arguing that "the magic number of 7 (+/- 2)" – which is approximately how many items the normal [US] adult can hold in short-term memory—implies that the 9-item LOV is viable for storage in short-term memory" while he argues that other systems like Rokeach go beyond this capacity (Kahle, 1996:141, 142; Kahle & Xie, 2008:578, 579). "Using more items may tap into more complexity but may also excessively tax the short-term information processing capacities of survey respondents.

The items in Kahle's LOV read amazingly similar to Schwartz' ten main value types. One only wished that Kahle and his colleagues had earlier adjusted this scale to correlate to Schwartz's robust and broadly empirically-tested domains:

1. **Sense of belonging** (to be accepted/ needed by our family, friends, and community)
2. **Warm relationships with others** (to have close companionships and intimate friendships)
3. **Self-fulfillment** (to find peace of mind and to make the best use of your talents)
4. **Being well-respected** (to be admired by others and to receive recognition)
5. **Fun and enjoyment in life** (to lead a pleasurable, happy life)
6. **Excitement** (to experience stimulation and thrills) [in analysis, combined with 4]
7. **Security** (to be safe and protected from misfortune and attack)
8. **Self-respect** (to be proud of yourself and confident with who you are)
9. **A sense of accomplishment** (to succeed at what you want to do)

Kamakura and Novak (1992) began such a process, using the Kahle LOV in research to construct a values map. They note that, “data from a national survey show that the resulting value-system segments and values map have face validity consistent with the psychological structure of human values recently hypothesized by S. H. Schwartz and W. Bilsky [1990]” (Kamakura & Novak, 1992:119).

But Schwartz suggests shortcomings to this list (1996:22): “it omits universalism, tradition and conformity...important types to miss, as evidenced by their substantial relations to behavior in the studies....” He further notes in a footnote (Schwartz, 1996:22) that, “another problem with the List of Values (LOV) is that 5 of its 9 items are values with cross-culturally inconsistent meanings (as shown by Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995). The LOV may well fit the US American context in which it was developed, but, like Rokeach’s RVS, may lack cross-cultural applicability. A test of the validity of the LOV in five economically advanced nations rejected the cross-cultural comparability of its items (Grunert, Grunert & Kristensen, 1993). Part of the limited, ethnocentric, or materialistic western view represented in Kahle’s study might be further reflected in the title of the book it produced, *Social values and social change: Adaptation to life in America*, as well as in the title of his later chapter, “Social values and consumer behavior” (Kahle, 1996), or later overview “Social values in consumer psychology” (Kahle & Xie, 2008). It is clearly an instrument created for a specific research niche. Nevertheless, for all its limitations, just as it has been used for identifying values across regions of the US (Kahle et al., 1988), it might provide a useful reference list by which varied emic data can be compared, in order to see which of the nine items appear in societies outside of North America.

3.1.5 Summary of Psychological Contributions

In summarizing this research base, both from psychology and the fields it borrowed from, Daphna Oyserman notes first that, “Modern theories of values are grounded in the work of Kohn (class and values), Rokeach (general values systems), and Kluckhohn (group level)” (2001:16150). Later she reports: “Impetus for the study of cultural values comes from the work of Alfred Kroeber, Clyde Kluckhohn, Talcott Parsons, Charles Morris, Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, Raymond Firth, A.I. Hallowell, and more currently Milton Rokeach and Shalom Schwartz” (2001:16151). It is strikingly notable that she does not mention the work of Harry Triandis or Geert Hofstede, both of whom she takes to task in one of her most cited articles critiquing individualism and collectivism (cf., Oyserman et al., 2002). Their work will be highlighted in the section specifically on intercultural communication to end this chapter. In Chapter 4, this psychological legacy, its work on the operational definitions of values, their relation to or differentiation from other core cultural

elements, and a slate of cautionary critiques will be put forward. Also, how values are affected or influenced by cultural change and their role in the processes of shifts from tradition to modernity or post-modernity will be considered. Methodological issues will be raised in Chapter 7 and applied in Chapters 8-11 (mostly utilizing psychological research).

3.2 Values Applications and Extensions in Political Science

In their hearts, most journalists know...that politics, while it can be enjoyed for its own sake, is fundamentally about choices and values and the direction a society takes.

Jay Rosen (1993:9)

3.2.1 Comparative Political Studies – Lipset and Rokeach

3.2.1.1 Lipset's Comparative Studies (primarily Canadian-US)

At first I had hoped to label this overall section “the comparative study of values” but then realized that many of the prominent paradigms mentioned in the literature are not necessarily comparative. Lipset's work (1963a, 1963b) provided one of the first “internationally” comparative sets of studies, initially broad, then focusing on the English-speaking democracies of Australia, Great Britain, Canada, and the US, and then even more narrowly on the latter two as neighbors sharing a North American border (e.g., Lipset, 1964, 1985, as noted in Baer et al., 1996:300). His work is noteworthy for having enjoyed longstanding prominence, “in part because of his thought-provoking claims about the nature of value differences between the United States and Canada, as well as his rather controversial “origin” explanation for these alleged differences...[e.g., his] “first new nation” thesis of American exceptionalism...[and the US as] the most “modern” nation relative to the other countries of the world” (Baer et al., 1996:300). He also contrasted the “break away” US to the Spanish colonies in Central and South America, applying a variant of Parson's pattern variables (Lipset, 1967).

A combination of historical analysis, sociological observation, and political description, his paradigm lined up with the progressive conception of modernization of his time, which later fell under criticism. Even in his later work, Lipset (1994) “continues to embrace the modernization school's fundamental emphasis on the role of culture in explaining social change,” even more important than economic ones (Baer et al., 1996:302). Many of Lipset's conclusions were based on his own observations, a certain definition of individualism which the later research of others modified, and a version of modernization (Lipset, 1967:33,35,38) that assumed that Americans were exceptionally modern. These are critiqued by Baer et al. (1996:303), who noted that “it is quite possible that the pattern of cross-national value differences he perceived for the 1950s and

1960s has changed substantially...(and) using other data, there already is considerable evidence to suggest that Lipset has overstated or incorrectly characterized the differences between the United States and other nations.”

3.2.1.2 Rokeach's RVS Political Applications

The values work of Milton Rokeach (first published in 1967, 1968), though not specifically as a political scientist, was inspired in some measure by seeking to understand how values (arising from his earlier work on authoritarianism) might influence or be applied to political (or religious) attitudes and behaviors. Much of his work ended up focusing on the difference of values of college age students and the older generation during the turbulent social and civil rights strife of the 1960s (e.g. value constellations as predictive of participation in civil rights demonstrations, Levitin, 1973:547).

Primarily “concerned with the functional relationships among values, attitudes and their respective systems” (Levitin, 1973:548), Rokeach's work did note inconsistencies of personal value systems that might rate “freedom” first and “equality” last, especially as judged by a democratic society. Rokeach also content-analyzed the writings of political figures showing differences between rightist (consistency of freedom and equality) and leftist ideologists (equality at the relative expense of freedom) (noted by Levitin, 1973:548).

3.2.2 An International Standard - Inglehart's World Values Survey (WVS)

To deal with obvious culture shifts in political behavior, Ronald Inglehart (1971) proposed a theory of value change and modernization (further developed and updated in Inglehart 1990, 1995; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). He “predicted that value priorities in advanced industrial societies would tend to shift away from “Materialist” concerns about economic and physical security, toward a greater emphasis on freedom, self-expression, and the quality of life, or “Postmaterialist” values” (Abrahamson & Inglehart, 1995:1). These assertions were based on cooperative analysis of the first European Community survey that measured Materialist/Postmaterialist values in Western Europe in 1970 (with the EVS, 1981, and ESS since 2002) and the first wave of the 1981-83 World Values Survey (Inglehart, 1971, 1990).

Inglehart continued to as a co-investigator in the Eurobarometer studies from 1970-1990, and then he launched and became the global coordinator of the second wave of his World Values Survey, which included forty nations in 1990-1991 (as noted in Abrahamson & Inglehart, 1995:ix). The WVS team has conducted five waves (1981-82, 1990-91, 1995-98, 1999-2000, 2005-6; cf.,

Inglehart & Welzel, 2005), each time extending the number of countries in this repeated multi-nation study, thus providing time-series data on each of their questions. One of their early claims was that “the 1990-91 World Values Survey covers an unprecedentedly broad range of the economic and political spectrum, including 70 percent of the world’s population” (1995:ix). The most recent survey has now been carried out in “97 societies containing almost 90 percent of the world’s population...The World Values Survey (WVS) network will carry out a new [the 6th] wave of surveys in 2010 - 2011. This will provide a 30-year time series for the analysis of social and political change” (see WVS web-site).

In all of Inglehart’s work, he and his colleagues “consider it crucial that scholars share their data” so he initiated a “program through which these data are made available to social scientists” through the programs of the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Though related to values, “these surveys examine a wide range of domains, from politics to sexual and family norms, religious values, attitudes toward war, state-market relationships, and the environment.”⁴⁹

The WVS work particularly addresses issues of how values shift as societies change. It claims that economic development and cultural and political change happen together in coherent, somewhat predictable and foreseeable patterns, suggesting that some trajectories of socioeconomic change are more likely or preferred than others. According to their data, the start of industrialization in a society sets off a related set of changes, from increases in mass mobility to diminishing differences in gender roles. These changes can best be illustrated along the two main country-level developmental value dimensions developed by Inglehart’s group: one termed “well-being versus survival” (now called Survival/Self-expression values) and the other “secular-rational versus traditional authority” (now termed Traditional/ Secular-rational values). These can be co-axially mapped to locate the past and present development path of each country in the world for which data has been gathered (Figure 3.4). As Inglehart notes, “These two dimensions explain more than 70 percent of the cross-national variance in a factor analysis of ten indicators – and each of these dimensions is strongly correlated with scores of other important orientations” (website in Footnote⁴⁹ above).

⁴⁹ These data sets are accessible at the World Values Survey website, retrieved June 1, 2009, from www.worldvaluessurvey.org

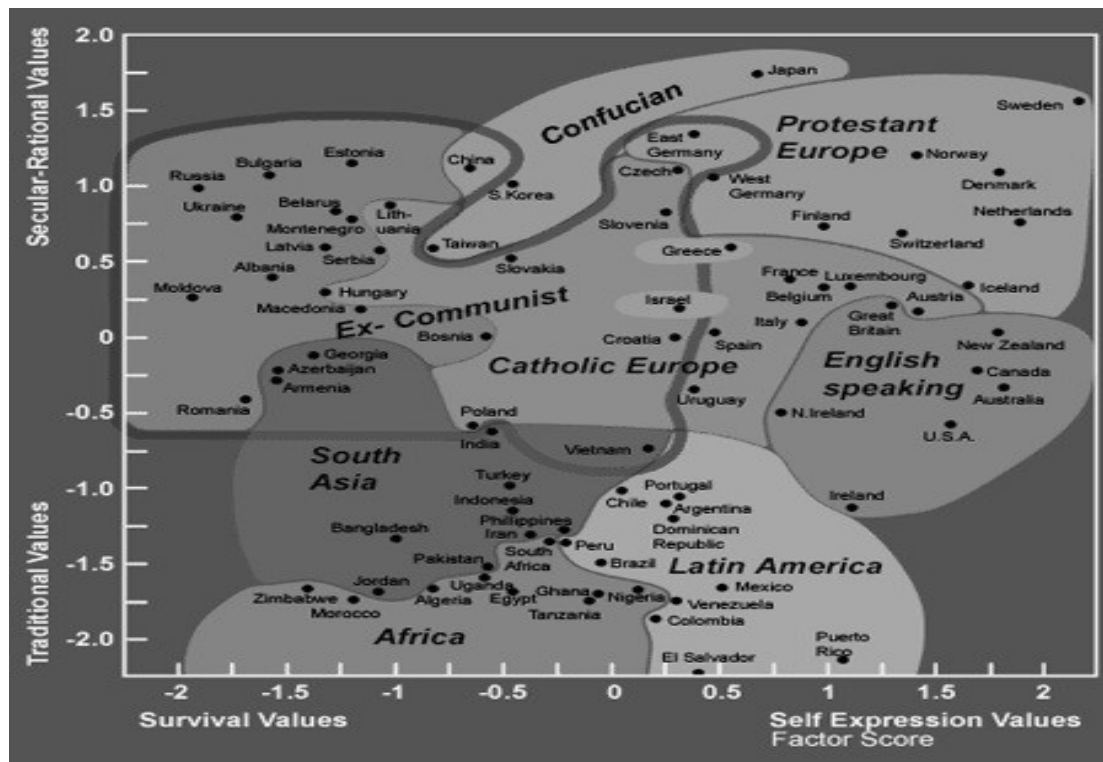


Figure 3.4. Mapping the World Values Study Dimensions

Source: The Inglehart-Welzel Cultural Map of the World (2005). Retrieved June 11, 2009, from www.worldvaluessurvey.org

These significant and avowedly predictable shifts advance modernization theory, however controversial, to suggest a clear relationship between economic development and intergenerational changes in cultural values (specifically increased individual autonomy, gender equality, sexual freedom), democracy, and capitalism (cf., Inglehart & Welzel, 2005).

3.2.3 Values and Behavior Models – Tetlock and Ball-Rokeach

3.2.3.1 Tetlock's Values Pluralism Model (VPM)

Another psychologist investigating the influence of values on political (and consumer) attitudes and behavior is Philip Tetlock. He proposes a values pluralism model (VPM) to account for the value conflicts or trade-offs that people encounter at all levels, especially in their political choices (Tetlock, 1984, 1986). Further modifications to the model are described in Tetlock, Peterson, and Lerner (1996). More recent work by Tetlock and his associates has focused on the idea of a “sacred value protection model” (SVPM) (Tetlock, 2003) and the influence of taboo trade-offs as an indicator of values, attitude and behavior priming (Tetlock et al., 2000; McGraw & Tetlock, 2005). Particularly relevant may be the work of Tetlock that builds on Fiske's social-relational theoretical framework (Fiske, 1991, 1992; Haslam, 2004) as an explanation on why the same person might respond with different value or attitudinal responses in different contexts. This four

dimensional taxonomy for how people code relationships domains and the corresponding relationship rules for each seems to provide high explanatory rationale for what might otherwise be perceived as value inconsistency (e.g. Fiske & Tetlock, 1997; McGraw & Tetlock, 2005:2,3; Tetlock et al., 2000).

3.2.3.2 Ball-Rokeach's Media Influences on Value Choices Model

Though primarily a mass media scholar (thus placing her work in the next section), Ball-Rokeach's work also links the influence of value choices and media influence on how political positions are developed, communicated, and expressed (Ball-Rokeach & Loges, 1996), especially as they relate to public issues, e.g., health care (Ball-Rokeach & Loges, 1996:282-286). Monica Biernat and her colleagues (Biernat et al., 1996) similarly apply values to the issues of racism and prejudice, which also have political implications. Ball-Rokeach's work will be referred to more under mass media studies (Section 3.2.2) as well as values and behavior in Chapter 4.

3.2.4 Summary of Political Science Contributions

Political scientists have played an important catalyst role in values research, particularly at the methodological level. Rokeach and Inglehart have brought seriousness and credibility with their large body of carefully documented conceptual framing, research rationales, analytical procedures, and value study extensions in ways that both academic and wider reading publics can understand and generally affirm. Ball-Rokeach's and Tetlock's work has had similar resonance in their respective fields, both with scholars and the public.

However, as situated political scientists, these scholars' commitments to their cultural system and political assumptions have tended to flavor their work with a US-centric flavor. Though Rokeach's and Inglehart's questions both enjoy wide use abroad, some argue that the conceptualization of questions and items need more cross-cultural transference and may not particularly well-suited to some non-Western cultural contexts. While their research has pushed the field forward, issues of imposed-etic frames, dimensions, and items will need to be further evaluated.

3.3 Brief Summaries of Values Studies in Related Fields

The term value or values is used in all social sciences (anthropology, economics, political science, psychology, and sociology) with different though not completely unrelated meanings; value is nearly as much an interdisciplinary term as system and therefore a natural choice as a central construct for cross-disciplinary research. Nearly all other mental programs (such as attitudes and beliefs) carry a value component.

Geert Hofstede (1998:20)

3.3.1 Area Studies (Historical and Strategic)

Related to cultural anthropology, but more a subset of history, are those disciplines under the rubric of “area studies.” For Chinese culture, this would include the more traditional domains of Chinese history, thought, philosophy (already noted independently), religion, literature, arts, and other humanities. Values of course can be explicated from many of these areas, though not as directly.

Perhaps the topic that most relates is the conception of “national character,” which grew out of Geoffrey Gorer’s work (1964) discussed in Chapter 2. The title that may be most associated with this genre of analysis would be Ruth Benedict’s study of the Japanese, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946/1974), and several other character studies of various peoples/nations of the world have become classics, like Francis L. K. Hsu’s *Americans and Chinese* (1953, 1981).

Just as the US government sponsored Benedict’s study (through the FMAD, discussed in the previous chapter), “area studies” have continued to focus more on more strategic policy studies. This approach often informs national policy and planning think tanks, doing research on “economic, political, military, foreign policy, social, and cultural developments...” (Kulich, 2007:xxv), shifting away from more anthropological studies to more applied and comparative global studies (as the Shanghai-based World Forum on China Studies does every two years since 2004). Values are sometimes imbedded in some of these topics, but not often explicitly. Yet the solid academic description of historical, economic, political, and social context often described in such studies can contribute greatly to our understanding of aspects of the deep (or certainly broad) culture of specific peoples. The specific contribution of such China-focused scholars will be discussed in Chapter 5, both regarding their analysis of the Chinese and their cultural values, and the foundations that such work puts forward for the study at hand.

3.3.2 Mass Communications and Media Studies

Some communication studies scholars would argue that the field began with the work of Wilbur Schramm. Certainly he was instrumental in developing mass communications as a viable field of study, both evidenced by his textbooks (1960, 1963) as well as the institutes he established for the study of media. And he was also pioneering in examining international communication, especially as it had a role in cross-national development (Schramm, 1974). Though he posited the different roles and effects of cultures, this project has not been able to ascertain how much cultural values were a part of his investigation or models.

But a number of scholars have specifically noted the media influence and media effects of values, most notably Sandra Ball-Rokeach, wife and close collaborator of Milton Rokeach (cf. Ball-Rokeach, Rokeach, & Grube, 1984). Typical of her work is the Media System Dependency (MSD) theory (Ball-Rokeach, 1985, 1994; Ball-Rokeach et al., 1984; Grant, Guthrie, & Ball-Rokeach, 1991) in which values play an underlying role. She later notes “the concept of a value-choice frame is introduced as an efficient conceptual tool for analysis of issue construction” in using MSD as a theoretical tool for analysis of media roles (Ball-Rokeach & Loges, 1996:277). “It has been argued that interest groups and the media generally seek to control the way people resolve their ambiguity vis à vis resource allocation issues by constructing value-choice frames” (Ball-Rokeach & Loges, 1996:289).

3.3.3 Economics and Global Studies

As noted in Spates (1983:28-29), the work of economists related to values probably starts with Adam Smith’s *The Wealth of Nations* (1863; orig. 1776) in which he wrote of labor as the ultimate and real standard by which value could be determined. From a political perspective of economy, Karl Marx (1848/1968) developed his labor theory of value (cf., Marx, 1865/1898). The early economists often sought to identify what brought value (a singular factor) rather than considering values (as a plural set of conceptions). Hitlin and Piliavin (2004:360) note that currently economics has “a similar difficulty adequately engaging this topic.” This is also obvious in the review of Tibor Scitovsky (1993) in Hechter et al.’s interdisciplinary volume (1993).

What the values economists are mainly concerned with are the subjective values people attribute to the sources of their satisfaction and dissatisfactions. Those value judgments show what people want and how badly they want it...that is why money, which is general purchasing power over many things, turns out to be the best available measure of subjective value.... Our interest in the public’s subjective value judgments is due to our concern with

the economy's ability to allocate resources, coordinate production, and distribute products, so that the public should be provided with the goods and services they want, in the quantities they want them, and in a way that creates the greatest benefit at the least cost as those benefits and costs are evaluated by the people who experience them. (Scitovsky, 1993:93)

In many ways, his chapter skirts the issue of values and focuses on goods, equity, welfare, and growth, and the converse of scarcity "values" (again treated as economic scarcity). The word "values" is hardly used in the chapter except to refer to some other economic term else, and none of the references cites use it in a significant way. This is even more obvious in the accompanying chapter in the same volume by Akerlof and Yellen (1993) where the only clear link is where "the perceived value" of a unit of labor is related to the perceived value of "inputs" and "outputs" and defined instead as a fair wage (1993:109).

Some related fields like business management, administration, organizational studies, business ethics, marketing, and accounting have dealt with values more specifically (see Baskerville 2003:3-4 for a list and topical table of just those studies that have used Hofstede, 1980, as well as 2007:2 for an extensive list of further work; and Myers & Tan, 2002 for an additional list of 36 studies in information systems literature, 24 using Hofstede). But not all business values research ascribes to comparative, dimensional studies; even here there is contention over conceptions of culture and values if they follow Tylorian deterministic, prescriptive, nationally generalized patterns (cf. Baskerville, 2003, 2005, 2007). And there is certainly an aversion to the overuse of Hofstede's (1980, 2001) work-values dimensions (taken up also by Fang, 2003a; Faure and Fang, 2008; McSweeney, 2002a).

3.3.4 Business and Organizational Communication

The study (and application!) of business values is big business. Especially since the publication of Hofstede's *Culture's Consequences* in 1980, any values comparison or framework that can be conceptually simplified, made concise, expressed easily, or quickly can be and has been used to publish books, present seminars, and do business consulting with high-dollar results. Academically, Robert Shuter and Richard Wiseman were among those that early sought to map out this applied domain of intercultural communication (Shuter & Wiseman, 1994). Beyond applications of Hofstede's four dimensions (the business world has not widely adopted his fifth dimension, criticized by authors like Fang, 2003a), Fons Trompenaars is the other widely cited culture-in-business guru to emerge in recent years.

3.3.4.1 Trompenaars' Seven Dimensions of Culture

Incorporating aspects of Hofstede's model, reviving several of the Parsons patterns, and integrating two of the Hall orientations, he has devised his Seven Dimensions of Culture Model (1993) based on the "exhaustive and meticulous research⁵⁰" of an extensive database. Later work was analyzed with his collaborating British colleague, scholar Charles Hamden-Turner. Their dimensions are:

Universalism	–	Particularism
Individualism	–	Communitarianism
Specific	–	Diffuse
Neutral	–	Affective
Achievement	–	Ascription
Past	– Present –	Future
Internal	–	External

Through use of their analysis tools, these seven dimensions can be plotted on a scale that compares ones range of individual values with those of a specific national values set (as seen in charts provided on their corporate webpage⁵¹).

Like Hofstede, Trompenaars took his academic training to the business world (Hofstede with IBM, Trompenaars with the Royal Dutch Shell Group in nine different countries⁵²) and then his business experience back to the development of an academic and applied model ("7 D"). After originally establishing the Center for International Business Studies (CIBS) in 1989 (of which there are now many centers similarly named located at other institutions) Trompenaars and Hamden-Turner joined forces establishing an academically-based training company. Their database now contains cross-cultural interview and survey data on their "7-D" model and other scales or analysis tools (e.g. their CCOL – cultural compass online) including approximately 100,000 records, more than 100 countries, and longitudinal cultural-change benchmarks over a 20 year period that can be used "to explain the differences in meaning that individuals give to their interaction with other people, with time, and their environment."⁵³

⁵⁰ Retrieved June 8, 2009, from

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/learningenglish/work/handy/trompenaarsturnerbiography.shtml>

⁵¹ Retrieved June 10, 2009, from <http://www.thtconsulting.com/main/index.php> (as well as from the linked <http://www.7d-culture.nl/main/index.php>)

⁵² Retrieved June 12, 2009, from http://www.londonspeakerbureau.co.uk/fons_trompenaars.aspx

⁵³ Retrieved June 12, 2009, from <http://www.thtconsulting.com/main/databases.php>

With the publication of his highly acclaimed and continued strong selling *Riding the Waves of Culture – Understanding Cultural Diversity in Business* (1993) Trompenaars established himself as a leading consultant for business-related cultural differences. Hampden-Turner helped promote that paradigm (e.g., their revised edition of *Riding the Waves* in 1998) and include more data-related illustrations and descriptive cultural dilemmas with their catchy-titled *The Seven Cultures of Capitalism: How to Create Wealth in... many specific countries* (1995), then *Mastering the Infinite Game* (Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars, 1997a, which compares Eastern and Western values), and again an appeal to materialist business expansion: *Building Cross-cultural Competence: How to Generate Wealth from Contrasting Values* (Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars, 2000).

As impressive as the data sounds, some scholars critique it for its descriptive or applied nature rather than a careful empirical, factorial design (e.g. Hofstede, 1996, 1997a). Minkov notes that in Hofstede's view (1996), "nothing in their database proves the existence of seven independent cultural dimensions as described" (Minkov, 2007:21). Renown cross-cultural psychologists specializing in organizational communication, Peter Smith and Mark Peterson (with Shalom Schwartz) did a thorough comparative factor analysis on 43 national sets in his data and found that most were sub-sets of the broad conception of individualism and collectivism or the closely related power distance (Smith et al., 2002).

The question posed of most business approaches to values is whether they are just stereotypical explanations of what we think or claim we observe in cross-national comparisons (again, showing us not "culture" but just highlighting the obvious, Van Binsbergen, 1999). Others question whether they are truly substantial from a research perspective (e.g. Hofstede, 1996), though they defend this in their reply (Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars, 1997b). Hofstede still challenged this claim in 2007.

Though Trompenaars's name may be found more often on celebrity speaker lists or recommendations for management consulting than in academic bibliographies, it must be pointed out that he and his team do cooperate with other prominent organizational scholars on scholarly work related to his model (i.e., applications with Peter Smith: see Smith, Trompenaars, & Dugan, 1995; Smith, Dugan, & Trompenaars, 1996). And he may be one of the best followers of Lewin's comment that "there is nothing practical as a good theory" (see Gudykunst, 2005:281) since he is certainly a prominent spokesperson and motivator toward understanding cultural variation in business contexts. Minkov agrees, noting that their books "provide many extremely interesting

illustrations that a student of culture might find useful” (Minkov, 2007:21). Recently Trompenaars and his colleagues have applied this cultural model to specific business functions with their new “Culture for Business” series: *Business Across Cultures*, (Trompenaars & Wooliams, 2004), *Marketing Across Cultures* (Trompenaars & Wooliams, 2004), *Managing People Across Cultures* (Trompenaars & Hampden Turner, 2004), *Managing Change Across Corporate Cultures* (Trompenaars & Prud’homme, 2005)⁵⁴.

3.3.4.2 Hofstede’s Six Dimensions of Organizational Culture

Geert Hofstede suggests that it may not be enough for researchers to identify the national trends across cultures, but that there are also specific industry trends, or what he would call “organizational culture values” across cultures. Because of his commitment to quantitative empirical measures, Hofstede believes that dimensional paradigms can and should be applied at the level of organizations.⁵⁵ To do so, his team of collaborators conducted a similar research project in the 1980s (Hofstede et al., 1990) whereby qualitative and quantitative data were analyzed from twenty work organizations in the Netherlands and Denmark, ranging from a toy manufacturing company to municipal police corps.

In this extensive research project conducted at the Institute for Research on Intercultural Cooperation (IRIC, Hofstede, 2002), he and his team identified six dimensions (initially in Hofstede et al., 1990, then in Hofstede, 1991, and more fully explained in the second edition, Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005; Hofstede & Fink, 2007). This IRIC study found large differences among units in perceptions of daily practices, but only modest differences in values, beyond those due to aspects such as nationality, education, gender and age group. Such organizational values reflect more the differences of practices valued (organizational culture) and include:

Process	vs.	Results
Employee	vs.	Job
Parochial	vs.	Professional
Open	vs.	Closed System
Loose	vs.	Tight Control
Normative	vs.	Pragmatic

⁵⁴ See their webpage for an introduction to all their books: Retrieved June 12, 2009, from <http://www.7d-culture.nl/main/books.php> or specifically this series, <http://www.cultureforbusiness.com/bac/>. I own and have reviewed the books and mainly find them an update of *Riding the Waves* and previously published work – these mainly provide clever new packaging, illustrations, and applications for specific business areas, expanding their earlier work.

⁵⁵ See his article, “Dimensionalizing Cultures: The Hofstede Model in Context” online, retrieved May 20, 2009, from <http://www.ac.wvu.edu/~culture/hofstede.htm>

These six derived dimensions were found to describe much of the variety in organization practices and can be used as a framework for organization cultures, though the research base is too limited to be considered as universally valid yet.

1. *Process-oriented versus results-oriented*. Those organizations preferring process are guided by technical and bureaucratic routines (which tend to be differentially perceived at different levels or units of the organization), in contrast to the concern for results and profits of results-oriented organizations (reflecting in more homogeneity, or “cultural strength” in the samples studied) (consistent with Peters & Waterman, 1982).
2. *Job-oriented versus employee-oriented*. The first focus on the employees' job performance only, while employee-oriented cultures assume broad responsibility for members' well being. This is similar to Blake and Mouton's Managerial Grid (1964) at the individual manager level, though the Hofstede study showed that factors of organizational history, founder's philosophy, and organizational economic/layoff challenges are also influential. As Hofstede notes, “I think using Max Weber's (1962/1922) terminology, corporate culture is converted from ‘*wertrational*’ into ‘*zweckrational*’, from being dominated by (the founders’) values to being dominated by the aims to be achieved” (Hofstede & Fink, 2007:20).
3. *Professional versus parochial*. Professional-oriented members are usually highly educated, ‘cosmopolitan’ and have an internal frame of reference, whereas parochial describes members who derive their identity from the organization for which they work, and are thus more ‘local’ or externally motivated (consistent with Merton, 1949/1968).
4. *Open systems versus closed systems*. This preference reflects the ease with which outsiders/newcomers are welcomed or integrated in both internal and external organizational communication, and was the only area where national cultures affected the sample (Danes more open than Dutch).
5. *Tight versus loose control*. Tightness reflects the degree of formality and punctuality within the organization. There are indications that a unit's application of systems technology affects this preference.
6. *Pragmatic versus normative*. This could also be termed flexible or rigid and reflects ways of dealing with/adapting to the environment. Those units that are more customer-focused are generally more adaptive.

These dimensions are highlighted here because the author believes, as mentioned in Chapter 1, that one of the enduring problems of values research is clarifying levels of analysis and taxonomies. For all the critiques that Hofstede has endured (as reflected in his IAIR keynote stating that “Studying Cultures is Asking for Trouble,” Hofstede, 2007), mostly by people who seem to have not carefully read or understood his extensive work, he is to be credited for the careful analysis of various levels of culture and what specific domains or dimensions might be interpreted to mean in other's taxonomies. This is not arguing for the mere preservation of his paradigm or legacy, but

the quest of an inquiring mind to find better, more complete, yet ever accurate empirical ways to categorize and frame culture so that participants of different cultural systems might better understand and work with each other.

The problem might not be our methods alone (though they need to be critiqued, since rigorous studies are needed), but our inability to deal with more complex taxonomies. Hofstede subscribes (Hofstede & Fink, 2007:18) to Miller's "7 plus or minus 2" (1956) suggested limit of items/factors in the development of frameworks (which Kahle in practicality also follows). Thus he discounts the over-complexity of the GLOBE's 18 dimensions (9 x 2, see below) or Schwartz's use of Smallest Space Analysis to identify 10 inter-correlated domains. Hofstede does encourage both quantitative and qualitative integration (2007:19). This dissertation holds that we must embrace complexity, and suggests that the use of varied statistical methods and approaches might help us sort out, correlate, and better explain these various taxonomies toward models that better integrate emic and etic domains.

3.3.4.3 Models of Consumer Behavior and Values: Kahle's LOV, VALS

Besides studying the general values of business, "research has also revealed many findings regarding the relations between consumer behavior and values" (Kahle, 1996:135). As he and his colleagues note, "social values summarize the most important goals that people have in life, thus fueling their decisions in life about such topics as product choice" (Kahle & Xie, 2008:575).

Clearly, subscription to different values implies differences in consumer psychology and in consumer behavior. Because values influence the way in which consumers react to product offerings, advertising, packaging, pricing, personal selling, and retailing, the effective marketer should be aware of this influence and incorporate in when developing marketing strategy, when planning products, and when communicating with consumers. (Kahle, 1996:139)

Kahle and his associates also developed a more simplified 9-item (terminal) List of Values (LOV) scale (Section 3.1.1.7), "to allow for ease of administration and to tie it more directly to Maslow's theory" (Kahle & Xie, 2008:578), which has had wide application in consumer related business (see his Table 6.5, Kahle, 1996:148; see also Kamakura & Novak, 1992).

Research shows that people holding a certain value will expect different product features, distribution, pricing, and communication regarding a product (e.g., Cho, Kwon, Gentry, Jun, & Kropp, 1999). Thus some research focuses on marketing components like how brands can reach

different value segments (e.g., Huber, Hermann, & Morgan, 2001; Raval & Subramanian, 2004). Research on marketing communication shows that links between personal values and brands resonates with consumers (e.g., Kim, Boush, Marquardt, & Kahle, 2006). Others focus on value-consistent advertising effectiveness (e.g., Pitts, Canty, & Tsalikis, 1985; Alwitt & Pitts, 1996). Psychologists like McGraw and Tetlock (2005) apply their taboo trade-offs (implied values) work to consumer psychology and marketing, and actually bridge over into economic theory (2005:14).

Kahle and Xie (2008:578) also note that the business world (not necessarily the academic side) has a great interest in identifying lifestyles and what they call values trends (Solomon, 2004), and many marketable instruments are available in corporate training and industry consulting (at a high price value!), such as the Yankelovich Monitor for trends in North America⁵⁶, SRI's "Values and Lifestyle Segmentation" (VALS) survey⁵⁷ (Mitchell, 1983) and its improved version, VALS 2 (Winters, 1989), PRIZM which classifies every US zip code on 62 values/lifestyle categories, the Global MOSAIC, or the Paris organization Research Institute on Social Change "that looks at lifestyles and values in more than 40 countries. These are summarized and cited in Kahle & Xie (2008:578); VALS is covered and contrasted in a number of studies (specifically in Kahle, Beatty, & Homer, 1986; Kahle, 1996:141; Kahle, Kim, & Kambara, 1998). But most of these "analytical packages" are not adequately designed or readily affordable or available for scholarly research, though some consumer research is done with them (e.g., "Lifestyle Segmentation of Chinese Consumers," 2004:58).

Research on values has also provided new insights in the areas of new product development, brand assessment and positioning, advertising strategies, and market segmentation (e.g., Vriens & F. Hofstede, 2000, note: this is not Geert Hofstede). In the organizational literature, Meyer and Allen (1984) look at commitment as a multidimensional construct (involving the "want to," "ought to," and "have to" goals noted below, reported in Lydon, 1996:209).

⁵⁶ According to the survey's site, the Yankelovich MONITOR is "the longest-running, most-in-depth study of consumer value and lifestyle trends available anywhere," retrieved June 13, 2009, from http://www.yankelovich.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=127&Itemid=162

⁵⁷ VALS was developed by consumer futurist Arnold Mitchell to define consumer segments and serve as a marketing strategy tool. It became an SRI international product in 1978, retrieved June 12, 2009, from <http://www.sric-bi.com/VALS/>

⁵⁸ Research report by Forest Ma, Sinomonitor International (2004), retrieved June 13, 2009, from http://www.tgisurveys.com/knowledgehub/conferencepapers/ESOMARAsia04_Lifestyle%20Segmentation.doc

3.3.5 Relationship Research (Interpersonal Communication)

One could ask if this hybrid field (blending sociology, psychology, and communications) warrants a separate section. But the growth in recent decades at looking at the individual in his smallest and most intimate circle of relations has been a constant and basic focus of intercultural study (e.g. scholars like Gudykunst, Ting-Toomey, Triandis). So the question is how relational researchers or interpersonal scholars treat values?

Composite concepts like commitment provide one window on values. Beverly Fehr (1988) found that asking for a free recall listing of the concept of relational commitment led to the generation of many value-laden concepts (Lydon, 1996:192). John Lydon further develops the analysis of how values influence commitment. He builds on the work of Brinkman (1987) who characterized commitment as a “non-rational” and values based phenomenon. He also furthers the work of Michael Johnson (1991) who adds a “moral commitment” dimension to Rusbult’s (1980) more rational and exchange based Investment Model. Her model operationalized subjective norms, which she did not find contributing to investment model commitment (Rusbult, 1991). But Johnson (1991) elaborated and conceptualized commitment in terms of “want to,” “ought to,” and “have to” dimensions. The “want to” related to various attitudes, and the “ought to” dimension relates to a moral commitment that is based on the value of consistency to a specific relationship and particular person (as reported in Lydon, 1996:209). “For Johnson, moral commitment reflects the values, obligations, and standards that one has chosen and internalized” (1996:209).

Lydon follows the multidimensional and integrative tradition of literature where “core beliefs, values, and identities” (Lydon, 1996:193,195, 208) are all treated as part of a “self system,” aspects of a “general integrity of the self” (dispositionally the core of ones’ self, 1996:208) which are “not completely independent of each other;” as “specific indicators of...the self,” they thus are postulated to be the underlying bases of specific personal or social syndromes/ dimensions like commitment. “People then feel especially committed to goals, projects and life tasks that express their core beliefs, values, and identities” (Lydon, 1996:193). This is consistent with Rokeach (1980)’s recognition that values act as an important interface between the self and (relational) behavior. Lydon, Pierce, and O’Regan (1997) show now long-distance dating relationships that affirm core beliefs, values, and identities, even in adversity, have commitment staying power. Lydon and Zanna (1990) further show how values are affirmed and commitment is strengthened under adversity.

Values have also been considered in the dating, marriage, and courtship research. Kerckhoff and Davis's Filter theory (1962) was based on research that followed dating couples over an 8-month period to test the ability of similarity and complementarity to explain premarital selection processes over time. The findings of this study showed that for the entire group only value consensus was related to progress toward marriage over the eight-month period. The Filter model posits that the first factor on which people filter or narrow down prospective mates is that of social characteristics, such as religion and education. The second sequential factor on which people evaluate potential partners is similarity in attitudes and values. Once potential partners are narrowed down on the basis of these two filters, the degree of need compatibility is the final factor on which partners are selected.

Murstein (1970, 1976, 1987) elaborated on the original values filter model in his presentation of the Stimulus-Value-Role model (SVR). This model assumes that the process of mate selection differs somewhat depending on whether partners exist in an "open" or "closed" field situation. Open situations are those that allow considerable freedom by the individual to initiate interactions with others whereas closed situations are those that tend to induce interaction due to the roles that people play in certain situations. The first stage of this SVR theory posits that in an open field setting, people will consider as partners those who have certain stimulus characteristics, particularly physical attractiveness. At the value comparison stage, people begin the process of assessing the degree of congruence in value-related areas. Self-disclosure at this stage may be at general levels, such as leisure interests, religious beliefs and attitudes towards politics. The impetus to move to the next stage comes from awareness by the partners that their value similarity is indicative of mutual goals for the relationship. The role stage involves a determination of shared values.

Not all scholars accept conclusions related to values operative in relationships. The media scholar Sandra Ball-Rokeach argues that, "interpersonal networks do not control comparable information resources" (like the media does) (Ball-Rokeach & Loges, 1996:290). But is this culturally generalizable? One could argue that she and her colleagues place more hierarchical value on the role and influence of the media (in an American context) than on social networks. But might other (specifically Asian cultures like China) societies reverse her prediction: "The media system is the generic information production system; interpersonal networks enter late in the production process at the point of interpretive consumption when social issues have already been framed" (Ball-Rokeach & Loges, 1996:290). This might be true for western democracies, but what about societies where "social issues" are not as important as "interpersonal issues?" More examination of values in diverse interpersonal relational contexts is needed.

3.3.6 Early Childhood Development, Parenting, and Family Studies

Melvin Kohn (1959, 1969) can be credited with launching research to investigate the values that parents express regarding their children, especially as it relates to their social class and corresponding expectations and behaviors (as discussed under “Sociology” in the previous chapter, section 2.4.2). But this research trend has continued, ever more refined. Besides Kohn’s and his associates work across cultures, other works includes that of Baer et al. (1996) and Marc Bornstein (cf., Bornstein, 1991; Bornstein & Cote, 2006), both of whose work investigate the dynamics of values transmission related to parenting. An another whole line of research focus on the “value of children” in families across cultures launched initially by Arnold et al. (1975) as an extension of research ideas posited by Hoffman & Hoffman (1973). This research has particularly been carried out by Giesela Tromsdorff (see her on-line synopsis⁵⁹) in cooperation with many international partners, such as Turkish scholar Çigdem Kağıtçıbaşı and Chinese Academy of Science scholar Gang Zheng. The research has been incorporated in the more recent book by Kağıtçıbaşı (2007), in which she argues that greater coverage of variation in cross-cultural studies is helpful to distinguish common and variable characteristics and other factors (e.g., in support of the large-scale 30 nation investigation mentioned below).

A parallel project spearheaded by John Berry, James Georgas, Çigdem Kağıtçıbaşı and other notable cross-cultural psychologists (2006) sought to map out family values across cultures. Based on the eco-cultural framework and the general family change model proposed by Berry and Kağıtçıbaşı respectively, this multinational study investigated the similarities and differences from both cross-cultural and indigenous perspectives. A total sample of 5482 in 27 countries was employed and quantitative analyses were performed (though a limitation is that these were convenience samples of university students measured at the perception level, not actual behaviors). The key findings suggest that values are related to hierarchical relationships within the family and hierarchical values in general are the most important indicators of family change (e.g. hierarchical role values, relationships with family and kin values, Schwartz’s Embeddedness, Hierarchy, and Harmony values, and the personality traits of Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, and Harmony were all highly correlated). Across the samples there is also a high valuing of close family ties around the world. Each of these of studies contributes to our understanding of specific domains of values in their likely most formative and situated context – the home.

⁵⁹ Retrieved July 14, 2009, from <http://www.uni-konstanz.de/developmental-psychology/vocpsychologieaspects.pdf>

3.3.7 Literary or Interpretive Studies and Discourse Analysis

Explicating values from varied literatures or from discourse or pragmatic analysis has long been a strong tradition. Building on the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, it should come as no surprise that, not only are language and culture inherently and mutually influential, but also values are embedded in language. Multitudinous studies build on this perspective. K. K. Hwang (2004:44) suggests we need to analyze language to “interpret the specific mentalities of a people.” In presenting that paper, he further stated that if we can “analyze the language used in any culture, we will discover the deep structure of a given culture” (from his Keynote address).

Loges and Ball-Rokeach (1995) present similar ideas on analyzing values in political rhetoric. Ball-Rokeach and Loges (1996:292) further suggest that the analysis of media discourse can reveal value orientations. In discussing media power, they suggest how attention must be paid to “how they phrase their position; they must use media savvy rhetorical strategies of argument (e.g., value-laden language.” “Media power is of a certain kind.... It is the power to control not only access of knowledge construction, but also the rules of discourse that operate in the knowledge construction process.”

In the realm of consumer research, there is increasing work under what some call the “post-modern approach” of offering detailed descriptions and interpreting values. “The richness of detail from some postmodern studies enhances our understanding of contextual issues that always loom large in value research” (Kahle & Xie, 2008:581). One example would be Spiggle’s (1986) content analysis of different types of comics to measure social values. Countless other discourse studies could be cited. At the June, 2007 CAFIC/IAICS joint-conference in Harbin, nearly all of the Russian intercultural scholars presented these types of linguistic analysis papers in reference to cultural value comparisons.

3.3.8 Education and Training

“Values in Education” scholars tend to take one of two approaches. One is the lament of the impact of the marketplace on education, and how traditional academic values are being threatened or replaced. Books like that by Paul Axelrod (2002) follow this approach, making an appeal to policy-makers, business leaders, and the public at large to rethink the current direction of the contemporary university and making an impassioned defense for the core tenets (values) of broad liberal education against the onslaught of the narrowing, specializing pressures of the marketplace, modern political system, and global economy. Alexander Kazamias echoes this tone:

In order for contemporary nation-states to participate effectively and competitively in the world economic system, modern systems of education, as state-steering mechanisms, are called upon to emphasize certain types of educational knowledge and culture at the expense of conventional others.... From socio-cultural enclaves, one of whose main functions has been the construction of persons and citizens with cultivated ‘minds and souls’, they are being metamorphosed into sites for the production of instrumental knowledge and the acquisition of marketable skills. (Kazamias 2001:2)

Such works seem to come mostly out of the post-industrial, and some might argue, increasingly post-modern Europe, UK, or North America where the traditional focus of universities are being threatened by decreasing populations, alternative educational and training routes, lower enrollments, and funding cuts. These works highlight the value and values of liberal education (specifically those “activities that are designed to cultivate intellectual creativity; autonomy and resilience; critical thinking; a combination of intellectual breadth and specialized knowledge; the comprehension and tolerance of diverse ideas and experiences; informed participation in community life; and effective communication skills (*italics his*, Axelrod, 2002:34-35). Such volumes seek to bring about an educational renaissance to counter the driving force toward “education for productive purposes” (Martin, 1985:78) or “the market-framed university” (Cowen, 1999).

The other track is related, but focuses more on a broader systemic analysis of education structures and processes, and the changes and challenges that modernization and globalization brings to educational development in multiple country contexts (e.g. Lawton & Gardner, 2001). Such analyses are typified by Cairns et al. (2001), which first provide perspectives on values, culture, and education in the current globalizing situation (what Kazamias, 2001:1 calls “late modernity”) and then move on to national case studies. Thus in such a volume we find specific chapters like Kai-ming Cheng’s “Changing cultures and schools in the People’s Republic of China (Cheng, 2001).” These analyses tend to revert to quite typified categorizations, providing such generalizations as:

China is often identified as a society of collectivism.... China is also known for its traditional values of education.... Scholarship has always been something treasured by society and has contributed to the rapid expansion of education in the two decades of reform.... However, it is exactly that reform that has given rise both to a growth in individualism and to education having economic dimensions. Both developments have gradually eroded the traditional culture of education. (Cheng, 2001:242)

However, authors like Cheng (2001), Lawton and Cowen (2001), and others do provide some useful links to intercultural scholarship:

In the move from modernism to late modernity or even postmodernity, one of the changes in culture and values that has received a good deal of attention is the shifting balance between individual and society (or individualism and collectivism). This has moral, economic, political and educational implications.... The two sets of values associated with individualism and collectivism are crucial to an understanding of education in the 20th and 21st centuries. (Lawton & Cowen, 2001:20)

They go on to critique the limitations of this dichotomy, extensively citing the work of David Marquand (1996) who argues for something akin to a semantic square or Johari window (a 2 by 2 framing of these domains), “introducing two additional concepts, covering contrasting notions of the self, the good life, and of human possibilities and purposes... Marquand’s contrast is between hedonists and moralists” (Lawton & Cowen, 2001:21).

Instead of a simple contrast between individualism and collectivism, Marquand proposes a fourfold classification: collectivists can be moralist and active or hedonist-passive; so can individualists, valuing liberty either because it promotes pleasure or because it encourages a more powerful form of life. Having established his four categories, Marquand then proceeds to trace the ‘ebbs and flows in the struggle for moral and intellectual hegemony’ in post-war Britain, from:

Active, moralistic collectivism

Hedonist-passive collectivism

Moralistic individualism

Hedonistic individualism

[and then presents his future hope, toward] a new version of **moral collectivism**. (Lawton and Cowen, 2001:21)

This discussion is important, because it introduces ideas that will help us later (in Chapter 12) relate to and work toward expanding the model proposed by Schwartz (1992, 1994).

3.3.9 Summary of Multidisciplinary Contributions

The terrain covered so far carries many divergent themes, but those repeatedly cited have come to form the core of that which is influencing values studies across the disciplines. The challenge, but also the stimulus, for the values researcher is how to consider and integrate these varied perspectives or taxonomies into existing theories, or use them to shape a fuller understanding of the field. One of my personal critiques of the values studies enterprise, similar to that of the

younger generation of cultural anthropologists and sociologists in Chapter 2, is that “culture” is often treated as a static frame. Most likely, “values” are also not static, but dynamic, and most likely complexly blended from various sources in varied contexts – perhaps best represented by a matrix map.

But how do cultural values matrixes alter as a society (or a micro-cultural social segment) moves from more traditional collectivities to more modern realities? The work of Ulrich Beck and Shmuel Eisenstadt suggests that early modernity is also amazingly homogenizing and collective, so when does that shift toward more individuated postmodernities occur? This “social theory” orientation is generally missing from the binary dimensional frames of values studies, and such research as detailed here might help us consider two- or three-dimensional or other more complexly integrated possibilities.

3.4 Values as a Cornerstone of the Intercultural Communication (IC) Field

Having discussed the “parents” it is now time to focus on the maturing “child.” The comparative study of human values and the development of value dimensions and frameworks has likely been the single most foundational, influential, and contested part of all the fields related to intercultural and cross-cultural communication studies. Reputedly first named by Edward T. Hall (1976), the field of “intercultural communication” (IC) started taking shape in the 1970s in several parallel disciplines (cf., Leeds-Hurwitz, 1990, 2008; Rogers et al., 2002). The mainstream primarily developed in what was then termed speech communication (Prosser, 2007:33-45), as well as a parallel increasing focus of empirical interpersonal scholars on the dynamics of intercultural communication (represented in the work of William Howell, William Gudykunst, Stella Ting-Toomey, Young Yun Kim, Richard Wiseman, and others). These two lines of research overlapped both in their respective associations (ICA and the former SCA, now NCA, each of which launched an intercultural-related division in the early 1970s) as well as in the organization first dedicated to developing the intercultural field, the Society of Intercultural Training, Education and Research (SIETAR), officially organized at a conference in Washington, D.C. in 1974.

Social psychologists, especially those led by John Berry, Walter Lonner, Harry Triandis, Charles Osgood, Michael Bond, and many others made a case for a specific field focusing on cross-cultural psychology, and developed their own association. The International Association of Cross-cultural Psychology (IACCP) was formed in 1972 in Hong Kong and adopted as its flagship

journal the *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*,⁶⁰ first established in 1970. But many of their theories, concepts, and research paradigms were directly transferred into the generally more applied field of intercultural communication led by psychologists like Edward Stewart, Richard Brislin, Dean Barnlund, Paul Pedersen, and more applied communication/training scholars like Robert Kohls, John Condon, Robert Shuter, Fred Casimir, Michael Prosser, David Hoopes, and many others.

Dan Landis became the owner/editor of what became the IC field's first and SIETAR's flagship journal, the *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* (IJIR, started the spring of 1977). But practice, theorizing, and academic publishing did not always fit together well over the 25 years of SIETAR's shared history. Since 1998, *IJIR* was transferred over to become the official journal of the International Academy for Intercultural Research (IAIR), a new association dedicated to furthering IC research. Even a brief overview as this suggests that the birth and development of IC has had a complicated and overlapping history. And yet, at the core of each contributing field's developmental path, a number of common strains of research bridged their varied foci, among them values studies.

As noted in this chapter and the one before, this poly-focal (I hesitate to call it interdisciplinary in the early stages) field of intercultural communications grew primarily out of early attempts to identify values domains by Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils (1951), Clyde Kluckhohn (1952/1962), Florence Kluckhohn and Fred Strodtbeck (1961), and Edward Hall (1959, 1966, 1976) discussed earlier. Then the five dimensions put forward by Geert Hofstede (1980) continue to influentially shape and imprint the field, both at research and applied levels. Smith, Bond, and Kağıtçıbaşı (2006:33) state, "There can be little doubt that the single work that has most influenced the development of research into cross-cultural psychology has been the seminal study that was carried out by the Dutch social psychologist, Geert Hofstede." Obviously, a core facet of the IC field is the comparative study of cultures, and values have been one of the core concepts that have been investigated, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Among the various values "taxonomies" (as Lustig & Koester prefer to call these "cultural patterns," 2006:86ff, 109ff), several of these IC "dimensions" have become the most-used ways of comparing and contrasting cultures (cf., Hofstede, 2006a).

Many consider the broad social values domain of individualism and collectivism (Ind/Col) to be one of the, if not *the* core comparative dimension of intercultural studies (Hitlin & Piliavin,

⁶⁰ For a history on both the JCCP and IACCP see their web pages, retrieved June 14, 2009, from <http://www.ac.wvu.edu/~culture/jccp.htm> and <http://www.iaccp.org>

2004:376; Rubin, Rubin, & Piele, 2005; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002a), the “deep structure” from which all other cultural differences arise (Greenfield, 2000) and some even claim that it is the most studied domain in psychology (Triandis, 1995; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1997). Yet this Ind/Col domain is also one of the most recently contested, as illustrated by the way that the Oyserman et al. (2002) meta-analysis critique of studies on this dimensions brought forth significant, critical, and highly-cited responses by some of the field’s most prominent scholars (Bond, 2002; Fiske, 2002; Kitayama, 2002; Miller, 2002; and Oyserman et al.’s rejoinder, 2002b).

Related to this discussion, Smith, Bond, and Kağıtçıbaşı (2006:32) suggest it is important to note the divergence between cultural and cross-cultural psychology (see Zhang’s comparison of these in Table 1.2). Cultural psychology focuses more on the moment-by-moment ways that cultures create and reproduce themselves (and an emphasis on the *emic* interpretation and meaning of behaviors), while cross-cultural psychology focuses on longer-term consistencies in cultures (testing cultural variations across universal *etic* processes). As cross-cultural psychologists, they argue that, instead of focusing on the meanings of specific behaviors (or wondering which ones), “a more parsimonious way...is...to focus on...the more organized conceptual frameworks ‘held’ by culture members, which are likely to guide their interpretations of specific events” (2006:32). As this dissertation has shown thus far, values have been among the most studied of these conceptual frames in mainline cross-cultural psychology, and the explication of these frameworks needs to now be addressed.

3.4.1 The Cross-cultural Psychology of Values on which IC is Based

Cross-cultural value comparison has long been the main tool for understanding similarities and differences among people with different cultural and ethnic backgrounds.

Cultural Psychologists Kaiping Peng, Richard Nisbitt, and Nancy Wong (1997:329)

As suggested above, a leading interest area in cross-cultural psychology, especially among those seeking to predict or estimate behavioral expectations across cultures, has been to focus on the values that are held by members of a culture. Scholars are generally persuaded that a person’s values provide guidelines as to the favored goals and ways of living of a particular social group, and are abstract and general enough to be evaluated by survey instruments. Beliefs endorsed by members of a culture constitute a second area of predictive interest. Since the work of Bem (1970) and Rokeach (1967, 1968, 1973), scholars have generally distinguished between values and beliefs. While values concern what is desirable, beliefs concern what is thought to be true. If a social system is characterized by shared values and shared beliefs, it is very likely that behaviors

will be interpreted in similar ways by its members, satisfying our criterion for defining the existence of a culture (Smith et al. 2006:33). Therefore any intercultural comparison necessitates the study of values across cultures.

What has been covered to this point could be considered the extended “prologue” to all that shaped our modern intercultural analysis of values systems. The systematic empirical study of cross-cultural values using sophisticated tools of statistical analysis and comparative national benchmarks is attributed by most to have started with Geert Hofstede’s seminal 1980 publication of *Culture’s Consequences*. As Michael Minkov asserts, “Hofstede’s work is a pioneer’s attempt to study differences across a large number of modern cultures in a scientific way. The results of his study can often be used for valid predictions.... In spite of...criticisms, Hofstede’s study remains a strong foundation for future cross-cultural research” (Minkov, 2007:19, 20). That study and those it has inspired will now be considered.

3.4.2 The Values Dimensions Model – Hofstede, Bond and Minkov

3.4.2.1 Hofstede’s 4 Dimensions of Work-Related Values

The appearance in 1980 of the Dutch industrial psychologist and human resource specialist Geert Hofstede’s *Culture’s Consequences* pushed the world of cross-cultural comparisons to a new level. The statistical analysis of cultural factors was not new, as has been shown in the discussion above on a number of the early values researchers: e.g., Cattell (1949) argued dimensions of culture could be derived by factorization of national characters, and Morris (1956b) demonstrated its viability. But Hofstede did this type of analysis on a much grander scale, with the good fortune of an incredibly large multi-national data sample, relating his findings to more specific theoretical dimensions than past researchers, and correlating them with many national indices to argue their validity.

Having worked for many years at IBM (which Hofstede called the Hermes Corporation initially to protect the company and participants), he was well-positioned for the collection of 116,000 questionnaires from two human resource department surveys done in 1968 and 1972 from employees in IBM subsidiaries in 40 countries. Hofstede realized he could select out certain value-related items, conduct orthogonal factor analysis, and then compare the emerging dimensions to a broad spectrum of real-world economic, social, and productivity data. His training in industrial psychology, detailed and analytical Dutch mind, as well as his statistical skills with multi-dimensional scaling served to generate benchmark national scores for 40 countries and regions,

show some amazing inter-country regional/ideological relationships, and provide comparable indices for his four key dimensions:

Individualism	—	Collectivism	(IDV)
High Power	—	Low Power Distance	(PDI)
High Uncertainty	—	Low Uncertainty Avoidance	(UAI)
Masculinity	—	Femininity	(MAS)

Statistically validating, comparing, rating cultural dimensions in such a large multinational sample and linking it so clearly to past theory, historical trends, and national indices were all new milestones in the field, and in Hofstede's mind set forth a new and solidly undergirded paradigm for cross-cultural research. As he later noted, "it...cast doubts on the universal validity of established theories in psychology, organization sociology, and management theory, and it presented the theoretical reasoning, base data, and statistical treatments used to arrive at the conclusions (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005:ix).

Hofstede found that his data dimensions could be labeled from terms derived from Parson's patterns, Triandis' (1973) further developments on individualism and collectivism, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's social orientation (which he effectively split into two domains), past work on rationality and uncertainty (e.g., Pareto, 1916/1976; Cyert & March, 1963) and ideas of his own on masculinity/femininity (though influenced some by Mead, 1950/1962, and affirmed later by Tannen, 1992) onto four binary dimensions. With substantial data and various levels of analysis, he provided mean national scores from 40 countries to confirm and define his four dimensions.

Michael Bond later noted that Hofstede's work "stunned me with its metric sophistication and intellectual audacity in attempting to map the value universe around the world (Bond, 2009:4). Finally, cultural values were measurable. And Hofstede's meticulous methodology emphasized the care needed to measure, label, and correlate them. As he noted, "Cultures are not individuals: they are wholes, and their internal logic cannot be understood in the terms used for the personality dynamics of individuals" (Hofstede, 1980:29).

But like any new, influential study (certainly one of the most referred to of all time, as he notes there are now over 9000 social science citations to date, cf., Rogers & Tan, 2008:3), Hofstede's 4-D model (four dimensional, later updated to a 5-D with Bond collaborative work) has not been without its detractors. Major critiques have come from Baskerville (2003, 2007), Fang (2003a), McSweeney (2002a), and Myers & Tan (2002), to mention a few. Hofstede has dutifully sought to answer each (2003 to Baskerville, 2002 to McSweeney) and his detractors provided rejoinders

(Baskerville, 2005, McSweeney, 2002b), generating one of the broadest and most enduring debates in the social sciences.

Many critique his data source (taken from post-hoc assessment of human resource questionnaires from a high profile western multi-national high-tech company), his dimensions as being over-simplified or greatly over-generalized and the country scores stereotypical. New data studies are also calling into question either Hofstede's indices (e.g. Oshlyansky et al., 2009) or the adequacy of his model (Kock et al., 2008) to explain some types of business behavior, like information management responses. Some of these critiques are raised again and again, even though Hofstede has sought to answer most of them (both in his replies, and the extra documentation provided in his extensive 2001 revision of *Cultures Consequences*). But for review purposes, I post those integrated by Baskerville (2005) in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Critiques of the Hofstede Dimensions

That the data which formed the basis of Hofstede's analysis was not collected with this in mind; was not representative of people in those countries	Myers & Tan, & Baskerville
That there is such a thing as "national culture". The problem with the unit of the analysis being a territorially unique nation-state	Myers & Tan, McSweeney, & Baskerville
Nation states are a relatively recent phenomenon	Myers & Tan
National states are dynamic, and older states have major changes in population and ethnic composition	Myers & Tan, McSweeney
Nation states do not each have their own single and distinct culture; many nation states have multiple ethnicities	Myers & Tan, Baskerville
Hofstede's view of culture is not supported from current anthropological perspectives; its foundations are no longer mainstream anthropology	Myers & Tan, Baskerville
The relationship between national cultural values and culturally—influenced work-related values; Hofstede credits national cultures with strong, or even absolute, causality	Myers & Tan, McSweeney
The simple model presented by Hofstede did not allow for the complex relationships between culture and economic indicators	Myers & Tan, Baskerville
That culture is not observable or recordable, but implicit, a type of mental programming	McSweeney, Baskerville
The claim of an immutability of cultures: that each has a discrete unique nucleus or core	McSweeney, Baskerville
That IBM has a single, uniform and monopolistic organisational culture	McSweeney, Baskerville
That national cultural 'sharedness' between individuals can be derived from a statistical averaging of heterogeneous components; a national norm	McSweeney
That the sample was only from IBM employees, with a single uniform organisational culture, challenging that this permits a demonstration of	Myers & Tan, McSweeney, Baskerville
That he had to assume a national uniformity of culture in order to find it	McSweeney

Source: From Baskerville's (2005:390) Table 1.

Nevertheless, Hofstede's work continues to be regarded as one of the cornerstones of values studies. The main critique from the point of this project is that he "categorized societies on five statistically independent values dimensions" (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004:378). This does not reflect a "values system" in the sense that Morris proposed or as Schwartz (1992) has managed to show and continue to confirm exists. For that reason, sociologists and other disciplines have hardly given the work of Hofstede any attention. Spates ignored him completely (though his 1983 review may not

have detected the influence of the study yet) and he is not referenced anywhere by *any* of the authors from other disciplines in Hechter (1993)!

Hofstede's extensively updated 2001 edition, which seeks to address each of the critiques noted above, merely rates one short paragraph out of the 34 pages in Hitlin & Piliavin's 2004 review. Rachel Baskerville (2003, 2007) address some of the issues as to why Hofstede's assumptions have been discounted by mainline humanities or social science scholars, and these will be taken up in the next chapter as part of the critical integration that this paper proposes. But whatever one's view of Hofstede's approach, his model has certainly had an influential role in categorizing comparable dimensions of culture in understandable terms for international business (particularly management) and intercultural training (or wherever a simpler framework is preferred).

3.4.2.2 Bond's Chinese Values Survey (CVS)

Attributed to Michael Bond, his generation of the Chinese values survey (CVS) was developed via close cooperation in 1985, first with five of his Chinese colleagues at Hong Kong Chinese University, and then implemented with a network of nearly 40 cross-cultural scholars to survey students in 22 countries (with the Mainland being added later). He describes the process as follows:

In the early 1980's, the Chinese Culture Connection (1987) set out to catalogue apparently distinctive Chinese values, producing the Chinese Value Survey (CVS). This survey was administered around the world, analyzed at the individual level (Bond, 1988) and enabled persons of different national-cultural traditions to be compared. (Bond, in press:1)

Concurrently a follow-on study compared the four factors elicited to those of the Rokeach Values Survey (Bond, 1988; explained in Bond, in press:6) and others scholars later analyzed the emic aspects in both the RVS (American) and the CVS (Chinese) (Grad & Schwartz, 1998). As no computer programs were then available for such a task, Leung and Bond (1989) set out to develop such a statistical technique for extracting "the pan-cultural factor structure" from multi-cultural data sets of individual responses measuring psychological constructs (Bond, in press:5).

The main purposes of this new instrument were not just to develop a values survey for one culture, but also to test etic frameworks by using these types of emic dimensions. Shalom Schwartz, in the development of his model and instrument, examined the CVS carefully and included some of its values in his values listing (Bond, in press:1). Bond notes that primarily, the research purposes of the CVS were to demonstrate, (1) that the value dimensions used by Hofstede (1980) for his culture-level mapping of the world were mostly confirmed (3 dimensions correlated), but were

incomplete (no new dimension was generated, Hofstede & Bond, 1988); (2) that the CVS assessed somewhat different domains of value than did the Rokeach Value Survey, an established Western instrument for measuring individual-level values (Bond, 1988); that persons of some national-cultural groups were more “Chinese” in their value endorsements than were the Chinese from various societies like Singapore and Taiwan (Bond, 1988); (4) that when the value scores for Chinese persons from Mainland China were finally sourced (Bond, 1991), it became possible to draw conclusions about the values of Chinese persons regardless of their nation of socialization” (Bond, in press:1). Bond (1996) used both culture- and individual-level studies of values to conclude that perhaps one distinctive feature cross-culturally of Chinese persons universally is their endorsement of hierarchy or power.

Some still use the CVS as a measure of “Chinese values” (e.g., Chang, Wong, & Koh, 2003; Garrott, 1991, 1995a, 1995b, 2000; Matthews, 2000, 2001; McIntyre & Zhang, 2003; Pickering & Hornby 2005) or to compare traditional values in other societies (e.g., the Russian network cooperating with June Garrott, 2000⁶¹), which Bond actually disparages (personal communication). The most important contribution of the CVS was testing the viability of Hofstede’s dimensions (3 of 4 factored out equivalently) and adding Hofstede’s 5th dimension, which was originally called Confucian Dynamism. Though later renamed as Long-Term Orientation, this dimension also has its critics (cf., Fang, 2003a). The CVS was intended to serve as a specific culturally derived tool toward confirming universal (etic) measures of social psychology by shaping the frameworks of both Hofstede (2001) and Schwartz (1992). In personal communication, Bond notes that he never intended for the CVS to become a stable measure of emic “Chinese” values – it was designed for a specific research purpose only. His suggestion is that emic studies tie their work in with the universal framework provided by Schwartz (1992) for more substantiated measures of values (Bond, 1996, 2007, 2009) as he himself has demonstrated possible (Bond & Chi, 1997). These comments were the impetus for the primary undertaking of this project (reported in Vol. 2).

3.4.2.3 Michael Minkov - Expanding Hofstede to 7-D

Though Hofstede has at times been criticized for appearing to protect his legacy and avowed new paradigm (e.g., quick responses to critiques, his own critique of project GLOBE, etc.), he personally maintains that he is eager to engage in academic conversation and cooperation toward a more careful identification of universal values (Hofstede, 2007). He suggests, in fact, that there are

⁶¹ See the webpage for Project “Cultural Values” of Rostov State Pedagogical University which has used the CVS to compare Chinese with Russian values, retrieved May, 20, 2008, from http://rspu.edu.ru/projects/cultural_values/index-e.htm

in fact no “real” values dimensions, but that these are created in scholar’s minds (a kind of academic shorthand) to aid the task of comparing and contrasting cultural phenomenon (see Hofstede’s response to McSweeney, 2002a; argued from another perspective using Fritz Wallner’s 1994 “constructive realism” by Hwang, 2007:254-255). Thus Hofstede was supportive when Michael Minkov sought to take several completely different datasets to examine whether any broad values dimensions would factor out. Minkov focused primarily on reanalyzing Inglehart’s WVS data in relation to the Pew Research Center’s 2002 large-scale 44 nation cross-cultural survey⁶², and Jensen, Rushton, Lynn, Murray, & Herrnstein’s controversial IQ research database (e.g., Rushton & Jensen, 2005, 2006; see fuller explanation in Minkov, 2007:22-23).

This new massive up-to-date data analysis project (Littrell, 2008a:654-655) led to Minkov’s identification of three structurally consistent dimensions, which he labeled:

Exclusionism	vs.	Universalism
Indulgence	vs.	Restraint
Monumentalism	vs.	Flexumility (Flexible Humility) ⁶³

Working closely with Hofstede, it was determined that the first dimension closely fit the conceptualization of the existing Individualism/Collectivism dimension as well as the societal-ingroup collectivism practices of project Globe. I personally think there is added value in identifying the in-group/out-group domain of exclusionism – the Ind/Col dimension might still be conflated with variant meanings/expressions across cultures, a point also made in Littrell’s review (2008b:110). Hofstede also notes it “includes some crucial facets, which have not received sufficient attention” (2008:2). He adds, “The first dimension is one of the first attempts to describe what differentiates the West from the rest of the world, i.e., the treatment of people” (2008:2), noting also that “Minkov’s own background, growing up in mainly non-Western cultures (e.g., the Bulgarian and Arabic), is a strength compared to other work on cultural differences, which is typically written by Westerners and therefore, have a tendency to reflect Western views and attitudes” (2008:2).

⁶² The US-based Pew Research Center project focusing on political, economic, religious and social issues is explained online, retrieved June 15, 2009, from <http://people-press.org>

⁶³ Minkov’s book chapter on this dimension was first presented at the SIETAR Europe 2007 and is available online, retrieved June 15, 2009, from http://www.sietar-europa.org/congress2007/files/congress2007_paper_Michael_Minkov.doc

Hofstede further affirmed that this broad analysis of political and social data extended his earlier work on mostly organizational data, and embraced these two new dimensions as:

Indulgence	vs.	Restraint
Monumentalism	vs.	Self-Effacement

Hofstede (in his review, 2008:2) argues that, “Indulgence versus Restraint does not resemble any cultural dimension in literature to this point in time.” Though it may not have been specifically identified, I would argue that it is clearly represented in the Schwartz circumplex (see below) with Hedonism and Stimulation values lying opposite Tradition and Conformity values. Such a factor discovery may bring about re-examination of the Schwartz data base for similar evidence. Littrell summarizes, “Minkov’s second factor is most strongly defined by the endorsement of items referring to one’s happiness, one’s sense of freedom, and one’s leisure...and may be similar to earlier discussions of cultural difference in terms of their tightness or looseness” (Littrell, 2008b:110; compare also to the analysis of 33 nations on tightness-looseness by Gelfand et al., 2006).

Regarding Monumentalism vs. Self-Effacement, Littrell provides a helpful summary:

The positive pole of Minkov’s third factor is most strongly defined by national pride, wanting to make one’s parents proud and seeing religion as important.... The negative pole is characterized by humility and not seeing oneself as having a stable invariant self, with Japan the most extreme case.... Minkov sees some parallels between this dimension and Hofstede’s characterization of masculinity/femininity (Littrell, 2008b:110).

Hofstede notes that Monumentalism versus Flexumility “is close to Inglehart’s secular versus traditional/religious values, but is interpreted in a different way, i.e. as self-enhancement and self-stability versus lower interest in self-improvement” (Hofstede, 2008:2).

With further analysis and interpretation, these were then added to the updated Values Study Model (VSM08)⁶⁴, positing the Hofstede framework as one with 7 dimensions. However, later analysis showed that Monumentalism vs. Flexumility correlated closely with the Long-Term/Confucian (LTO-CVS) dimension (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010:252-253) and was dropped as an

⁶⁴ Hofstede’s new values survey module questionnaire and instructions for using it (authored by Geert Hofstede, Gert Jan Hofstede, Michael Minkov and Henk Vinken) can be downloaded from his personal webpage, retrieved May 20, 2008, from <http://www.geerthofstede.nl> or from an alternate server at: <http://stuwww.uvt.nl/~csmeets/VSMChoice.html>

independent dimension, but named LTO-WVS to represent the database it was derived from (2010:254). However, the Indulgence vs. Restraint (IVR) dimension has been shown to be robust and a good indicator that correlates to happiness or Subjective Well-Being (SWB) research world-wide (Hofstede et al., 2010:277-298), so has been added as the new 6th Dimension (now a 6-D model).

These findings and expansion are particularly significant as it adds to Hofstede's work a dimension and nuances that were previously noted mainly in Schwartz. These might prove to be important puzzle pieces as efforts toward mapping and describing possible links between the various universal taxonomies of values and their emic expressions continue. "Acknowledging that there are rivalry views of what culture is, he argues for a combination of the existing positions and offers...an eclectic summary on culture..." (Hofstede, 2008:2). While scholars like Minkov are providing and confirming important pieces, only Schwartz so far has developed an integrated, interrelated framework (and will be discussed in Section 3.4.4 below).

3.4.3 Other Dimensions of Culture – Triandis, the GLOBE Project

3.4.3.1 Harry Triandis – Cultural Syndromes and Expanded Ind/Col

The influence of Harry C. Triandis on pushing social psychology toward considering cross-cultural psychology in conceptually viable and methodologically rigorous ways (e.g., Triandis et al., 1986, including multi-method probes, Triandis et al., 1990) was enormous. One need only look at the ever-increasing number of articles that cite him, the Sage volume dedicated to his broad contribution (*Social Psychology and Cultural Context*, Adamopoulos & Kashima, 1999), and the growing "who's who" of the field that were formerly his students (1999:xi). A key part of Triandis' legacy was bringing "subjective culture" (1972) to the fore of comparative social psychological study.

From a historical perspective, it is interesting that even though the label "subjective culture" appears to be out of fashion in cross-cultural psychology the fundamental ideas associated with the label are very much current and relevant in recent research. For example, most of the descriptions of individualism and collectivism are provided within the context of "subjective culture" research – that is, the analysis of belief and values systems, social behavior patterns, norms, roles, and affective responses to social situations (Adamopoulos & Kashima, 1999:244).

He and his associates were also key contributors to clarifying viable cross-cultural dimensions (e.g. *Individualism and Collectivism*, 1995, with foundational work in 1988, 1990) and suggesting

that some of these larger “cultural patterns” might better be considered as “cultural syndromes” (1993, 1996). This is important for a project like this that seeks to be integrative, because, as Adamopoulos and Kashima suggest (1999:244), Triandis “subjective culture” approach, “perhaps because of its theoretical richness and independence from firm disciplinary boundaries, is sensitive even to some of the concerns of cultural (as opposed to cross-cultural) psychologists, social constructionists, and other social scientists with a more relativistic orientation.”

His analysis of collectivism and individualism as a cultural syndrome facilitated the theorizing and confirming of “vertical” and “horizontal” (1995) domains of each dimension. This suggests a clearer way of noting variations along an equality-power scale (e.g. Hofstede’s Power Distance), which Triandis identified as “authority ranking” and “equality matching” (1996:414). This schema allows for noting more variance among styles of individual or collective behavior, reducing stereotypical wholesale assessments of cultures or national groups, and has been shown to integrate well with other theories of self and society (Fiske, 1992; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989) including values structures (Rokeach, 1973). This less-polarizing acknowledgement of shades of variance was predated and substantiated by his postulation of allocentric and ideocentric tendencies (Triandis et al., 1985) within cultural samples, reminding scholars to not just norm a group under study to its statistical mean. Further, Triandis continues to urge scholars and practitioners to consider “dimensions of culture beyond Hofstede” (e.g., his chapter title, 2004).

For this particular project, his proposed individual-collective axis crossed by an authoritarian-equality axis seems to form the basis for what Schwartz would later label as variations of Embeddedness vs. variant types of Autonomy, or Harmony vs. Egalitarianism and Mastery (introduced below). Triandis and his associates’ ongoing contributions to collectivism and individualism research continue to influence our understanding of values in varied cultural contexts (e.g., work on Ind/Col in IC training by Triandis, Brislin, & Hui, 1988, and Triandis’ related update in 2004, May).

3.4.3.2 Robert House et al.’s GLOBE Study – Updating Hofstede?

In a strict chronology, the GLOBE (Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness) study as a published product of the new century should *follow* Schwartz’s body of work in the 1990s. But since the Schwartz model has been selected as the primary framework for analysis in this dissertation, I have placed his topic last in the discussion. Robert House, a professor at the highly-rated Wharton School of Management and his many associates (Mansour Javidan, Peter Dorfman, Paul Hanges, and Mary Sully de Luque specifically in leading roles among them) set out

in the early 1990s to update the Hofstede study and expand the number of dimensions especially as they relate to organizational leadership. They posited nine dimensions at two levels: cultural *practices*—what is/what people actually do; and cultural *values*—what should be, or what is regarded as ideal, for a total of 18 dimensions.

Involving more than 170 scholars from 61 countries and 825 organizations, more than 17,000 middle managers were studied (though there are disproportionate samples, with some very large and extensive and some country samples actually very small). This massive project has resulted so far in the publication of two large tomes (House et al., 2004; Chhokar et al., 2007), a more concise executive summary (House et al., 2002; Javidan et al., 2006), and many articles by co-authors on specific aspects of the project. Table 3.2 shows their dimensions, as related to or expanding Hofstede's earlier five.

Table 3.2. The GLOBE Dimensions Expanded from Hofstede's Model

<i>Hofstede's 5-D Model, 2001</i>	<i>The GLOBE Study Dimensions, 2004</i>
Individualism/Collectivism (IDV)	Institutional Collectivism
	In-Group Collectivism
High-Low Power Distance (PDI)	Power Distance
Uncertainty Avoidance (UAI)	Uncertainty Avoidance
Long- and Short-Term Orientation (LTO)	
	*Future Orientation
Masculinity-Femininity (MAS)	Gender Egalitarianism
	Assertiveness
	*Humane Orientation
	*Performance Orientation

The stars (*) point out new dimensions added by Project GLOBE scholars, though one could argue that several of them tap into related meanings or conceptual expansions of previous Hofstede dimensions. This author and others have pointed out there seems to be some link between Hofstede's Long-Term Orientation (which though posited as a time perception, I think it is conflated with length of relationship commitments) and the new dimension brought in from Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck's past-present-future orientation. Hofstede's Masculinity-Femininity was split to investigate gender equality (conflated with power distance?) as distinct from Hofstede's more masculine (aggressive, tough) aspect, which is now termed assertiveness. But might masculinity also be seen in the performance orientation, even though it was intended to be an import from Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck's "being-becoming-doing" orientation (1961)? And though the humane orientation was meant to tap Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck's human nature (bad-mixed-good) orientation, conceptually it may be close to how Hofstede proposed more feminine cultures

would treat or value people. All this to say that there may be more overlap and conflation of values dimensions in the GLOBE study than the researchers meant to allow, reflecting the ongoing challenge of identifying value domain distinctiveness.

Below, each of these GLOBE cultural dimensions are defined and described as they were designed (from Lustig, 2008, adapted from House et al., 2004):

1. *Power Distance* is defined as the degree to which members of a society expect and agree that power should be stratified, unequally shared, and concentrated at higher levels of an organization or government. Sample question: “Followers are (should be) expected to obey their leaders without question.”
2. *Uncertainty Avoidance* is defined as the extent to which members of a society strive to avoid uncertainty by relying on social norms, rules, rituals, and bureaucratic practices to alleviate the unpredictability of future events. Sample question: “Most people lead (should lead) highly structured lives with few unexpected events.”
3. *Institutional Collectivism [Collectivism I]* reflects the degree to which societal institutional practices encourage and reward collective distribution of resources and collective action. Sample item: “Leaders encourage (should encourage) group loyalty even if individual goals suffer.”
4. *In-Group Collectivism [Collectivism II]* reflects the degree to which individuals express pride, loyalty, and cohesiveness in their families. Sample item: “Employees feel (should feel) great loyalty toward this organization.”
5. *Gender Egalitarianism* is the extent to which a society minimizes gender role differences and gender discrimination while promoting gender equality. Sample item: “Boys are encouraged (should be encouraged) more than girls to attain a higher education.” (Scored inversely)
6. **Assertiveness* is the degree to which individuals in societies are assertive, confrontational, and aggressive in social relationships. Sample item: “People are (should be) generally dominant in their relationships with each other.”
7. *Future Orientation* is the degree to which individuals in societies engage in future-oriented behaviors such as planning, investing in the future, and delaying gratification. Sample item: “Most people live (should live) in the present rather than for the future” (scored inversely).
8. **Performance Orientation* refers to the extent to which a society encourages and rewards group members for performance improvement and excellence. Sample item: “Students are encouraged (should be encouraged) to strive for continuously improved performance.”
9. **Humane Orientation* is the degree to which individuals in societies encourage and reward individuals for being fair, altruistic, friendly, generous, caring, and kind to others. Sample question: “People should be generally very tolerant of mistakes.”

Though seeking to update and expand Hofstede’s post-hoc study, GLOBE was intentionally developed with an extensive network of cooperating scholars and reliability-tested scales (not

been yet openly published). But their work has met with some of the same critiques as Hofstede. And some new critiques, including one from Hofstede (2006b), pointed out errors in the conceptualization (values as practice vs. ideal) statistical techniques, and argued that the globe scales were actually aggregates of fewer dimensions (his confirmed 5). Javidan, House, et al. (2006) answered these critiques in the same issue of the *Journal of International Business Studies*. Petersen and Castro (2006) raised concerns about the GLOBE's confirmatory factor analysis and scale aggregation procedures, and Hanges and Dickson answered to correct misconceptions and clarify the methodology in that same issue (2006).

Minkov (2007) agrees with Hofstede, noting that some of the GLOBE dimensions are "so highly correlated that they can be considered very similar facets of one and the same dimension" and points out GLOBE scholars have by their own admission noted some of these (e.g., the 0.76** correlation between GLOBE's uncertainty avoidance practices and GLOBE's future orientation practices, reported in Sully de Luque & Javidan, 2004:624, Table 19.10). Peter Smith (2006) has sought to objectively assess the contributions of GLOBE in comparison to Hofstede's work. Most critiques of the project agree that the conception of "desired leadership ideals" actually triggers responses at the level of social norm expectations, and not values, so the desired "two-types" of analysis (at the "real" behavior and "desired" cultural expectation level) may not have achieved its goals. Points of contention persist no matter how scholars structure taxonomies of values dimensions or the values scales that support them (cf. Earley, 2006).

3.4.4 Schwartz's *a priori* Quasi-Circumplex Model of Values (the SVS)

As one reviews the above value studies or clarification approaches, one notes that many scholars make comments like the following; "these and other value instruments suffer from a serious flaw – though the underlying assumption is that values are organized into a coherent system, none of the instruments attempt an exhaustive description of that system (Rohan & Zanna, 1996:255). They, and others, note that *only* Schwartz has addressed this limitation with his integrated system structured by 10 individual value types. Therefore, a core focus of this dissertation will be focused on the work of Shalom Schwartz and his associates.

From the beginning of his and his associates work, Shalom Schwartz sought to carefully consider, build upon, and develop a theoretical foundation for new work on values. Starting in the 1980s, Schwartz began to review existing literature, gather data, and to propose that there might be a universal psychological structure of human values (e.g., Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987; see the summary in Section 4.3), gathering the first data sets toward developing a new survey instrument (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990). By 1992, he and his colleagues had conducted a series of large-scale

value surveys with the Schwartz Values Survey (SVS) and were able to report their first results and the emerging circular structure of values (Schwartz, 1992, 1994, 2006/2007).

Seeking in part to address critiques of Hofstede's non-representative IBM sample, and aiming to tap what he considers to be some of the most typical participants and propagators of culture, Schwartz did not limit himself to the collection of convenience samples, but intentionally focused in his first-round of 97 samples (1988-1993, totaling 25,863 respondents) on school teachers (41 samples), university students (42 samples), working adults in varied occupations (12 samples), and adolescents (2 samples) in 44 countries (20 countries and 36 samples specifically in his ground-breaking 1992 study).

Building on the theoretical framework of Kluckhohn and Rokeach as values being conceptions of the desired, being hierarchically rank-ordered, and consisting of instrumental and terminal end-states, his questionnaires asked the participants to rate the importance of 56 (later 57 and 58 item versions) different value items on a 9-point scale of importance ranging from "opposed to my values" to "supreme importance."

Schwartz was the first values scholar to employ the multidimensional scaling (MDS) technique called Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) (Guttman, 1968). He began by separately analyzing each of the 97 samples at the individual level and examined the resulting structures of value types based on compatibilities and oppositions. These analysis techniques allowed him to develop his integrated circumplex model of values relations (Schwartz, 1992, 1994).

Based on *a priori* theorizing about the motivationally distinct types of values, Schwartz (1992, 1994) identified ten individual level values: benevolence, universalism, self-direction, stimulation, hedonism, achievement, power, security, tradition, and conformity. He also speculated that spirituality might also emerge as a distinct type across cultures. The data sets revealed, however, that the items included to measure aspects of spirituality did not form a consistent set. Rather, they tended to spread among benevolence, tradition, and universalism values in different samples, suggesting that spirituality has different meanings to different groups. Consequently, he did not include it as one of the types of values recognized consistently across cultures. Below a typical "map" shows how values items from a particular sample can be interrelated using an SSA plot (see Figure 3.5).

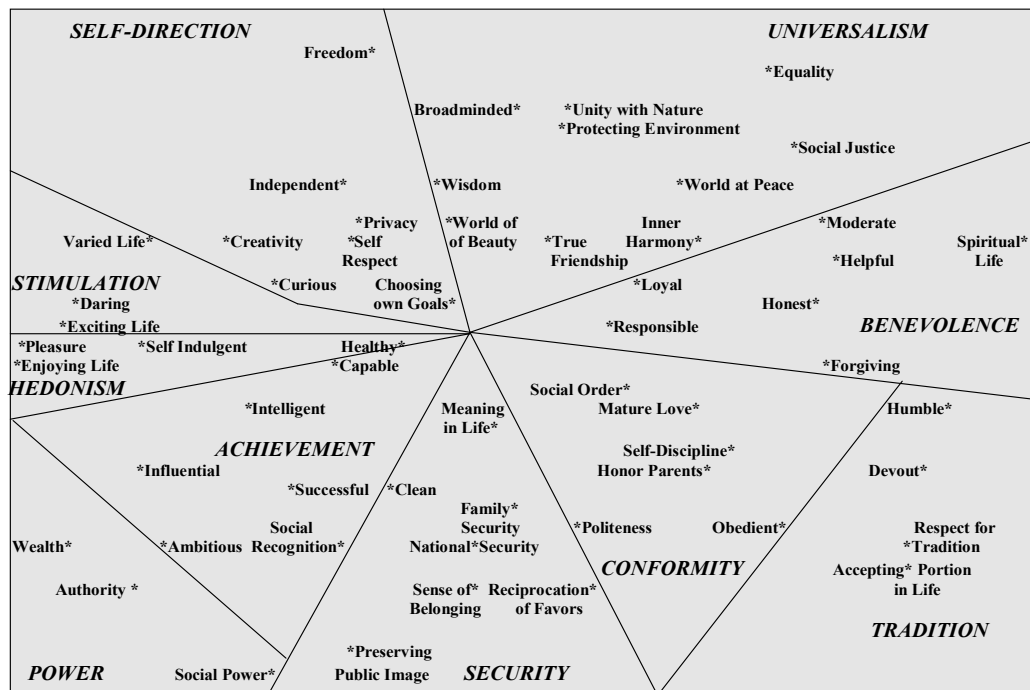


Figure 3.5. Mapping the Schwartz Individual-Level Types for a Culture

Source: From Schwarz (2005a:39, Figure 2, Portuguese Sample).

As one begins to see from this diagram, Schwartz's theorizing (1992, 1994) also specified a structure of compatible and competing relations among the ten universal value types that emerged. This has been consistently validated in studies in many countries in many diverse populations in work with many collaborators (with the adjacent regions remaining generally stable. The original definitions and the value items associated with each of these ten "individual level" values types are shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3. Schwartz's Types of Individual-Level Values

Dimension	Definition	Values
Self-Direction	Independent thought and action	Creativity, freedom, independence, curious, choosing own goals
Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, challenge in life	Daring, a varied life, an exciting life
Hedonism	Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself	Pleasure, enjoying life, self-indulgence
Achievement	Personal success through demonstrating competence	Successful, capable, ambitious, influential
Power	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources	Social power, authority, wealth, preserving my public image
Security	Safety, harmony, and stability of society, relationships, and self	Family security, national security, social order, clean, reciprocation of favors

Conformity	Restraint of actions, inclinations and impulses likely to violate social norms/expectations, or to get upset or harm others	Self-discipline, obedient, politeness, honoring parents and elders
Tradition	Respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide	Accepting one's portion in life, humble, devout, respect for tradition
Benevolence	Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact	Helpful, honest, forgiving, loyal, responsible
Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature	Broadminded, wisdom, social justice, equality, a world at peace, a world of beauty, unity with nature, protecting the environment

Adapted from Schwartz and Sagie (2000:468)

As study after study emerged and SSA procedures conducted, the Schwartz model of values (both his earlier individual-level model and later culture-level one) were organized in a circle around a motivational continuum (see Figure 3.6), such that neighboring values are those that are more compatible, and increasingly more conflicting values are those located further away as one goes around to the opposite side.

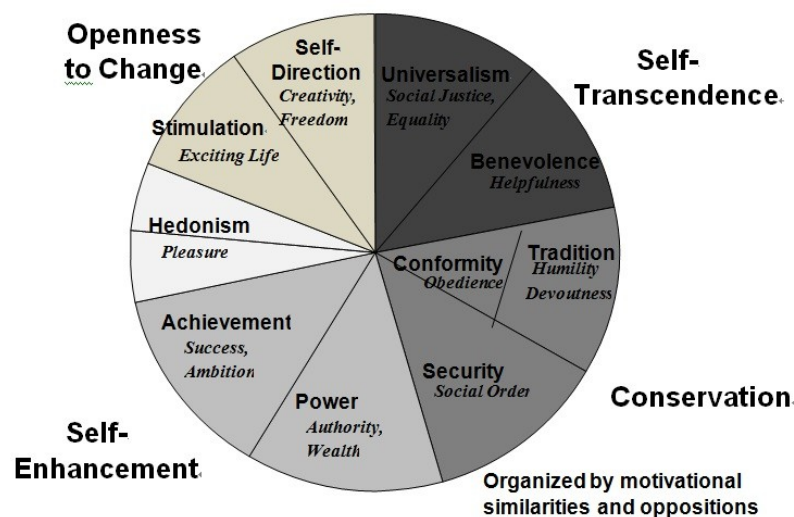


Figure 3.6. Theoretical Relation of the Schwartz Individual-Level Value Types

Source: Schwartz (2005a:31, Figure 1)

From the beginning of his research, Schwartz and his associates have distinguished carefully between the individual level of analysis and the cultural level, postulating that the principles that characterize individual-level choices and those that guide societies may be different. Once a

substantial database from multiple samples was accumulated, the 56-57 specific value items were statistically reexamined, and 45 of those items were determined to have near equivalence of meaning (similar statistical and locational equivalency) across cultures.

Using sample means for these 45 items, Schwartz was able to generate, test and confirm his integrated theory of the originally postulated seven cultural orientations that should discriminate among societies. These orientations were derived from three basic issues with which all societies must cope in order to regulate human behavior. These seven cultural value orientations and the three polar dimensions on which they vary are shown in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4. The Schwartz Culture-Level Value Dimensions

<i>Cultural value orientations</i>	<i>Basic societal problems addressed</i>
Intellectual and Affective Autonomy vs. Embeddedness	The nature of relationship and boundaries between the person and the group
Egalitarianism vs. Hierarchy	The elicitation of cooperative, productive activity among societal members
Harmony vs. Mastery	The regulation of relations for fitting in vs. exploitation among people and nature

From the beginning of his research, Schwartz and his associates have distinguished carefully between the individual level of analysis and the cultural level, postulating that the principles that characterize individual-level choices and those that guide societies may be different. Once a substantial database from multiple samples was accumulated, the 56-57 specific value items were statistically reexamined, and 45 of those items were determined to have near equivalence of meaning (similar statistical and locational equivalency) across cultures.

Graphically, SSA can also plot relations among value items at the culture-level. In this case, however, each sample, rather than each person, is treated as the unit of analysis. The mean responses to each of the 45 items that had demonstrated near equivalence of meaning across cultures are used to assess the structure of cultural orientations. Figure 3.7 shows the interrelationship among the 45 value items at based on means for 195 samples from 70 cultural groups around the world. It reveals that the items do indeed form regions for each of the seven cultural orientations and that these orientations are organized in the postulated order around a circle.

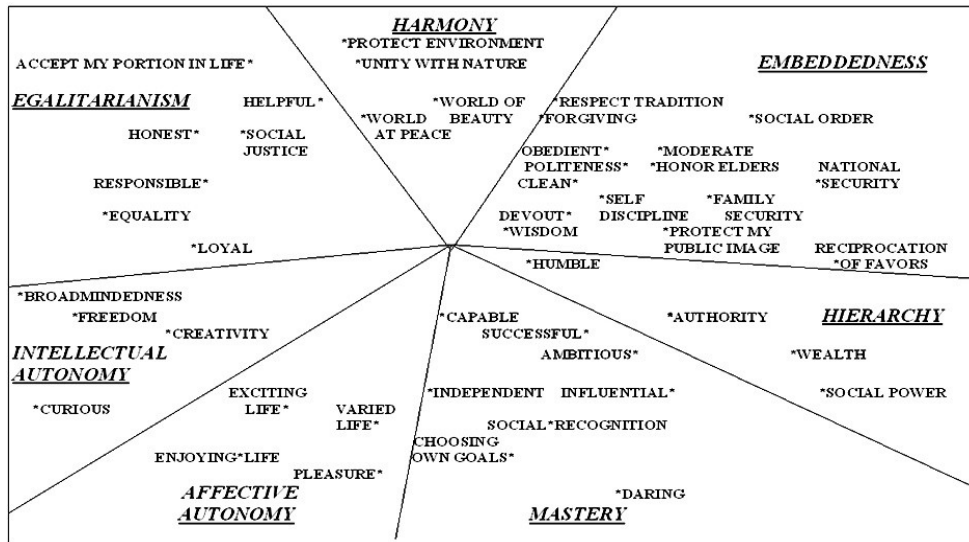


Figure 3.7. Aggregated Schwartz Culture-Level Values and Dimensions

Source: Schwartz (2004:50) and also cited in Schwartz (2005b:85) Figure 2

Based on these findings, Schwartz (2006) computed scores for each cultural group on each of the seven cultural orientations, using the mean responses to the set of value items that index each orientation. He then generated a map that located 76 national cultures on the seven cultural orientations using a special multidimensional scaling technique. This map, reproduced in Figure 3.8, reveals seven transnational cultural regions: Western Europe, English Speaking, Confucian, Africa and the Middle East, South Asia, Eastern Europe, and Latin America. The existence of such regions reflects geographic diffusion of “culture” together with the influence of shared historical experience, ecology, socio-political structures and institutions, and more. This map of transnational cultural regions has some in common with that of Inglehart and Baker (2000).

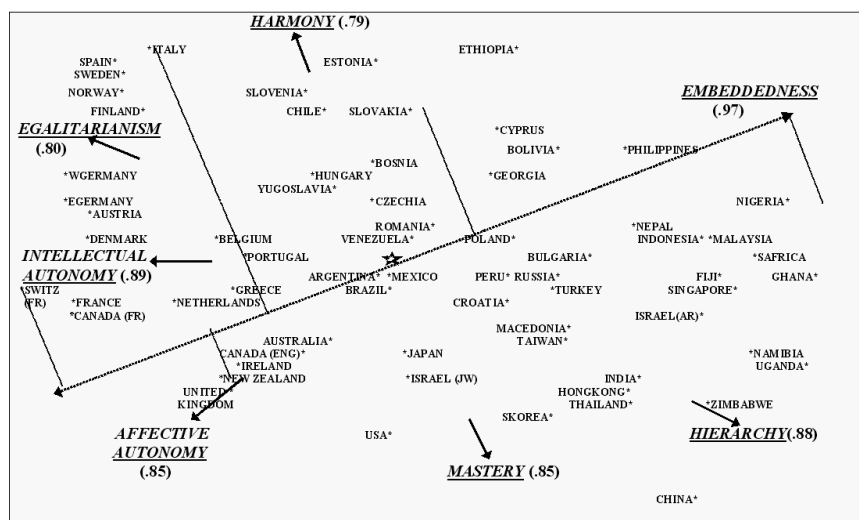


Figure 3.8. Schwartz's Culture-Level Map of the World

Source: Schwartz, 2004, 2006:52

The Schwartz (1994, 2006) approach is unique in providing separate theories for the individual and cultural levels. It derives broad values from the requirements of the human social being at the individual level and tests them with individual-level data. It derives cultural orientations from the requirements of societies and tests them with culture-group level data. It also specifies, at each level, how the different values and orientations are integrated with one another. It argues that individual values are organized into a circular structure according to their compatibility or conflict when making decisions. The cultural theory argues that cultural orientations are organized into a circular structure according to societal preferences for compatible or opposing ways of coping with the problems all societies confront (integrating postulations from Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961). Figures 3.7 and 3.8 demonstrate how analyses of data from around the world support these arguments.

The structure of interrelationships among the individual values contributes significantly to our understanding of how values function as an integrated system to influence other variables. Examining the whole system (and the contexted relation of individual values items) has potential to affect and explain links to behavior, personality, attitudes, and opinions. Across this circular plane, we realize that any decision people make is also a function of the opposing values that are relevant. Trade-offs have to be considered, e.g., decisions that more highly weigh social expectations (related to Embeddedness) naturally limit aspects of personal preference (Autonomy values, either in the Intellectual or Affective domain).

Further, this integrated system accounts for how differences among individual people (age, gender, education, etc.) may relate to the broader shared cultural system of values. Such a **macro** structure helps us to understand how cultural value emphases underlie, influence, and reflect the historical experiences and political, economic, demographic, legal, and educational characteristics of societies, answering many of the calls for contexted- (**meso**) or situated- (**medio**) research by postmodern anthropologists, (de)constructivists, and interpretative cultural critics. As what has now been shown to be the best integrative framework to emerge from the long history of values studies, the Schwartz models will therefore be used for the varied methodological analysis of “Chinese values” in the later chapters.

3.5 Chapter Summary

Cross-cultural research deals primarily with the similarities and differences between cultures. The best such research is multicultural (e.g., more than three cultures) in focus and more than likely deals with fairly basic psychological processes. Intercultural research tends to focus on the penetration by a member of one culture into another culture. It is therefore more dynamic than cross-cultural research. So, while cross-cultural research has a fairly long history in psychology (Klineberg, 1980), intercultural studies are fairly recent.

Landis and Wasilewski (1999:536)

This project is decidedly an intercultural study and what has been written up to now has sought to set the frame for carrying out such work. The literary, historical, and research foundations that have guided Western values research are now in place. Having covered the landscape of diverse disciplines and divergent approaches, the map of the field of values studies has now been laid out in a way that hopefully not only contributes to our understanding of the emergence of the field of intercultural research, but also highlights some of the ongoing unsettled issues. We have needed this comparative culture and cross-cultural review in order to effectively apply these principles and procedures to the Chinese classroom case in which I find myself working in. The challenge now is how to proceed from here.

Hechter (1993, 2000) notes that part of the crux of the noted problems lie in issues of definition and conceptualization. Others would argue that methodologies are also critical. The next chapter (Chapter 4) will address the challenging issues facing values researchers, departing now from the disciplinary, historical chronological approach adopted in the last two chapters toward a thematic, critical issue-centered approach. Critiquing the conceptualization of Western values studies from a different frame was deemed necessary before going on to Chapter 5 and 6 to review how studies of “the Chinese” have developed and dealt with some of these same pressing issues.

Chapter 4: ADDRESSING ISSUES IN THE CONCEPTION, CONFLATION, AND RESEARCH APPROACHES OF VALUES STUDIES

Whether value research has made progress during the last decades is an open question. It might be argued that some of the most fundamental problems are still unsolved, particularly the problem of a value definition, the measurement problem, or the stability problem of values.

European Social Psychologist Wolfgang Jagodzinski (2004:96)

The first three chapters have given credence to the claim that values studies are one of the early and enduring focal points of studying cultures by comparison and contrast. “Milton Rokeach (1973) described social values as the single most important construct in social science. He argued that social values are the building blocks from which the rest of social science expands” (Kahle & Xie, 2008:575). However, interest in the study of values has waned at various points in the history of social science. Exactly “why” will be one of the key discussion points in this chapter, as well as “what” issues face the values researcher, “when” values can meaningfully be included in social science research, and some proposals of “how.” Having provided an extensive disciplinary and chronological summary in the last two chapters, this chapter will now take a critical “issues-based” and thematic approach to integratively discuss the primary problems or challenges facing the values researcher in moving the field forward toward developing new studies.

4.1 Considering the Relevance of Values Research in our Times

It is clear that few things are more important today – nationally and internationally – than understanding how values drive behavior in the real world.

George E. Taylor in “The Value of Values” (2000:xi)

Though we noted in the past chapter that other disciplines like social psychology and intercultural communications seem to have taken on most of the values studies agenda through the 1970s and 1980s, James L. Spates (1983:27) already revisited the concept several decades ago to argue for reviving its importance. It was Spates who suggested that there was indeed a “Sociology of Values” (his title). Michael Hechter (1992) revisited the concept a decade later, with a title asking the provocative question, “Should Values be Written Out of the Social Scientist’s Lexicon?” Hechter later explains (1993:ix): “Due to problems of conceptualization and measurement, research on value-determination frequently has been consigned to the scientific dustbin....” However, he also acknowledges, “Nevertheless, here are signs that the suppression of value considerations is no longer universally acceptable even in the most traditionally positivistic of disciplines” (1993:ix). A decade after that Steven Hitlin and Jane Allyn Piliavin (2004) answer the

question first posed by Hechter with their extensive review entitled “VALUES: Reviving a Dormant Concept” completing the sociological trilogy of seminal articles.

A much-cited editorial by Hechter further linked values study with the basic task of sociology and social science.

I have always taken the sociologist's principal task to be that of explaining variations in collective action, institutions, and formal organizations, among other social outcomes.... Ultimately, social outcomes result from individual' relations with one another and with aspects of their (nonsocial) environment.... In part, social outcomes depend on the values, or motives, that lurk behind our actions (they also depend on other subjective elements, such as beliefs and attitudes toward risk).... These values vary widely – both within the same society and cross-culturally. (Hechter 2000:697)

Having argued for the important position of values, Hechter lamented that the state of the research still has little capacity to accurately access these values. Survey responses seldom translate into accurate predictions of subject's behavior. He notes problems in methodology, subjective assumptions made about individual values, over-compensating attempts at objectivity with structural theories (Hechter, 2000:697-8), and other problems, suggesting:

...developing better instruments to measure individual values—and better theories to explain them—should help us determine the rightful place of subjectivity in social analysis, whatever place that may turn out to be. Lacking such measures, we can never know the causal importance of values for individual behavior compared with such objective factors as class, race, and gender... We are condemned to repeat these debated ad infinitum unless valid and reliable measures of values can be found... Getting a better grip on individual values and other internal states would be an important contribution, but this information alone will not enable us to account for social outcomes (2000:678).

Unfortunately, both Spates and Hechter did not seem to have been keeping up with the work of scholars in other fields on values (in fact, in 1993, he admits that, “Despite the evident importance of values in each of the disciplines with which the conference organizers were familiar, we were aware of little ongoing research on the subject,” 1993:ix) and particularly that the work of Schwartz corrected and satisfied many of their critiques (as Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004, later note). As this chapter will show, much research has been done and findings published about some of the “causal” factors related to or embedded in values, and this chapter will seek to outline some of those interrelationships and sort out the specific role that values might play.

4.2 Reviewing the Conceptual Categories of Values

As was seen in the earlier chapters, scholars vary as to what they include as related to values. Some take a narrower view, and some broader. “Adler (1956) outlined four approaches to the definition of values, which taken in combination, exhaust most of the conceptual possibilities” (Levitin, 1973:492). The following paragraphs present Adler’s seminal overview (reprinted because of its conceptual significance) with some clarifying comments:

First, values may be considered as absolutes, existing as “eternal ideas” or as parts of the “mind of God.” [e.g. the view of some early philosophers like St. Augustine or Aristotle]. For some scholars, “the notion of value as an absolute attribute of an object had been firmly rejected by the 1950s (Braithwaite and Scott, 1991:661).

Second, values may be thought to inhere in objects as the potential of those objects to satisfy needs or desires.” [the view of some cultural anthropologists in the study of artifacts]. Braithwaite and Scott highlight this, citing Adler’s review (1956) when they note “...social scientists differed on the appropriate referent for value. Was value and attribute of the person “doing the valuing” or the object “receiving the valuing.

Third, values may be seen as present in man (or men), as preferences held by people (whether learned, innate, or both).

Finally, values may be conceptualized in terms of action, and this is the view adopted by Adler: that knowing what people do is all that can be known objectively about what they value. Equating values to behavior may, however, present more problems than it solves; for which, if not all, actions then represent values? How can a reasonable class of values be isolated for study? (Levitin, 1973:492)

For most psychologists Adler’s third definition is preferred. “Value” then becomes a hypothetical construct – a kind of “meta-attitude” – not directly accessible to observation but inferable from verbal statements and other behaviors and useful in predicting still other observable and measurable verbal and nonverbal behavior. (Levitin, 1973:492)

Levitin agrees that Kluckhohn (1951) has offered one of the most comprehensive analyses “among social scientists who have attempted to classify values. “Values are categorized in terms of the several dimensions: modality; content, including three categories – aesthetic, cognitive, and moral; generality; intensity and other dimensions” (Levitin, 1973:492).

Another way of classifying values has been proposed by Morris (1956b). Actual preferences among real alternatives are called operative values. Ideal conceptions of what should be or actual choices that people feel ought to be made are conceived values. Means-end

relationships are object values; the preferred means to a particular end may be operative or conceived. Operative values are studied by observing preferential behavior (similar to the approach chosen by Adler), conceived values by the relationship between symbols and preferential behavior. Object values have yet to be satisfactorily operationalized in Morris' work. (Levitin, 1973:493)

Levitin continues: "Still others have divided values into moral, aesthetic, and social classes – moral values involving a personal sense of "ought," social values containing a sense of "ought" regarding maintenance of the collective welfare, and aesthetic values being a matter of "taste" (preferences of certain kinds of sensations)" (1973:493).

From all the positions reviewed so far, it is possible to collect a fairly comprehensive list of value characteristics which must eventually be included in an adequate theoretical framework. These include distinctions between values that are individual and collective, explicit and implicit, and that fall into five broad categories:

1. telic, referring to ultimate means and ends;
2. ethical, dealing with good and evil;
3. aesthetic, defining beauty and ugliness;
4. intellectual (or epistemological), outlining how truth is to be known; and
5. economic, dealing with definitions of both preferences and the preferable in the realm of social exchange.

These categories seem exhaustive, but not mutually exclusive. Operationalizing them successfully presents a formidable challenge [underlines in original]. (Levitin, 1973:494)

4.3 Redefining Values Operationally

Value...represents social discourse and gives expressions to human needs.

Kahle and Xie (2008:577)

Before we begin reviewing how values are related to a host of other psychological constructs, it might help to restate the basic theoretical and operational definitions that have guided the field so far and can move us forward toward specific research approaches and applications.

The word and concept of "value" has a long history. "The English word *value* comes from the French verb *valoir*, which means, "to be worth." *Value* originally was a philosophical concept about virtuous living and morality, and it evolved to imply valor and worthiness over time.

Orthodox microeconomic theory assumes that consumer preferences are exogenous and constant (Friedman, 1976), while psychology and ethics deal with the formulation and evaluation of preferences” (Kahle & Xie, 2008:577).

So far in this paper we have highlighted a number of working definitions of values, many of them related to specific disciplines or epistemological approaches. Rokeach (1973:5) is likely the most cited, and has been used already in this paper several times. It is time now to look at other formulations that might help clarify the scope of this line of study:

Values are preferences for desirable life states (freedom, equality) or behavior (honest, logical). For each individual, the values are organized in a value system, which is an enduring organization...along a continuum of relative importance. (Rokeach, 1973:5, also cited in Seligman & Katz, 1996:55; Ball-Rokeach, Rokeach, & Grube, 1984)

This conception of values as an integrated system, and as enduring beliefs organized in preference models that guide conduct toward end-states of existence is typical of much applied research (e.g., consumer preferences or marketing, Kahle & Xie, 2008:577; Kamakura & Novak, 1992:119). To this scholars add:

Values are the most abstract type of social cognition that people use to store and guide general responses to classes of stimuli.... Individuals adapt to various life roles in part through value development and value fulfillment. Value development summarizes previous experience and provides a strategy for dealing with new choices...Values develop from life experiences.... The integration and specific meanings will be unique for each individual, but similarities in experiences and semantic environments, such as those shared by individuals within a particular demographic category, will lead to measurable similarities and patterns of responses. Situational forces will also interact with cognitive structures such as values in directing behavior (cf. Kahle, 1980; Weeks & Kahle, 1990).... Values vary in terms of the importance of [three factors] self or internal factors (e.g. self-fulfillment), others (e.g. warm relationships with others) and external forces (e.g. security) in value fulfillment. [Homer & Kahle, 1988] (Kahle, 1996:135-136)

As an early and continuing influential values scholar, Norman Feather provides one of the more integrated summaries (noting that these ideas obviously owe much to Rokeach, 1973):

I regard values as beliefs about desirable and undesirable ways of behaving or about the desirability or otherwise of general goals.... Values are more abstract than attitudes in the sense that they transcend specific objects, events, and situations. They are closely linked to

the self-concept and they function as evaluative criteria that people use when judging outcomes and events, when deciding between courses of action, and when setting plans in motion that are directed toward goals. The values that people hold are fewer in number than the much larger set of specific attitudes and beliefs that they express and endorse. Values are not equal in importance but they form a hierarchy of importance for each individual, group, or culture, with some values being more important than others. Values have some stability about them but they may change in relative importance depending on changing circumstances. They are not cold conditions but are linked to the affective system. People feel happy when their important values are fulfilled; angry when these values are frustrated (Feather, 1996:222).

Michael Bond, whose social-psychological work has long included values and beliefs (“social axioms”) as central elements of culture, suggests:

Values are goals toward which a human being strives. Measured explicitly, they are cognitive representations of desired outcomes for oneself, one’s social groups, or the world one shares. Each cultural tradition will socialize its members to endorse certain values more strongly than others, depending on its historical traditions, its ecological-societal conditions, and its current position in the community of other cultural groups and nations. A person’s profile of values will then direct behavior in conjunction with other constructs, like generalized expectancies. (Bond, in press:1).

For social psychologists in general, Levitin suggests (1973:494):

The value realm consists of enduring and central clusters of beliefs, thoughts, and feelings which influence or determine important evaluations or choices regarding persons, situations, and ideas (propositions).

Values differ operationally from attitudes only in being fewer in number, more general, central and pervasive, less situation-bound, more resistant to modification and perhaps tied to developmentally more primitive or dramatic experiences.

Values influence judgments and actions beyond an immediate or specific situation or goal by providing an abstract frame of reference for perceiving and organizing experience and for choosing among courses of action.

When pressed for a decision, then about where attitudes shade into value, the attitude researcher is usually at a loss for criteria more definite than those suggested above. (Levitin, 1973:495)

Schwartz and Bilsky (1987:551) have reviewed most of the significant literature and have operationalized the five features common to most definitions of values. Values are:

- (a) concepts of beliefs [tied inextricable to emotion],
- (b) about desirable end states or behaviors [a motivational construct],
- (c) that transcend specific situations [are abstract goals],
- (d) guide selection or evaluation of behavior [actions, policies, people] and events, and
- (e) are ordered by relative importance”

[bracket terms are clarifying additions from Schwartz 2005a:22,23].

Largely using Schwartz as a reference point, this dissertation will focus on the applications of Schwartz’s theory and instruments in later chapters (Chapters 9 and 10). The basic assumption of Schwartz and his colleagues is that it is possible to collect relatively equivalent samples from all cultures/societies and to construct a theoretically grounded universal framework for values that can then be meaningfully applied for comparisons between cultures (which this project hopes to test). This is of course a position that not all scholars concur with. By discipline, it is generally accepted in psychology, which seeks to map the commonalities of the human condition, and in positivist communication, mass media and organizational studies. But this position would be contested by more relativistic disciplines like anthropology, sociology, and cultural studies. In the next section we will consider these and other arguments related to the study of values.

4.4 Comparing Values and Core-culture Components or Antecedents

The term ‘values’ has been used variously to refer to interests, pleasures, likes, preferences, duties, moral obligations, desires, wants, goals, needs, aversions, and attractions, and many other kinds of selective orientations.”

Raymond Williams (1979:106)

A major goal of research on values has been to relate individual differences in value priorities to differences in attitudes, behavior, and background variables.

Shalom Schwartz (1996:1)

Culture is incredibly complex (as noted in the survey in Chapter 1). Where exactly do values fit in the scheme of other cultural elements? One of the problems of the values conception is that it overlaps with so many other domains that it is hard to isolate. We have earlier referred to values as one “core of culture” (Kulich & Zhu, 2004). But how exactly do they fit in with other elements? A major critique facing values studies has, and continues to be, whether understanding values domains helps us better understand or predict behavior. The question posed by researchers is not only where does the core of culture lie, but also what does the study of any of these core-culture components actually mean for our understanding how people make decisions or conduct their lives?

Talcott Parsons and his associates, including Clyde Kluckhohn, felt that a structural view of society as represented by their “theory of action” could be advanced by identifying and understanding contrasting values patterns which in turn could be specifically observed and studied in people’s behavior (e.g., Parsons & Shils, 1951). Though structuralism has been largely debunked, values studies still suffer some association with that academic paradigm, and assumptions of conflation with other behavior-related psychological constructs. Harry Triandis (1972), building on Charles Osgood’s (1964:171) conceptualization of “subjective culture” posited an intricate schema of elements interrelated with one another (in Figure 4.1).

Obviously, values are located in a nearly central position in Triandis’ model, but are also complexly linked with many other antecedents. Note, however, that “needs” are not specifically identified in his model, and thus will not appear as an independent category in the discussion below. As was mentioned in the previous chapter on psychology, values are deemed to guide the meeting of needs (particularly in Schwartz’s model). As Rokeach (1973) suggested, values are the cognitive representations and transformations of needs.

Jagodzinski (2004:98) calls values a “meta-concept” because the terms we give to value orientations or dimensions are in a meta-language. He argues that, “if the necessary and sufficient conditions are stated clearly, the value definition should enable the researcher to distinguish values

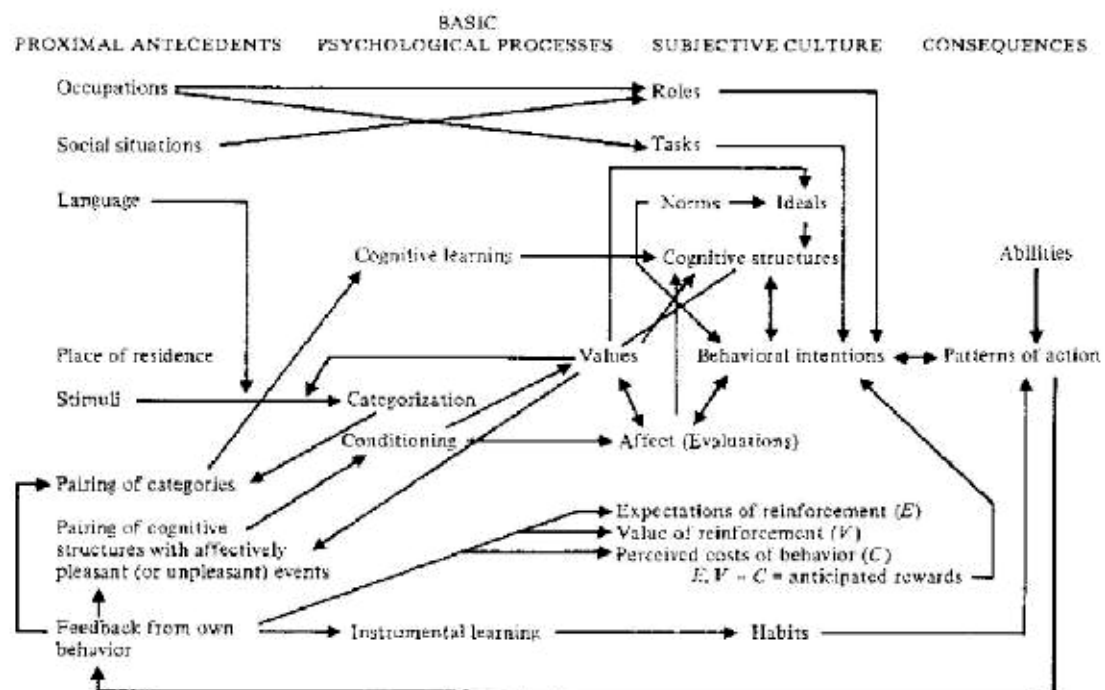


Figure 4.1. The Antecedents and Consequents of Subjective Culture

Reprinted from Triandis (1972:23)

from related concepts like interests, ideologies, attitudes, desires, and needs. Yet no proposal has ever reached this goal.” He goes on to consider the classic definitions like Kluckhohn’s (1951) to argue that it “does not discriminate between values and ideologies” and also its confusion with many treatments of the concept of attitudes, and notes “we will never agree on the precise demarcation between values and attitudes” (Jagodzinski, 2004:99).

His proposal that researchers “agree on a minimal level of generality” builds on his earlier criterion that “a value is a general conception, which refers to no object or very general objects. Attitudes, by contrast, are orientations towards specific objects (Jagodzinski, 2004:98, following Kmiecik, 1976). This foggiess of the concept might contribute to the “cautionary fact” that Hechter notes (1993:2), “Whereas 30 years ago values explicitly occupied a central place in all of the social science disciplines (except, perhaps in economics), use of the concept has declined precipitously in each discipline.” Yet, he asserts that there are assessable “prospects for an enriched role for values in our explanations” and therefore produced a benchmark book to focus on how values might be better “studied to contribute to our understanding of individual and social behavior” (Hechter, 1993:2).

Though this dissertation will not directly address all the parallel components that relate to values studies, it is important to mention them in summary and recognize some of the scholars who have done important work on these areas. Certainly reading their work has provided stimulus for certain ideas or approaches in the study at hand. Such a cursory overview is necessary, not only to see what work has been done or clarify directions foundations for future research, but also to note how the study at hand is positioned within the vast body of values study research. As Kahle and Xie note (2008:577), “Alain and Gary [*sic*: Jolibert & Baumgartner] (1997) argued that the lack of clear-cut conceptual distinctions between motivations, goals, and values in the literature leads to a certain confusion in explanation and theorization.” Clarifying some of this confusion is what this chapter seeks to do.

Such an aim was one of the stated goals of the landmark Ontario Symposium Number 8 (August 18-19, 1993), with its resulting compilation volume appearing in 1996. The organizing authors note their belief that those chapters “illustrate both the diversity and vitality of research on the psychology of values...(and hope) that this volume will stimulate further research and theorizing in this area (Seligman & Katz, 1996:viii).” Their invited chapters cover much ground and address topics like: conceptualizations of values, values systems, value-attitude-behavior relations, methodological issues, the role of values in specific domains (such as prejudice, commitment, deservingness) and the transmission of values through families, media and culture.

Each of these constitutes important themes for any solid study on values, and they are often overlapping (the complexity of human beings in society makes it very difficult to isolate one correlate from another). Below we will attempt to briefly summarize work on those sub-themes that need to be noted in relation to various aspects of the findings of this study, although most will be relegated to future work.

4.4.1 Values and Personality

Personality is cited first since, as noted in the previous chapter, it figured prominent in the early psychological values studies arising from Spranger and because, as noted in Chapter 2, it was also a key theme in early sociological and anthropological studies that looked at values as “national personality” (e.g., Gorer, 1948, 1950; Inkeles & Levinson, 1954/1997; Sha, 1988, 1989) and also because this correlation of values priorities and personality types continues to be an area of abiding interest (see De Raad, 2007). Rokeach (1973), however, brought some clarity to the conflation of these two constructs:

Personality is identified from the outside and is a cluster of fixed traits.

Values are identified from within and are internal and phenomenological. (1973:20)

And his tautology for distinguishing between personal interests was:

An interest is but one of the many manifestations of a value. (1973:21)

Kahle and Xie discuss personality research (2008:577) noting that, “accumulating evidence shows that personality traits are largely endogenous characteristics, while personal values are learned adaptations strongly influenced by the environment (Kropp, Lavack, & Silvera, 2005; Olver & Mooradian, 2003).” Murray et al (1996:108) cite the research of Miller (1965) and Debono (1987) to argue that, “chronic individual differences in personality provide one index of individual’s general tendency to link their attitudes to their enduring values.” But as I noted in both Chapter 2 and 3, there are many limitations to the “values as personality” approach.

Beyond personality, an “ABC of Values” in relation to other core culture domains is provided below, starting with affect, and then moving on to attitudes, behavior (action), beliefs, conflict, decision-making, expectations, morals, motivation, norms, and identity.

4.4.2 Values and Affect (Emotions)

Although neglected by many modern ethical theories, Oakley (1992) and others...assert that emotions are central to any adequate ethics of character and behavior. Ethics have historically been closely tied to values. Aristotle's view was that "the virtues are concerned with actions and passions, with how we act and feel. Moral excellence is a matter of acting and being emotionally affected in the right ways (Critendon, 1990:106-107, reported in Kristiansen & Hotte, 1996:99).

Seligman and Katz (1996:73) maintain that, "all values (or value types) are positive. Their research (1996:68-70) suggests that the recall of value consistency brings positive affective feelings, whereas a sense of value discrepancy brings negative moods. Because of a desire for cognitive consistency, participants tend to "remember the values associated with their actual and ought to self-states as being significantly more similar to one another than they actually were" (Seligman & Katz, 1996:69). Higgins (1987) self-discrepancy theory indicates that people respond affectively to discrepancies between their actual selves and "oughts" with agitation.

4.4.3 The Complex Values/Belief-Attitudes-Behavior Relation

As the current volume attests, psychologists and sociologists devote considerable attention to questions surrounding how values influence attitudes and behaviors.... Indeed, a number of researchers have started to explore questions surrounding the relations among values, attitudes and behavior using an experimental paradigm. Opening and closing comments by Murray, Haddock & Zanna (1996:107, 131) describing Volume 8 of the Ontario Symposium.

Confirming the dynamics of this relationship has been one of the most desired areas of investigation, yet most difficult to design studies or to show statistically. Numerous authors have discussed this concern from their research priorities, and many continue to critique it as the "weak link" in values theory. Kahle & Xie (2008:579) treat it as a separate heading in their extensive review as it relates to consumer psychology (the "Values-Attitude-Behavior Linkage") and the interested reader is advised to refer to their work for marketing and advertising applications. Below I attempt to organize the work of scholars by their main area of focus in this complex interrelated trio and discuss the main issues involved.

4.4.3.1 Values and Attitudes

The value-attitude link may be one of the most studied areas among social scientists since it is the one that seems to most effect public and political attitudes and opinions (and the workings of democracies like those in North America focus much attention on public opinion polls). Though there were predecessors, in terms of direct links to values, Milton Rokeach's (1973) seminal work clearly pushed the field forward, and many later studies are based on his terminal or instrumental values scales. He specifically distinguished the two by stating:

...an attitude refers to an organization of several beliefs around a specific object or situation.
A value...refers to a single belief of a very specific kind. (1973:18)

But as Murray et al. (1996:107) noted, "much of this research has been correlational in nature – examining the relation between holding particular values and endorsing particular positions or acting in particular ways. Some examples of the scholars and attitude-related topics researched so far are cited here, but only a partial listing, as it will be seen that many of the study assumptions come from the Western liberal democratic tradition, and may not have much relevance (without major revision) in "Chinese" or other Asian contexts.

Norm Feather is one who specifically built on and sought to extend the work of Rokeach (c.f. Feather, 1986a; 1996:215), both in attitudinal and behavioral (reported below) domains. His basic proposition is that values function to confer valence on objects and events (Feather, 1990, 1992, 1995). That is, "general values, once activated, are assumed to influence our subjective evaluations of objects and events in specific situations so that, for example, some possible actions and outcomes are seen to be attractive while others are seen to be aversive" (Feather, 1996:216).

In general, Braithwaite & Scott (1991) note that the reliability and comprehensiveness of values measures play a role in moderating attitude-behavior relations. Ajzen and Fishbein's earlier theory of reasoned action (1972) suggested the ability of very general values account for more precisely defined attitudes and behavior. For more specific domains, Miller (1965) showed that people who score high on a dogmatism scale may be particularly likely to link their attitudes or behaviors to their personal values, but also that they may hold more extreme attitudes or possess more knowledge about a particular attitude. De Bono (1987) suggests that self-monitoring (based on the work of Snyder, 1974) provides an index of individual's tendency to link their attitudes and behaviors to their values. Steele (1988) suggests that individuals assess their self-integrity by evaluating their attitudes in relation to their values standards (see fuller treatment in Murray et al. 1996:108).

Conversely, functional theory (e.g., Kelmann, 1974; Sheth, Newman, & Gross, 1991) emphasizes attitudes over values.

It implies that values only matter some of the time. The assumption is that some attitudes develop and change based on rewards and punishments rather than values (Beldona, Kline, & Morrison, 2004), and other attitudes develop and change based on psychoanalytic and psychosexual tension rather than based on values. Some attitudes, however, do indeed form, change, and function to fulfill values. In this view, the relevance of values depends on the function of the attitudes currently activated. (Kahle & Xie, 2008:576)

Many of these studies are experimental (like Johnson, Treadway, & Kahn, 1992; Lavine, Robertson, & Borgida, 1993; Maio & Olson, 1994), and involve manipulations, like the value-expressive attitude function employed by Ostrom and Brock (1969) which developed a values-bonding procedure whereby subjects made logical links between specific statements and specific values. Johnson, Treadway and Kahn (1992) incorporated a similar linking procedure that manipulated value-relevance. Lydon (1987) manipulated the framing of questionnaire items to try to convince individuals that their personal projects were (or were not) a reflection of important values (hoping to impact perceptions of value-relevance, yet unsuccessfully distinct under other controls).

Murray et al. (1996) report on three experimental studies where manipulations using priming techniques successfully brought about consistency with either value-expressive (changes based on values appeals) or social-adjustive (changes based on peer appeals) functions. Kahle (1996:136) agrees with such effects, noting that values are the anchors “from which attitudes may emerge. The attitudes will vary depending upon many contextual factors, and they will be uniquely related to the specific choice at hand” (note both inference to the social-imposition and personal choice adjustment domains).

Among these studies is also the values-adversity hypothesis. Johnson and Eagley (1989) found that individuals resisted persuasive appeals most when their attitudes reflected enduring values. A number of studies (e.g. Brinkman, 1987; Festinger, 1957) suggest that experiences of adversity enhance commitment to values. Marlowe, Frager and Nutall (1965) discovered that individuals were most willing to act on their liberal racial attitudes when they suffered for them. Lydon and Zanna (1990) found that individuals felt most committed to ongoing personal projects when these projects reflected their values and they experienced adversity in the course of completing them. Murray et al.’s (1996:124-129) experimental Study 3 took these a step further to show that value-relevance moderates the adversity-commitment relation.

But a consistent tension in the realm of values studies has been the continuing failure to show a conclusive link to how they actually affect attitudes or behaviors. Many of the chapters of the Kristiansen and Zanna (1992) report on the design of careful studies to determine the linkage, but each had disappointing results (only 3-6% influence of values on specific attitudes tested). Nor were Ball-Rokeach et al. (1984) able to show significant linkage to attitudes in their major study – most of the effects were shown nonsignificant, with the explained variance ranging from none to 7.2% (as cited in Kristiansen & Hotte, 1996:78, 79).

However, Homer and Kahle (1988) note that consumer behavior can be modeled with a structural equation that shows a sequence from values to attitudes to consumer behavior. Conversely, by using what they call values chains to show value-behavior linkages, they show how the underlying values can be identified. “Value chains can be identified by asking respondents a series of “Why?” questions...Usually consumers respond with product attributes to the first question, beneficial consequences of the attributes to the second question, and eventually respond with a core value” (Kahle, 1996:136, 137). Thus, their work helps bridge the gap from values to attitudes to behavior.

4.4.3.2 Values and Behavior (Action)

The confirmed relation of values to behavior has been similarly spotty in the research. Bond (2009:3) summarizes that “value-behavior correlations are small, and only weakly generalizable across cultures (see e.g., Bond, Leung, & Schwartz, 1992). Norman Feather is one who has tried to link values to action, particularly using his expectancy-value approach to bridge the gap between values and actions (Feather, 1975, 1990, 1992b). But as Lynn Kahle admits (1996:136), “most comprehensive efforts at behavioral prediction no longer rely on global values alone. Rather they tend to use values as anchors or cognitive sources from which attitudes may emerge.”

In Kristiansen and Hotte’s (1996:78-82) documentation of numerous studies, most utilizing the Rokeach Values Survey, they found that the covariation between values and behavior ranged from only 3% to 14%, averaging 7%. They end their extensive review noting that,

...although values, attitudes, and behavior are related, these relations are often small, albeit equivalent to that of other social psychological phenomena. Cohen (1988), for example, said that the “small effect size or $r^2=.01$ are representative of personality, social and clinical psychology. Nevertheless, one wonders why people do not express attitudes and actions that are more strongly in line with their values. (1996:79)

Ajzen and Fishbein's (1972) theory of reasoned action depicted behavior as a function of what people intend to do and suggest there are three determining factors: their attitude toward the behavior, social norms, and personal norms. Social norms were conceived of similar to social-adjustment, where people's motivation is to comply with the expectations of significant others, such as family and peers. Personal norms, however, "refer to people's own internal beliefs that they ought to perform a given action" (reported in Kristiansen & Hotte, 1996:92). Later, however, the theory was revised and called the theory of planned behavior (Beck & Ajzen, 1991) and both add a component called "perceived behavioral control" and "moral obligation" to personal norms (discussed further below).

4.4.3.3 Values and Belief

Tetlock et al. (1996:26) maintains that, "values are the backstops of belief systems." Robert Putnam's (1971) work on values related to political ideology also looked at belief and attitudinal variables. Zanna and Rempel (1988) suggest that attitudes can be conceptualized more simply as people's beliefs about what they want to do or their favorability toward an act (reported in Kristiansen & Hotte, 1996:92). Thus we see that there is continued invariable overlap in the concepts of beliefs, attitudes, and values.

Bond and Leung, having started to study values felt that beliefs (2004; Leung & Bond, 2002, 2004) might be an even "more important determinant of tactic choice" and so "set about the daunting project of discovering what people believed around the world...We defined beliefs, in contrast to values, as what people judged as true, accurate, or correct, rather than what they judged to be important, valuable, or good" (Bond, 2010b:7). This was not an attempt to ignore values, but to enhance their study. "Our usual procedure has been to measure both a respondent's values and axioms along with an outcome of interest.... In all studies to date, beliefs have added predictive power to values in explaining most outcomes tested. They do so in an additive fashion..." (Bond, 2010b:8, 9).

After examining the literature, I suggest that the original orientations of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) should actually be seen as "belief" orientations (the more general, guiding conceptions or world-view realities which influence the values dimensions later derived by Hofstede). For the Kluckhohn and their team, an "orientation" was akin to Triandis' "cultural syndrome" – a large cultural conceptual area (multi-dimensional) where by a range of valued beliefs were organized.

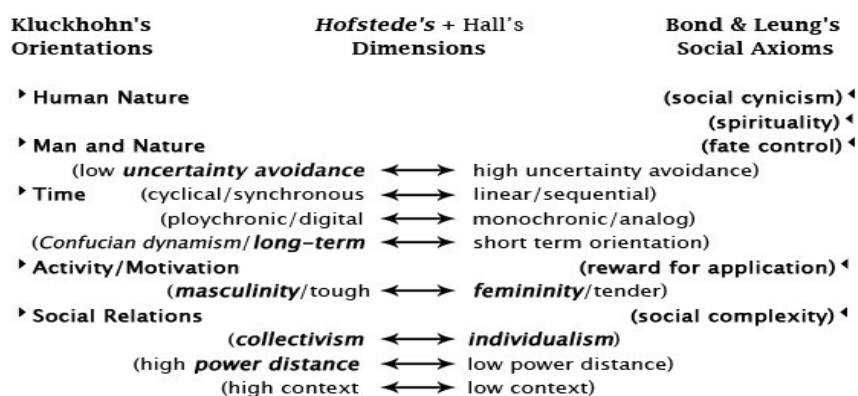


Figure 4.2. This Project's Proposed Relationship of the Various Values Taxonomies

Amazingly (or not) each of the five orientations that they identified have very close correspondence to the “social axiom” belief domains identified by Leung and Bond in this line of research. Figure 4.2 presents my proposed correspondence of the value orientations (on the left), social axioms (bold parentheses on the right), as well as Hall's categories or Hofstede's value dimensions (in the middle).

4.4.4 Values Implications in Conflict, Decision-making, and Expectations

4.4.4.1 Values and Conflict

Tetlock et al. (1996:25-26) suggests that “one of life's painful truisms is that difficult choices are unavoidable...the world can be a very dissonant place. It is impossible to arrange our lives and our values to escape trade-offs completely....cherished values often come into conflict.” Thus they put forward their values pluralism model (VPM), which they suggest “determines how often people experience value conflicts and how often they resort to complex strategies to cope with such conflicts” (Tetlock et al., 1996:29). They then list other investigators who take a values conflict approach:

Suedfeld, Bluck, Loewen, and Elkins (1994) show that patterns of value conflict help to explain individual variation in integrative complexity among student political activists of varying ideological loyalties. Suedfeld and Walbaum (1992) also show that intensity of value conflict predicts integrative complexity. Liberman and Chaiken (1991) combine Tesser's (1978) work on thought-induced attitude polarization with the VPM. (1996:33)

Perhaps the most eminent proponent of value pluralism in political philosophy is Isaac Berlin (1958/1969:167-9) who declared that “conflicts of value are an intrinsic, irremovable element in human life: we are continually faced with choices between ends equally ultimate

and claims equally absolute, the realization of which must inevitably involve the sacrifice of others...the ends of men are many, and not all of them are in principle compatible with each other. (Tetlock et al., 1996:44)

4.4.4.2 Values and Decision-making

Kahle (1996:136) notes that “values have the potential to help clarify the understanding of consumers’ motivations and may point to the underlying “rationality” or psycho-logic” of ostensibly illogical decision processes.” In later work, other related research is described: “Nelson (2004) examined values-confronting decisions using and used image theory (Beach & Mitchell, 1987) to describe the decision process with respect to values, goals, and strategies (references not provided in Kahle & Xie, 2008:579).

Tetlock et al. (1996:26) put forward their social context postulate because it “asserts that how people cope with values conflict depends on the social context of decision making—in particular, whether people are accountable for their decisions, and if so in what ways they are accountable.” His later work (2003; Tetlock et al., 2000; McGraw & Tetlock, 2005) also deals extensively with decisions as they relate to taboo trade-offs, sacred value protection, acceptable base rates, moral reasoning and moral cleansing.

They built on the work of Baron and Spranca (1997) who defined a *taboo trade-off* as any explicit mental comparison or social transaction that violates deeply held intuitions about the integrity, even sanctity, of individual-to-individual or individual-to-society relationships and the values that animate those relationships” (as cited in McGraw & Tetlock, 2005:3). This impinges on the idea of “core values” that this dissertation will later discuss. “Stated differently, such trade-offs entail comparisons of the relative importance of secular [or modern] values (e.g. money, time and convenience) with sacred values that are supposed to be infinitely significant” (2005:4).

4.4.4.3 Values and Expectations

Studies on expectations do not seem to be as well mapped out as those on general attitudes. But we note that Azjen and Fishbein’s theory (1972, 1980, Fishbein & Azjen, 1975) does describe social norms and includes the expectations of significant others in a person’s own life, such of those of family and peers. Kristiansen and Hotte (1996:93) add that norms may also be “founded on perceptions of the relationships, expectations and needs of the people involved in a particular moral dilemma,” which they call “contextually relevant.”

Another key and early contributor to this area is again Norman Feather. He developed and applied the expectancy-value theory and showed how it relates to important aspects of human expectations, motivation and choice (Feather, 1982). But I am unable to locate many studies that deal with how personal expectations of outcomes relate to values – this seems to be a fertile area for future research.

4.4.5 Values Related to Morals, Motivations, Norms, and Identity

4.4.5.1 Values and Moral Reasoning

Obviously from what was noted in the Chapter 2 philosophy review, discussions on morals predate identifying their antecedents as values and are clearly foundational to Aristotle and other rhetoricians. Morals figure central to the discussion in philosophy, sociology, and in some contexts, in anthropology. But the investigation on the psychological relationship of values to moral reasoning seems to be a relatively recent line of inquiry. The literature reviewed showed that much work has been based on applications of Kohlberg's (1969) cognitive development perspective.

Kristiansen and Hotte (1996:84-87) extensively review the related literature. They postulate that there might be two different types of moral orientation, and note that justice oriented people, "who engage in postconventional reasoning and objectively appeal to 'rational principles' in a deontological fashion, should be less affected by the parameters of a particular situation and be more likely to express attitudes and behavior derived from their values" (1996:87). However, those who would be categorized under Gilligan's (1982) "care orientation" "will be affected by contextual cues regarding the needs and relationships of the particular people involved in a moral dilemma" and thus "would display little consistency between their stable, situation-free values and their situationally determined attitudes and behavior" (Kristiansen & Hotte, 1996:87).

Seligman & Katz also consider morals in their work, suggesting dynamic flexibility:

It is reasonable to assume that the peer group provides a moral standard against which the individual compares him or herself. Because individuals internalize society's moral standards, as exemplified by significant others, one should be able to find analogous discrepancies with the individual's value system, as the individual moves from one self-state to another. For example, the individual may consider his value system from the perspective of how he actually uses it in everyday situations, and also from the moral standard of how he ought to be using it. (1996:66, 67)

Thus, the issue may not be one of personality, or of attitudinal influences, or even social context, but of how each of these affects moral reasoning. This would fit well and support the discussion below positing that there are “impositional” cultural orientations (similar to the values-expressive dogmatic condition) versus those that are “volitional” (similar to integrative, social-adjustive conditions) and those living under such “adhering” frames will have more consistent value sets than those with the freedom to choose, integrate and apply their own standards to various situations (what Tetlock et al., 1996 call “integrative complexity”).

While these “attitudes” or orientations might be assumed to be a matter of choice in a western liberal democracy, I suggest that even there, these are sometimes socially conditioned realities and thus functions of culture, just like Hofstede’s collectivism vs. individualism, high or low power distance, or masculinity and femininity (and in fact this “impositional-volitional” scale likely has a close relation to those domains respectively). I suggest using this domain because it helps delineate the conflated collective-individual dimension more meaningfully, and also allows for an interpretation of culture that brings in economic and progressive realities. The impositional-volitional dimension can help us better look at economic progress related to whether the general society is in the first level of modernization or the second (e.g., Beck, Giddins, & Lash, 1994; Eisenstadt, 2001).

4.4.5.2 Values and Motivation

As highlighted in the previous paragraphs, the concept of motivation figures prominently in the study of values. Rokeach (1980) addressed this as one of the then yet unresolved issues. McClelland (1985) conducted research on achievement needs and the effects of these needs on thought and action. Feather (1959, 1982, 1994, 1996; Atkinson & Feather, 1966) has continued to focus on aspects of human motivation, and especially how values influence motivation domains like choice, performance, and persistence in achievement situations (Feather, 1996:216). He argues that in studies of social life, the vertical dimension, the status variable, “has not had the attention that it deserves” (Feather, 1996:217). Schwartz (1992, 1996) notes that values are clearly a motivation for decision-making and action.

4.4.5.3 Values and Norms

Norms are another of the conflated concepts in social science, and hard to distinguish from values, beliefs, and attitudes. Again in Rokeach’s (1973:19) tautology:

...a value may refer to a mode of behavior or end-state of existence...a value transcends specific situations...[and] is personal and internal.

...a social norm refers only to a mode of behavior...is a prescription or proscription to behave in a specific way in a specific situation...[and] is consensual and external.

Based on the widespread assumption and research confirmation that setting-specific sociocultural values mediate achievement cognition and behavior, Phalet and Lens (1995) note that values can be conceived as normative beliefs about what is right or wrong in thought and action that are shared by most members of a given cultural or social group.

The claim is often made that personal norms stem from values (e.g., Devine & Monteith, 1993; Eisenberg, Lennon, & Pasternak, 1986), but some writers argue that better research needs to be conducted to examine the interrelationship and impact of peoples' values on their personal norms (Kristiansen & Hotte, 1996:94). They further note that "social norms may determine both values and personal norms, producing the 'socially required' values and attitudes associated with Kohlberg's conventional justice reasoning. And of course attitudes may influence values and personal norms through the value justification process..." (Kristiansen & Zanna, 1994).

Such a quotation is further evidence of the difficulty in differentiating core concepts of culture for examination by social scientists. For example, Zanna, Haddock, and Estes (1990) examined the role of "symbolic beliefs" (beliefs about the relation between social groups and basic values and norms) (as reported in Rohan & Zanna, 1996:255). The lines are obviously fuzzy. Kahneman and Miller's (1986) norm theory could also be considered here, as it relates to how people respond attitudinally to hypothetical or "what-if" speculative possibilities, or what Tetlock et al. (2000:855) call "counterfactuals."

However individuals respond to the social norms they perceive, Rokeach noted that they develop **both** value systems and value orientations (1973:22). These are distinguished as:

...[Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck's, 1961] value orientation refers to a pattern of rank-ordered results obtained within each of five separate dimensions...(comprising) basic philosophical orientations [more of a world-view].

The notion of a value system...implies...a rank ordering of terminal or instrumental values along a single continuum....conceptions of the desirable. A value system is a learned organization of principles and rules to help one choose between alternatives, resolve conflicts, and make decisions...

Different subsets of the map or blueprint are activated in different social situations (and include): (p. 14)

Motivational functions (pp. 14-15)

Adjustive functions (p. 15)

Ego-defensive functions (p. 15-16)

Knowledge or self-actualization functions (p. 16)

...ordered along a continuum ranging from lower- to higher-order values. (Rokeach 1973:16-17)

4.4.5.4 Values and Identity

As a prominent core domain of culture, the dynamic interrelationship of values and identity needs to be mentioned and further investigated, though this is an important topic for another major research project. It should be noted, however, that initial studies where persons are asked to list their top identities (which I usually do in the first weeks of my courses), and then list their top values at another time (usually done mid-course, at least a month after the identity listing, and with different instructions and response pages) show some amazing similarity among the top items, at least in Chinese samples (Zhang & Kulich, 2008).

Rokeach (1973) early brought this identity domain into his values research by using a self-confrontation technique (as later did Ball-Rokeach, Rokeach & Grube, 1984). This involved a way of showing individuals that there are discrepancies between their value priorities and those of others who are important to them. With his technique of highlighting these differences, he found that participants modified their values lists more in line with those of their significant others (usually their peer group). His work suggests that values are indeed at one level socially constructed and socially modified to levels of acceptability.

Hence it follows, that since normative individuals are assumed to have more than one self-state (Seligman & Katz, 1996:66; Higgins, 1987, Markus, 1986; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Rogers, 1959), they most likely have more than one set of operative values. Though they might be able to list a general set of values “that mean the most to me,” it is also reasonable...

...to assume that the peer group provides a moral standard against which the individual compares him or herself. Because individuals internalize society’s moral standards, as exemplified by significant others, one should be able to find analogous discrepancies within the individual’s value system, as the individual moves from one self-state to another. (Seligman & Katz, 1996:66.67)

Partially on this basis, Seligman and Katz (1996:55) argue that “individuals may have encapsulated, modular, or multiple value-systems associated with different issues” and they later add that these are also associated in relation to specific significant others. Such a dynamic processing of values correlates closely to how this author sees identity dynamics functioning, on multiple scales of social involvement, social volition and social gambits. Tetlock et al’s (1996:43) “revised value pluralism model (VPM)” supports a similar three-fold conception, as values are considered at the levels of accountable social context, acceptable social content and personal decisions about integrative complexity (based on the issues and interactants involved). Seligman and Katz (1996:57) also demonstrate that “many individuals provide significantly different value systems for their ought selves than their actual selves.” This idea of ought (or ideal) or actual (functional) is a distinction that House et al. (2004) sought to incorporate in their significant GLOBE study design, though as mentioned earlier, with mixed reviews (e.g., are the “oughts” social norms and not values after all?).

The studies by Seligman & Katz (1996:57) show that indeed, “relevant values can be reordered in response to situational manipulations, even when the question directing subjects to report their value systems remains constant.” Further, they found that individuals do “reorder their value system according to which self-state perspective they were asked to adopt (1996:65). They seek to show that people not only might have separate values systems for different societal concerns, but that they might also have separate value systems for different aspects of the self. This postulate is made in a western cultural context, where we tend to assume that the principles related to the individual self should somehow be rationally integrated (a degree of Tetlock’s integrative complexity). How much more might this complexity, and perhaps even disassociation, be in cultures guided by the interdependent self, or multiple interdependent influences/reflections on “self?”

Seligman & Katz (1996:67) further suggest in situations where the self is confronted (either by Rokeach’s research technique or by social impositions), “one possible way to reduce the induced dissatisfaction [or my addition – dissonance, which might be internal or public face related] is for individuals to reorganize their own value system to be more in line with those of significant others.” Much value research seems to have underestimated or overlooked the power and influence of social conditioning, social context, and social relational dynamics.

The potential for this dynamic multiplicity is further clarified by Tetlock’s team:

People do not make decisions in a social vacuum; they live and work in complex webs of accountability in which they frequently wonder, “How will others react if I do this or that?”

Depending on contextual cues, these accountability demands can either strengthen or weaken each of the hypothesized obstacles to trade-off reasoning. Some forms of accountability heighten concern for minimizing potential blame (“I don’t want to think of myself as that type of persona or I don’t want others to think of me that way”)...” They show how values choices are played out on a complex field of cognitive, emotional and social-identity factors. And they suggest the idea of creative gambits: “[the previous model] underestimated the ingenuity with which both individuals and institutions cope with value conflict (Tetlock et al., 1996:29, 35).

In fact, the model proposed by Tetlock and his associates (1996:31) reflects circularity like Morris’ or Schwartz’s models. This stimulated me consider a matrix of values and identities, a type field theory, with a *yin/yang* balance of valued elements with weightier core domains in some sectors, but counter-balancing weighted emphases of contrasting valued identities in others as well (Kulich, 2010). The proposed “Integrated Identity Matrix Model” (Figure 4.3), assumes that values are working in the background as each interactant considers the social identity parameters they can function in.

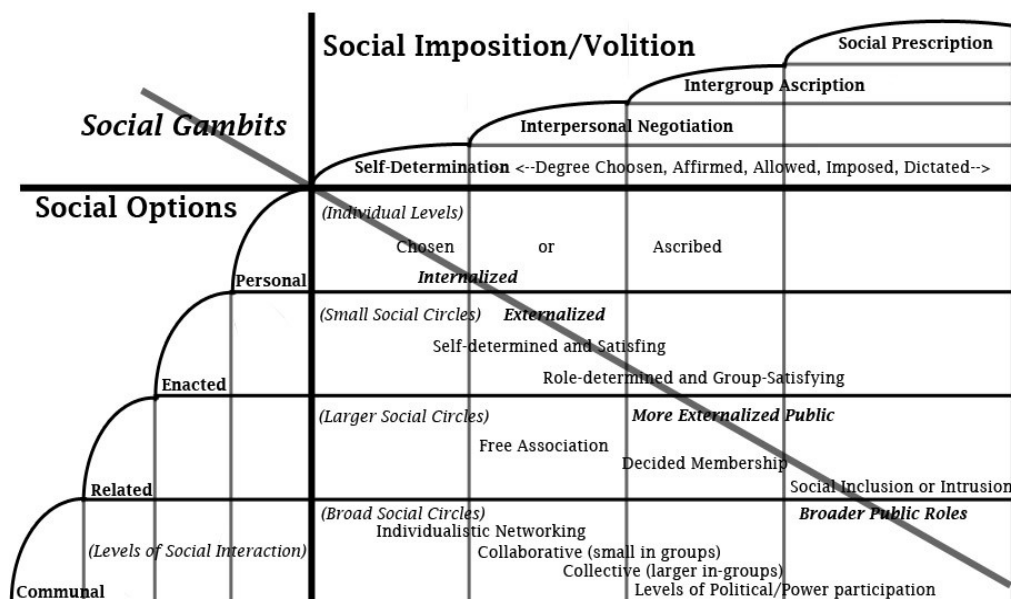


Figure 4.3. A Proposed Integrated Identity Matrix Model (IIMT)

Reprinted from Kulich (2010:85)

Seligman & Katz (1996:70) can be credited with showing that value systems are not necessarily as immutable or stable as some research might suggest. “Individuals reorder their values system or, at least change the importance rankings of some key values, as situations differ.” To summarize this dual and dynamic nature of values, I synthesize Rokeach’s (1973:3, 23) early conceptualizations:

Antecedents of values: (as a dependent variable)

They are a result of all the cultural, social or institutional, and personal or personality forces that act upon a person throughout his lifetime.

Consequences of values: (as an independent variable)

They have far-reaching effects on and will be manifested in virtually all areas of human endeavor that scientists across all the social sciences may be interested in.

4.5 Assessing Critiques and Challenges of the Values Concept

4.5.1 Reviewing Salient Historical Critiques

Spates (1983:33-36) offered one of the early critiques of values studies from a sociological perspective and identified three deficiencies:

- 1) The problem of empirical support (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck's, 1961, was one of the few studies that had data until Rokeach, 1973),
- 2) The problem of deductive imposition – “subscribing to functionalist value theory, the researcher knows what to look for beforehand and imposes certain categories of response upon the empirical situation (Smelser's conceptualization “fills the boxes”). Observable reality is forced into accord with a preconceived model...thus (the researcher) finds ‘evidence’ for its concepts.”
- 3) The problem of abstraction – “as functionalist theory developed, the concept of values became more and more abstract” which means that they are more and more difficult to measure or define.

It may, however, be necessary to critique the critique giver - much has developed since Spates wrote that (1983), and one wonders why he ignores the 1980 publication of Hofstede's very empirical *Culture's Consequences*. To Spates credit, critiques 2 and 3 would still stand. Even while he was writing, the fields of both communication studies and cross-cultural psychology had started to build solid empirically supported frameworks, though their positivist, scientific approach to theory building might still fall under his rueful “deductive imposition” and the use of factor analysis to reduce data to sets of less than four dimensions still leaves us with irreconcilable problems of abstractions.

Hechter (1993) adds to the list, claiming some impediments facing values studies are that: (a) values are unobservable, (b) current theories give little guidance for understanding how values

shape behavior, (c) behavioral explanations are unconvincing when the process that generates values is unknown, and (d) there are difficult problems with measuring values.

Schwartz continued and identified “three problems in past research on the relations of values to other variables: (1) use of unreliable single-item indexes of value importance; (2) use of value lists that fail to cover the full range of motivations expressed in values that are likely to influence behavior; (3) failure to view value systems as integrated wholes with coherent relations to other variables that entail tradeoffs among competing value priorities” (1996:21).

In a recent summary chapter, Lynn Kahle and Guang-Xin Xie (2008) summarized and discussed some of the critical issues they see in consumer values research. Though related specifically to consumer issues, they clearly reflect some of the unresolved issues that continue to face values researchers:

1. We need to revisit the concepts of values, motivation, goal, and personality to understand the exact relation between these conceptual definitions deserves attention.
2. We need to understand better the origins and changing conditions of consumer values.
3. We need to examine the concerns that linger in measuring values.
4. A great deal of discussion has occurred regarding the value-attitude-behavior linkage, and much more remains to be learned.
5. What can we learn about values from cross-cultural studies, and what can values teach us about cultures?
6. In most substantive areas, applications add complexities to our ability to understand phenomena. Applications of consumer values are no different. What are the lessons from applying values theory?
7. Postmodernism has proposed many challenges to the field of consumer behavior as a whole. The postmodern approach in consumer values research is yet another example of such an area of discussion. (Kahle & Xie, 2008:576)

Such concerns are what I would call “issue” based. Virtually every values author puts forward his set of issues or critiques, usually highlighting three or four points of contention. For the purpose of establishing groundwork that this thesis will seek to correct and build upon, I use the next section to review the literature on this point and put forward an integrated set of critiques that either summarize past points or reflect my reasoned research extension. These integrate the points made by the various naysayers and detractors from various disciplines, and hopefully provide a more comprehensive checklist for future values researchers.

4.5.2 Proposing an Integrated Set of Expanded Critiques

Beyond the critiques mentioned above, this paper proposes, both from a broad reading of the literature and observations of the state of the intercultural field, that an improved list is needed to address the number of issues, cautions and concerns which values researchers must address in any attempts to develop new values studies. The list proposed is as follows⁶⁵, and each will be discussed in more detail below:

1. Entativity and essentializing (over-generalizing)
2. Ethnocentrizing or promoting the “normative” (from self-justifying to xenophobia)
3. Oversimplifying or polarizing (binary dimensionalizing)
4. Over-differentiating (from Orientalizing to stigmatizing outgroups)
5. Projecting or assuming similarity/commonality
6. Idealizing (from eliciting social desirability or Occidentalizing)
7. Linearizing or framing (over-linking snapshots between time, space, and change)
8. Conflating (over-rating values)
9. Reifying (over-isolating values)
10. Objectifying (attempting to de-subjectify context)
11. Paradigmatic prioritizing (from academic “progress” to political correctness)

4.5.2.1 Entativity and essentializing

– Over-generalizing and elevating comparisons to national cultural stereotypes

This is represented by whenever “we” construe “Others” as a culturally identifiable “them” and consider or treat “them” as a coherent entity or exhibiting some inherent, essential characteristics (e.g., Jussim, 2006:online). With an increasingly non-essentialist bias in humanistic studies, values studies carry the outdated stigma of trying to codify, categorize, delimit, or ethnocentralize a certain set of values to the neglect of others. Hesitancy to study values in certain domains is noted:

There are probably four major reasons why only a few Hong Kong academics have so far written much on business values, and there almost certainly arise from the difficulties involved in:

- avoiding ethnocentricity;
- countering the accusation of preaching a particular set of values:
the ‘normative’ objection;
- overcoming the arguments of those who believe that all that need concern those
in the field of business (whether as teachers or practitioners) is obeying the law; and

⁶⁵ a more concise summary of these appears in Kulich & Zhang (2010:244-245)

--dealing with the sheer theoretical problems of such an abstract subject
(Stewart, 1995: 1).

As an illustration of how both cultural scholars and trainers seem to yearn for simplified explanations that “fit” our preconceptions, a “classroom study” briefly noted as an application example in an article on identity clarification (Kulich, 2000) has now found its way (used, but not cited) into the “Cultural Detective” training materials for China (developed by Dianne Hofner-Saphiere, Victor H. Garza, and Weiliang Wang⁶⁶) and unfortunately and inadvertently contributes to stereotypical “urban legends” that “the Chinese are” such and such. In reporting findings on cultural values or identity, this is a trend that is hard to go against or prevent.

Researchers are not necessarily impervious to this view of “naive scientists as unwittingly biased” that has been documented in cognitive psychology (e.g., “outgroup homogeneity”). However, the goal of values studies is not to view all groups in non-essentialist terms, but to rather convey “an understanding of the role of situation, historical and cultural factors in creating groups and group differences” (Jussim, 2006:online) and to determine when attributing characterizations are appropriate.

4.5.2.2 Ethnocentrizing or promoting the “normative” (from justifying to xenophobia) – Pitting and prioritizing “our values” against “their values”

This represents how we subconsciously advance cultural superiority, placing or preaching “our” values over “yours”, and may use values as a pretext for cultural justifications. At the heart of this issue is often the contradictory psychology of pride/fear, which seeks to (1) convince us of our own cultural merits while (2) bolstering our perceived cultural vulnerability to perceived or imagined threats from “otherness.” These responses have contributed to some researchers’ aversion to values studies, since some populations seem to resort to value declarations as defensive justification of their behaviors.

McGraw and Tetlock (2005:10) have acknowledged, “the powerful tendency for people to seek out reasons that justify the judgments they make.” Langer, Blank, & Chanowitz (1978) concur that, though these may be just mindless reactions, they are often attributed to values. This is sometimes called the “value justification hypothesis,” and suggests that conceptions of general values may “play a stronger role as defensive justifications of already established attitudes rather

⁶⁶ The Cultural Detective China (Hofner-Saphiere, Garza, & Wang) can be accessed on-line, retrieved July 14, 2009, from http://www.cdireality.com/cultural/about_contributors.html

than as guides to the development of people's attitudes" (Kristiansen & Hotte, 1996:79; Kristiansen & Zanna, 1992).

Related to this is Faludi's (1991) "backlash hypothesis" which was further investigated by Kristiansen, Gareau, and DeCourville (1994). They cite situations where a socially motivated political movement or organization marches "under the banner of traditional family values (Faludi, 1991:238) or draws "values such as family security and law and order into the debate (Kristiansen & Hotte, 1996:80). They suggest that in such cases, appealing to common values actually distracts the public from some of the larger issues at hand.

Research findings (e.g., Kristiansen, Gareau, & DeCourville, 1994) are consistent with the value justification hypothesis, showing that people do seem to appeal to values to justify their attitudes toward social issues, even when these values are actually unrelated to their own attitudes. Such tendencies reduce values to manipulative rhetoric and public relations strategies and make the topic less attractive for some scholars. As Kristiansen and Hotte (1996:83) note, "it seems that the very notion of values is vulnerable to moral exploitation, and in some cases, serves as a basis for xenophobic defense (Biernat et al., 1996).

Such ethnocentrism, or perhaps even more narrowly, position- or ideological-centrism is echoed in the pointed lead article by Joe Klein illustrated on the cover of Newsweek during the 1992 US presidential election - "Whose values?"⁶⁷ In his mind and those of liberals, the "family values debate" was one situated in the sub-culture of conservative, economically well-off, religious republicans. Likewise Ried (1995) titles his chapter, "Ethical values: a source of conflict – but whose values?" which appears in Stewart & Donleavy's book, *Whose business values?* (1995).

Especially in the field of cultural studies, we find much current debunking of "Eurocentric" notions in favor of Afro-centric, Asia-centric, or other "centrics." Though the dominance of the western academy, and in particular the American approach to quantitative or "logical" social science can certainly be challenged, replacing one set of "centered" analyses with another may not solve the problem (though authors like Shi-Xu, 2005, may inadvertently promote this). The values researcher must find ways to de-ethnocentrize his or her work to be both acceptable and relevant to both the participants studied and the scholars who will read such work. This is especially important, as Biernat et al. (1996:154) note, because "perceived discrepancies in value *hierarchies*

⁶⁷ Cover Story, "Whose Values? Whose Family? Who Makes the Choices?" Editor, Joe Klein; Newsweek (pp. 19-22), June 8, 1992. Cover created by Barbara Kruger.

between groups are responsible for outgroup antagonism” (cf. Schwartz & Struch, 1989; Schwartz, Struch, & Bilsky, 1990; Struch & Schwartz, 1989).

4.5.2.3 Oversimplifying or polarizing (binary dimensionalizing)

- Delimiting complex data to a small set of binary dimensions or reductionist/minimalist frameworks

This has been the primary critique of values studies from the advent of comparative culture work, from Parsons and Shils (1951), E. T. Hall (1976), Inkeles and Levinson, (1954/1969), to Hofstede (1980, 2001) – the factoring out of a few meta-concepts which are conveniently located as binary opposites to compare and contrast generalized societies. As noted in the last chapter, first Parsons took, and now Hofstede takes the brunt of this critique. The question at stake for critics of binary dimensionalizing is how can values be viewed across more realistic ranges of options (e.g., Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961; Condon & Yousef, 1975; though each also placed their ranges of alternatives on bipolar lines) or in an integrated field (or circumplex, e.g., Schwartz, 1992, 1994)? This issue has already been discussed at length in the last sections of Chapter 3.

4.5.2.4 Over-differentiating (from Orientalizing to stigmatizing outgroups)

- Mystifying exotic “Others” and forming civilization/group descriptors to express perceived extreme differences or judgments on “them”

This comes presumably as a result of applying essentializing such that we maximize intergroup differences, stigmatize outgroups, and breed prejudices (Biernat et al., 1996; Rokeach, 1968a), or perceptually mystify “exotic Others” (e.g., Orientalizing) with various responses (most of which are not on an equal human footing).

Edward Said (1978) certainly deserves credit for calling this trend to our attention. Samuel Huntington and his colleagues developed it into a theoretical “clash of civilizations” which they and their proponents used to explain many current social and political problems (1993⁶⁸, 1996). The argument is that people in threatened communities do not like or feel comfortable with “otherness,” develop very clear and often exaggerated conceptions of “the other” (usually undesirable value-laden characteristics), and see “otherness” as the malaise for a wide range of problems that should be scourged or wiped out. This trend is repeatedly reflected in the “justifiable” social tolerance of increasingly inhumane attitudes or acts such as those related to Hitler in WWII Germany, of Hutu’s toward Tutsi’s in Rwanda, of Slavs and Muslims in the post-Yugoslavia border wars, in today’s sectarian and divisively destructive Iraq, and so on.

⁶⁸ Huntington’s seminal Foreign Affairs article is available online, retrieved July 14, 2009, from <http://history.club.fatih.edu.tr/103%20Huntington%20Clash%20of%20Civilizations%20full%20text.htm>

Relevant to this research is Rokeach's theory of "belief congruence" that suggests that prejudice is based on the assumption that members of another group hold beliefs (attitudes and values) that differ from one's own (Rokeach, Smith, & Evans, 1960; Rokeach & Rothman, 1965; Rokeach & Mezei, 1966; Rokeach, 1968b). Biernat et al. (1996) show how actively involved values are in the development of theories of racism and prejudice toward outgroups. For humanistic and liberal-hearted scholars, this can be a very negative, unattractive and unpopular application of "group values" and detract from a desire to study them (and see their work potentially misused).

At the IAIR conference in 2007, conflict and identity scholar Nathalie van Muers (e.g., van Meurs & Spencer-Oatey, 2008) commented after I presented this summary that "we as scholars have to be very careful in how we word our statements so that they can not be used for purposes which we would regret." As a number of scholars note, "studying values can be dangerous" (e.g., as the "grab my gun" comments made by Hermann Goering in Chapter 1 illustrates, Section 1.4).

4.5.2.5 Projecting and assuming commonality

- Ignoring variations in efforts to befriend, recruit, or persuade others on the basis of assumed shared values

In our desire to connect with other people, we often appeal to an assumed common human condition, projecting species similarity. We may presume homogeneity (especially if it serves our desired ends in diplomacy or political campaigns), and it is not uncommon for those from privileged positions to projecting their values on the underprivileged, e.g., those who promote Western ideologies or hopes for global uniformity (e.g., surely "they want the same things we want," Ball-Rokeach, 1985).

Often a feature of politics, an appeal to common values can be used to seek agreement or support from others. Ball-Rokeach and Loges (1996:281) note this dynamic in numerous political campaigns, such as Ronald Reagan's 1980 appeal to all who were "a member of this community of shared values." Ball-Rokeach (1985) shows how media systems are made up of organizations "that tend to share values, goals, norms and the like (cited in Ball-Rokeach & Loges, 1996:281).

4.5.2.6 Idealizing (from eliciting social desirability to Occidentalizing)

- Imbuing values with positive aspirations or attributions

In our efforts to improve ourselves, or situation or others, we may relegate or appeal to values with imbued positivity (Kahle & Xie, 2008:579; Seligman & Katz, 1996:73) without realistically looking at deficits or "negative" value influences (Fung, Lieber, & Leung, 2003). It is a common theme of governments or social-political groups to seek to create and elevate a sense of shared

cultural unity and continuity (e.g., promoting educational programs that socialize “good,” “harmonious” values). Such campaigns or rhetoric often overemphasizes the positive benefits of shared ideologies, whether it be a vision of the “world at peace,” some hope that neo-Confucianist ideals will supplement materialist consumerism (see below), or that global free trade will somehow solve the world’s ills.

In the conceptualization of values as “that which is desirable,” Seligman and Katz (1996:73) note that “all values (or value types) are positive,” so there is risk in values research for subjects to give the researchers what they think he or she is looking for.

In survey scale development and implementation, researchers ought to be aware of potential threats to measurement validity and reliability, such as social desirability biases.... On the other hand, it is equally important to avoid deliberate intervention to control for social desirability, because in essence, different socially desirable behaviors exhibit some values differences. The measure of values is in part a measure of what respondents find social desirable. (Kahle & Xie, 2008:579)

The researcher of values thus faces this quandary – am I really measuring people’s operative values, or am I getting a sanitized version of their ideals that they might not be actually living by at all? This issue might be one of the reasons what there has been so little empirical support for the values-attitude-behavior linkage (discussed above) because all researchers admit that it is very difficult to design studies that truly measure actual, functioning values.

There can also be a flip-side response to Orientalism above – those in less advantageous positions might Occidentalize. This reflects a tendency either (1) in traditional cultures to glorify what is perceived to be “advanced or better” in “modern” societies, or conversely, (2) (post)“modern” peoples trying to understand or adopt “the mystical Other” to critique or enhance what seems to be lacking in their culture.

The first trend is when developing countries to idealize “the best of the West” and hope that material progress will lead to better lives. David Shambaugh’s book, *Beautiful Imperialist* (1991) provided documentation of these attitudes showing how Chinese idealize American culture. This same trend was seen in late 19th Century Chinese intellectual circles by those who wanted to maintain the spiritual essence (the *ti* 体) of Chinese culture, but bring in the practical improvements (the *yong* 用) of “Mr. Science and Mr. Democracy” for progress.

There is also a related tendency in post-material, post-something societies to look to the unknown “Other” in a glorified, idealized way seeking something in the mystical qualities of other cultures to enhance their own. Some have used the Chinese Values Survey in this way (e.g., Garrott’s colleagues in Russia⁶⁹), hoping that more relational Oriental values will supplement things that have been lost in our cold, competitive, economic western cultures. One notes increasing interest in studying Eastern religious values or the social norms of “lesser developed” and thus, by implication, “lesser corrupted” societies (similar to the nativist cultural anthropology of the late 19th and early 20th century, noted in Chapter 2).

No matter which way this process goes, the general conception is that “what we have here is not yet [or no longer] good and we need to enrich our impoverished culture with the [perceived, desirable] richness from another culture.” Both produce a cultural bias, in this case, judging the dissatisfying “known” and wanting to import the lesser known and perceptual better “other.” How this fits social congruence theory, theories of reflexive/second modernization, or postmodernism need to be further examined.

4.5.2.7 Linearizing or framing (linking snapshots across time, space, and change)

- Assuming linear development from traditionality to modernity, and not taking into account that each research project is time-, place- and context-situated.

Values research is at best a cross-sectional study – it captures certain subjects in space- and time-frames and needs to more clearly acknowledge this limitation. Each study provides one or a series of snapshot(s) of “reality” (if reality can ever be fully captured). Most paradigms of progress view values on a bipolar line from tradition to modernity, not realizing that all trajectories may not be linear, and that in societies undergoing rapid change, value priorities might be not be sorted out yet (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961:10). Nor do many values studies take into account the impact of major culture changing events (like war, economic collapses, natural disasters, or events like 9/11). There is an increasing need to view values in a blended matrix of traditionality in modernity (or post-modernity) and individuality in collectivity (cf. Tu, 2000; K. S. Yang, 1998).

4.5.2.8 Conflating (over-rating values)

- Over-correlating findings to “pin it all on values” as the primary cultural cause

Whenever readers or researchers are not careful to carefully recognize, differentiate and define the broad and related psychological constructs listed above, there is a tendency to roll them together into an aggregated sense of “values” (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004). There continues to be a tendency in

⁶⁹ See the Rostov “Cultural Values” project noted in Chapter 3 which uses Bond’s CVS, retrieved May, 20, 2008, from http://rspu.edu.ru/projects/cultural_values/index-e.htm

the literature to relate everything to values, a kind of “one tool fits all” approach. Hitlin and Piliavin (2004:360-362) add two other important considerations. First, it is very important to note what values are not. What much research generalizes as “values” findings might be measuring or describing attitudes, traits, norms, and needs. Researchers need to continually remind themselves of how values are distinct from each of these other categorical concepts (i.e., to Rokeach’s 1973 differentiations noted earlier in this chapter).

Biernat et al. (1996:153) noted that many racism theorists link prejudice to values, “although none of these researchers is explicit in defining the values construct...there has been surprisingly little research from each perspective that clearly documents the importance of the value construct for understanding...racial attitudes and reactions...” (Biernat et al., 1996:154). Other conflations may arise from mixing domains of time, traditionality-modernity, or other contextual differentiations like those noted in point 9 above.

But even with clear definitions and procedures for studying values, conflation can also happen at the data analysis level. Bond notes, “In pooling the values data from five cultural groups, I had unwittingly conflated the individual-level factor structure with the cultural positioning effect (Leung & Bond, 1989). Hofstede’s challenge to guard against “ecological fallacy” (Hofstede, 2001:16, Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005) “provoked an almost decade-long struggle to figure out how best to eliminate this type of conflation (see Bond, 1988; Leung & Bond, 2004 for solutions to this problem)” (reported in Bond, 2010b in press:4).

4.5.2.9 Reifying (conceptualizing cultural monoliths)

– Isolating values over or in ignorance of other contextual constructs

This arises from the conceptualization of values as derived from or influential in a monolithic view of culture. But “cultures” may not be as heterogeneous or psychologically hegemonic as we think. Research is increasingly showing the need to examine the dynamic, temporal, or situational dimensions involved.

Reification also involves isolating values away from or over other constructs, ignoring the complex linkages of related factors. As Hitlin and Piliavin (2004:360-362) emphasize, “values have historical and cultural variability in their content.” Any study like the one at hand needs pay careful attention to such contextual factors, but at the same time, not reify historically or contextually variable phenomena as a necessarily extrapolated timeless set of shared human characteristics (e.g., calling such observations “traditional Chinese values”). The questions of “which,” “when,” “where” need to be perpetually asked to avoid this reification tendency.

4.5.2.10 Objectifying (attempting to de-subjectify context)

- Ignoring social complexity in attempts to conduct “objective” science

Tetlock et al. (1996:36) note that “there is an anti-content bias in much of cognitive psychology (cf. Cosmides, 1989)” since “a good cognitive theory should be comprehensive; it should capture how people think across a wide range of content domains.” Likewise they maintain, “although it is less pronounced than the anti-content bias, there has also been an anti-context bias in cognitive psychology. To be sure, cognitive theories often make strong predictions concerning how contextual cues influence judgment and choice (e.g. framing, priming)” (1996:40). Hechter (2000) also notes this bias against subjectivity, and calls for researchers to not exclude the potentially abstract elements just for narrower theorizing.

Nonetheless, the aspiration has been to identify fundamental laws of human thought (grounded in psychophysics or associative network models or schema theory) that hold true regardless of the context in which people happen to find themselves. The early value pluralism model followed in this universalistic spirit. The social context postulate retreats from this commitment (Hechter, 2000:698).

In Tetlock and associate’s modified value pluralism model, they seek to balance this and stress “the qualitative diversity of reasons that people have for liking or disliking things (1996:36) as well as locating the decision-maker “in a matrix of accountability relationships that strengthen or weaken” motivational obstacles (1996:40). Thus they are accounting for interpretive content meaning and contextual diversity, which this paper argues that all work on core culture domains should do (cf. McGuire, 1983).

4.5.2.11 Prioritizing academic progress or ideological debunking

- Viewing values as a previous “has-been,” politically/intellectually incorrect or restrictive topic

A related issue is the assumption of scholars about academic development, intellectual progress, and topical timing (which was raised in Chapter 1, Figure 1.15). Many fields of study seem to first set out on a quest toward a type of Linnaean categorization of the body of knowledge at hand (see Bond’s introduction, 1994:67). Values studies nicely fit positivist, constructivist, framework building. But once the foundations have been laid, most academic fields seem to evolve toward deconstruction and engage in higher criticism to debunk the frames that have been built. Thus, values studies seem to be generally relegated to the old paradigm that some authors argue needs to be replaced by newer, more relative paradigms like those of diverse identities or situational ethics.

Other scholars disparage values studies as belonging to some limited domain of ancient, unenlightened psychology or sociology. In referring to values and commitment, Lydon (1996:210, 211) notes: “Both of these concepts are frequently thought of as restrictive, primitive props that people rely upon out of weakness. I think that some help stretch our thinking about values so that we may see values serving and expressive and not just as a defensive function.”

Hechter (1993:ix) also notes, “Due to problems of conceptualization and measurement, research on value-determination frequently has been consigned to the scientific dustbin.... Nevertheless, here are signs that the suppression of value considerations is no longer universally acceptable even in the most traditionally positivistic of disciplines.” This quote reflects the rejection (or “suppression”) of the stigma that values studies gained as “deterministic” science, perhaps, in part, from Parsons and associates over-emphasis on structuralism. Many put Hofstede’s work in the same camp.

Barth provides a fitting summary of this sometimes hidden agenda:

It is striking that despite the apparent silence on values, the reflexive, critical, and antipositivist thrust of much contemporary anthropology is nourished by normative undercurrents that entail strong value positions and often extensive value counterpoints in the analyses that are pursued.... Absent from the indexes, perhaps ‘values’ as a concept yet lives a rich but subterranean life in the anthropologists’ prose? (Barth, 1993:31)

But the very formulation of such critiques reflects the periodic posturing of studies, and the efforts to reject buzzwords of the past or adopt the paradigmatically correct jargon of the day. This is in part a critique on social science trying to reinvent itself and its legitimacy in each new generation, seeking out more contemporarily enticing, ideologically opportune, or politically correct conceptions; progressive debunking or devaluing values research (or other related topics) as relics of the past rather than affirming them as necessary objects of investigation in increasingly plural and global contexts.

Thankfully, not all scholars view values negatively, and there are regularly laments over the disinterest in values studies. Note Leung and Leung’s (1995:203) comments, “In the 1980s, research in business values and culture reached an unprecedented climax... However, in the 1990s, articles on business values have been declining rapidly in the United States, both in number and importance...” In their citation of many of the prominent studies of the 80s, they note that Hofstede’s (1984:253) organizational culture and business values “had acquired the status of a dominant buzzword in the US popular and academic management literature.” And this may be precisely the bane of values studies – their early prominence, popularization, and pop applications

made them “old hat” and unfitting academic pursuits after the 1980s when paradigm shifts were underway.

Barth’s question about the demise of values studies in some spheres is worth considering: What drove “values” off center stage? Perhaps one issue is that “meaning” has eclipsed “explanation” in recent anthropology. Thereby some aspects of “value” have been co-opted by “meaning,” while its place in a paradigm of action has lost its salience. Structuralists following Levi-Strauss search for hidden, deep structure in cultural representations; symbolic anthropologists develop competing paradigms for analyzing symbols; Geertz after 1973 favors “interpretation”; and a younger generation now spearheaded by the postmodernists explore reflexivity, deconstruction, and “multiple voices.” A theoretically motivated analysis of values seems to have no place in such concerns (Barth 1993:32).

4.5.3 Balancing Over-reacting Exclusion or Over-emphasized All-inclusiveness

Whatever the issues in values research, we see reasons listed above why some scholars either completely avoid the mention of values in their work or why others tend to over-theorize about them. Though many have noted that values are too abstract to be studied (e.g., Stewart (1995:1), others maintain that they must be continually incorporated in the social science agenda (e.g., Hechter, 2000:698). Hechter also suggests that many scholars, in their efforts to avoid being criticized of subjectivity, have sought solace in theorizing. Such scholars seem to argue that we shouldn’t try to frame what is not frame-able in sophisticated, complex, pluralistic societies (an extension of the essentialist argument), but actually this ends up generating a new type of “subjectivity” to replace the old one.

Countering these ideas, Leung and Leung suggest that increasingly plural, global contexts necessitate new efforts at values studies.

The present article represents an attempt to refocus research interest back towards a subject which has ever-increasing relevance.... Continued neglect of the multi-faceted field of business values would be a serious disservice to the corporate world, as many corporations are grappling with the challenges posed by business values in a rapidly changing business environment. (1995:203, 204)

In their conclusions, they argue that “...globalization of enterprises, advances in information technology, burgeoning customer expectations, and changing characteristics of the workforce...spur the development of business values” (1995:220), so they should be studied. This

dissertation has thus far cited many scholars from the related cultural comparison fields who maintain this is true. Values need to be reinvestigated with new vigor and rigor, especially in circumstances where globalization or rapid change is being experienced.

4.6 Proposing the “Cultures in Change Hypothesis”

4.6.1 Credence for a “Cultures in Change” Argument for Values Studies

The matter of values is certainly the prime intellectual issue of the present day.... Our cohesiveness and strength as a people depend upon the achievement of greater clarity and force in making explicit among ourselves and to the outside world what we conceive to be good, what we hold to be right or wrong in private acts or official duties, and the responsibilities of our nation in its dealings with other nations.

Clyde Kluckhohn (1952/1964:286)

During a time of booming economic prosperity, rapidly developing technology, and the beginning of major shifts in social patterns, C. Kluckhohn addressed those words to American educators, scholars, and policy makers (republished in R. Kluckhohn, 1964). He foresaw that societies experiencing rapid transformation would need to take time to identify the shifts in their values, identities, and both domestic and international influences.

Values tend to change when the cultural, environmental, or social situations to which people must adapt change. As people move into different life stages, social contexts, or situations, they reassess their core values. Rokeach (1973) showed that values can change with introduction of confrontation related to cognitive inconsistency. (Kahle & Xie, 2008:578)

This trend was also anticipated in the fifth principle (which has surprisingly often been overlooked) postulated by Kluckhohn’s wife and associates of the Harvard Value Project (F. Kluckhohn & Strodbeck, 1961:10), that in societies undergoing cultural change, the new rank ordering of values may not yet be clear. Hansson (2001:42) notes, “It is a salient feature of preferences that they change, both in response to external stimuli and as a result of mental processes. Many social phenomena cannot be understood unless changes in preferences are included in the analysis.” Regarding the tension between individualism and collectivism, he further notes, “Preference change also has an essential role in the emergence of morality and of social cooperation; cooperation becomes individually rational if individuals develop preferences that reflect internalized commits to social values” (2001:42).

Western sociology and cultural studies seem to consider values research to be part of the old paradigm that established the fields. As will be considered below, many fields depart from the abstract study of values to more personally defined areas such as the social identity of individuals or individuated meaning, especially in the western academy. But, conversely, there seems to be a very active interest in the study of values in societies facing rapid change (note Hu's comment below, and the book on Middle East youth values shifts). This suggests that in countries with stable and "normally" developing economies and societies, which are those that seem to have hit a "low change" plateau, interest in values studies may wane. But in societies experiencing rapid change and identity issues larger than the individual, values studies may have great salience. This certainly seems true for China.

Ester, Braun and Mohler (2006) imply that this assumption also fits Europe.

Values are a hot topic in Europe, both in the social sciences and in the public and political debate. The heated discussion on what constitutes the cultural borders of the European Union clearly reflects the vitality of the value issue. Is Europe indeed a community of values—values that refer to a common past, a common present, and a common future—and if so, how united are Europeans in their fundamental values? Values seem to matter even, or maybe particularly, in a globalizing era. At the same time there is broad concern about the vanishing of certain traditional values.... But with the decline of certain basic values, new values may come to the fore...value changes may reflect societal turbulence or more gradual trend developments caused by the dynamic process of generation renewal. (Ester et al., 2006:xvii)

Similar comments could be made about the impact of economic development, globalization, national/cultural identity issues, and values changes in China, and the need to carefully study them in this context. Not only is the rank-order of values priorities unclear in periods of rapid change, citizens in the society have a felt need to understand the changes going on and to clarify their values, thus the great attention given in the popular press. Ester et al. (2006:3) also note this parallel trend in western societies. Interestingly, they even note trends that go against conventional sociologist or other de-essentializing cultural studies wisdom, by pointing to the popularity of John Naisbitt's book *Megatrends* (and I would suggest Alvin Toffler's *Future Shock* could be included) and the website of the World Future Society, www.wfs.org.

Both Milton Rokeach (1973) and Sandra Ball-Rokeach also support this idea (cf. Rokeach & Ball-Rokeach, 1989). In her opening sentence in a later article, she and her co-author argue, "it seems

that any time human societies face the pervasive ambiguities that accompany massive social change, the discussion inevitably turns to values” (Ball-Rokeach & Loges, 1996:277). This statement is rooted in Ball-Rokeach’s hypothesis on “pervasive ambiguity” which “is a logical outcome of rapid social change” (1996:279).

Under the shifting sands of change and resistance to change, under the pervasive ambiguity of not feeling certain that one understands fundamental questions of what is going on and why? Who am I? And who are we? People must not only construct artificially stable social realities, they must also legitimate them. (1996:277)

People living under these structurally ambiguous conditions are prone to pursue new ways to understand the what, why, and how of their social environs.

The experience of ambiguity is a chronic condition of people’s lives in contemporary societies. Pervasive ambiguity is the inability to establish stable relational links between events (e.g. self, social situations, and other actor individuals or groups). Change is manifested in massive disjunctures between ‘what is’ and ‘what was’ or between ‘what ought to be’ and ‘what is.’ (Kluegel & Smith, 1986) (in 1996:279)

Put another way, social reality is unstable, requiring constant reconstruction. Demands on cognitive and affective resources are many and intense. Due to their shared experiences of pervasive ambiguity, individuals and their interpersonal networks face two basic and chronic problems. The first is stress management....The second problem is information, the information required to remodel or rebuild established definitions of one’s social world (1996:280).

It may be hypothesized that ambiguity results not only from the multiplicity of plans (multiple definitions of the moral and competent thing to do), but also from obfuscation of the equality-freedom choice.... (Ball-Rokeach & Loges, 1996:286)

Reflecting a similar emphasis focusing on change, transition, and urbanization, we note Takashi Inoguchi's (猪口 孝 , い の ぐ ち た か し) multiple recent titles as part of the continuing series reporting the annual statistical Asia Barometer results. After his first work, *Values and Life Styles in Urban Asia* (2005), each has lead titles such as *Human Beliefs and Values...in Striding Asia* (2006), *...in Incredible Asia* (2008)... *in East and Southeast Asia in Transition* (2009), as well as *Political Cultures in Asia and Europe: Citizens, States and Societal Values* (2006)⁷⁰.

We see evidence in similar motivation for studying shifts in various societies with titles like, *Changing Values among Youth: Examples from the Arab World and Germany* (Hegasy & Kaschl,

⁷⁰ Retrieved July 14, 2009, from his personal web-site, <https://www.t-inoguchi.com/>

2007). In such volumes, values are implied from interdisciplinary qualitative and quantitative studies, but not directly studied. Some would argue that such studies are part of the “subjective turn” in sociological methodology (Muenchmeier, 2007:164) where:

The scientific standard [is] to conduct a series of non-directive interviews and group discussions with young people in order to understand their subjective perceptions and valuations, and to select the topics of the questionnaire according to their point of view...to follow their own view and opinion of society, and the situation of youth from within. (2007:155)

Inarguably, values are changing with major consequences for many societies, and scholars want to get at the roots of why. “Many scholars argue that values can be regarded as such a core and stable part of cultures that comparing cultures on the basis of values is probably the most if not only fruitful strategy” (Vinken, in press:2).

4.7 Shifting from Tradition to Modernity (to Post-modernity?)

This discussion links to the arguments of social transitions from traditionalism to globalism. Ball-Rokeach & Loges (1996) offer some unique critiques and perspectives on this transition.

The ‘globalism’ of contemporary life may be better understood as the loss of localism. Classical sociological theorists spoke to this phenomenon long ago in the massive social transformation known as modern society...another massive social transformation is underway, one that is sensed better than it is articulated. Numerous ‘post-something’ descriptors—postindustrial, postmodern, postmaterialist, and so on—reveal a fundamental inability to define what kind of society is coming; the definition is reduced to what kind of society we are leaving. Nonetheless, it is fair to say that social worlds have become even more complexly organized, and individual and interpersonal network worlds have lost their traditional geographic and social boundaries. However ambiguously, individuals and their networks are connected to increasingly large units of societal reorganization, for example to regions that know no national borders. In vain, reactionary movements promote ethnic identity as a cultural form to ward off the entropy effects of economic and political movements that cross and confuse structural categories of class, caste, gender, age, and sexual orientation. (1996:280-281)

So are societies disintegrating? Are social orientations evaporating? No, they argue. In fact, such trends bring the study of values back into the forefront.

Under such profoundly ambiguous and psychically threatening conditions, values remain as one of the few ways of encoding and decoding self and other. It is meaningful to speak of personal values, family values, group values, social movement values, community values, sub-cultural values, organizational values, institutional values, regional values, and societal values. Values travel well across the multiple (micro/macro) social worlds. Individual and their interpersonal networks may employ values as codes to define even pervasively ambiguous worlds. (Ball-Rokeach & Loges, 1996:281)

Such an observation suggests efficacy for the five levels of values (Section 1.3.2) and three levels of meaning (Section 1.3.3) proposed in Chapter 1. From **meta** to **macro** through **meso**, **medio** and **micro**, certain values have relevance and salience at their level of impact. It is the job of the researcher to identify these as they have meaning and function at each level.

Social transitions and “cultural” change are breaking up the monoliths we once construed of as national or ethnic cultures. The classical sociological theorists (e.g., Durkheim, Weber, and Tonnies, all noted in Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1) predicted this, in suggesting that people will experience a “tumultuous transition from traditional to modern society” (summarized in Ball-Rokeach & Loges, 1996:280). Michael Bond agrees, noting that academic efforts to search for unique qualities of “the Chinese” led only to finding Chinese communities quite scattered on various constructs and more related to certain other societies than to some inherent cultural whole (Bond, 2007:242, 243). But such a deconstruction of some of our stereotypical mantras has had a good result and stimulated researchers toward renewed academic interest in value theory and research.

Ronald Inglehart and his colleagues certainly adhere to a theory of value change (both he and co-author Paul Abramson started their careers in the 1960s and 70s working on studies of intergenerational population change and note that a number of studies arose to criticize the value change thesis (Abramson & Inglehart, 1995:ix,x).

Arguing that differences between the formative socialization of young Europeans and their elders were leading young birth cohorts to value relatively high levels of freedom and self-expression, he suggested that future intergenerational population replacement would bring about a shift toward new value priorities. If this value shift is taking place, it has far-reaching implications. (Abramsom & Inglehart, 1995:1)

As political scientists, their main concern is how these shifts are eroding traditional party bases, voting behavior, the meaning of “right” and “left,” new party emergences, a remarkable worldwide trend toward democracy, and public sentiment that favors more widespread popular influence. Among their many findings, they note two strong democratizing trends, the shift toward post-materialist values, and “a movement toward higher levels of “cognitive mobilization” that resulted partly from rising levels of education and changes in the nature of work, from relatively simple routine operations to tasks requiring relatively high levels of specialized knowledge and autonomous judgment” (Abramson & Inglehart, 1995:2-3). If findings like these are indeed spread worldwide due to globalization, they will surely affect values shifts in all societies that are experiencing development and modernization. To this end, Inglehart and his associates have noted several domains of values in modernization (toward post-modernization): those affecting greater individualism, and those that are bringing about greater futurism. These are worth parsing out.

4.7.1 Starting from Individual Orientation Modernization Values

Perhaps less of an antecedent of values, and more of a consequence or influence on values, modernization processes, whether developmental, economic (materialistic and consumerism), or internationalizing/globalization, certainly have an impact on values. As Baer et al. (1996) note in their discussion of Lipset’s work, there are multiple definitions, conceptions, and theories on modernization (and as expected, not all modernization theories agree on these). They note in their analysis (1996:302), however, that “the literature suggests a range of interconnected values, most of which can be tentatively grouped into two broadly defined clusters. These clusters may be labeled “individualism” and “future orientation.”

These may be especially relevant to our discussion here, as it is important to note (as do Baer et al., 1996:302) that “individualism” should not be confused with an excessive preoccupation with the “self.” It is not necessarily the kind of self-interest that Triandis has called “narcissistic individualism” (Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990) or what Durkheim called “egoism” (Durkheim, 1893/1964:172-173).

Modern value systems involve a strong belief in individualism. Individualism here subsumes a large number of related value preferences, most notably achievement, freedom of choice, personal ambition, hard work, self-directedness or autonomy, active individual participation or involvement in public affairs, and universalism...

Modern or developed countries...require citizens who freely pursue their individual goals, but within the constraints imposed by their ties to the collectivity...(which)

means...greater tolerance of diversity and respect for the rights of other people. Individualism thus entails a fundamental “group” or “collective” orientations. (Baer et al, 1996:302)

Baer, Curtis, Grabb, and Johnston note (1996:303 footnote) that this moves away from the view of individualism-collectivism as polar opposites and cite others who agree (Triandis, 1973; Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990:879).

4.7.2 Continuing to Future Orientation Modernization Values

The second broad category of value preferences that is emphasized by most modernization theorists may be loosely labeled ‘future orientation.’ This set of values reflects, in particular, the importance to be placed on progress and ‘looking forward’ in modern societies. Included here are such ideas as optimism about the future, openness to new experiences and change, a belief in science and the capacity of humans to master nature, the efficacy of rationality and human planning, and so forth. Baer et al. (1996:303)

When we first read this list, one question is “where are these items in the Schwartz values survey?” Some are imbedded in Schwartz terms, but many more seem to show up instead in the Bond and Leung (2004) “social axioms” because they are more beliefs about social realities, conditions, and hopes. So here again is the complexity of isolating the “values” concept from others that are related (which few authors do well). The work of Inglehart and associates should be consulted to explicate this area further.

4.7.3 Modelling Modernization: From Traditionality to Secular-Rationalism

Chapter 3 introduced the Inglehart dimensions affecting modernization across the many cultures studied in the World Values Study (see the Inglehart-Welzel Cultural Map of the World, 2005, Section 3.1.2.3). Newer versions of modernization theory (Inglehart, 1997b; Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Yang, 2003) argue that “modernization is not linear” (Inglehart, 1997b:5), and that traditionality and modernity may in fact be “two separate, independent multidimensional psychological syndromes” (Yang, 2003:266). As such, they can coexist as “concurrent psychological traits appearing and functioning together in...time and space” (2003:236) specific to a person’s life domains (see also R. Zhang, 2006, J. Shen, 2007).

We suggest that Kluckhohn’s fifth assumption (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961:10) about value priorities being unclear in rapidly changing societies *is* manifested in a coexisting duality of value domains (a *yin/yang* type of values matrix). Individuals, or even cultural institutions, on one hand are seeking to ride the modern/postmodern wave, but at the same time feel uncertain and insecure,

producing the counteracting need to fall back on familiar culture-as-we-have-known-it values for comfort or maintaining a preferred cultural stability. Evidence for such a matrix will be tested and described in Chapters 9-12.

4.7.4 Considering Chinese as a “Classroom Test-Case” for Values Studies

This chapter has outlined some of the issues that have been raised as critiques, obstacles, and challenges in Western values research. The question at hand is whether this same set of concerns face values research in other non-Western cultural contexts? In the next chapters we will consider whether the Chinese mainland can be taken as a viable example of some of these theoretical challenges and change dynamics.

Historically speaking, China has been put into precisely such a position since the launch of the Open Door policy by Deng after 1978. Analysts would concur that the changes since the mid-1990s have been most noticeable and almost exponential. China has almost consistently maintained double-digit economic growth, massive rural and urban restructuring, along with increasing levels of social openness, specifically through the exposure that the Internet revolution has brought about.

It thus seems evident that Mainland China is a fertile territory to carry forward a number of these values research extensions, both mapping the history so far, as well as updating the T/M research initiated by Inglehart’s theories and also by indigenous psychologists in Taiwan. In Chapter 5 the indigenous theorizing of Kuo-shu Yang and his associates (and counter models by Kwang-Kuo Hwang) will be discussed, and in Chapter 6, how some of these theories are being applied in the Mainland will be examined.

Chapter 5: HISTORICAL VALUES STUDIES RELATED TO “THE CHINESE”

Culture is a product, is historical; it includes ideas, patterns and values; is selective; is learned; is based upon symbols; and is an abstraction from behavior and the products of behavior...all cultures are largely made up of overt, patterned ways of behaving, feeling and reaction.

Cultural Anthropologists Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn (1952:157)

I gathered the deep and more abstruse statements in the classics and in other philosophic works, examined hidden meanings in Confucianism and Buddhism, studied new ideas developed in China and in the West, traced the evolution of man and nature, compared the tenets of various religions, pored over maps of the world, reviewed the present and the past in order to see the pattern of the future....

Chinese Scholar and Reformer Youwei Kang (1895, cited in Spence, 1982:5)

5.1 Introducing Cultural Comparisons Related to “the Chinese”

5.1.1 Making a Case for Historical, Ethnographic, Literary Description

In developing a project seeking to document the values constructions of current young people in the Chinese mainland in reference to international values studies, one of the first questions asked might be why such a chapter as this is included. This section does not just reflect my penchant for Chinese history and culture studies, but provides an important conceptual frame. Cultural psychologists Peng Kaiping, Richard Nisbett, and Nancy Wong (1997) suggested this approach in a seminal article addressing validity problems in comparative culture research. Taking Chinese values as an important test case, they argued that historical mapping as such is a necessary, but often missing contribution to the field. In discussing various types of validity categories (criterion, convergence, test-retest), they suggested:

Another way of determining the criterion validity of cross-cultural value measures would be to see whether they correlate with a set of independent judgments made by cultural experts who specialize in the understanding of the cultures in question and who have had considerable systematic contact with people from the culture being compared. The method seems to have not been used in value studies despite its obvious promise and relative simplicity as compared with arduous and possibly misleading behavioral measures. (Peng et al., 1997:332)

Their statement captures the basic goals of this chapter – to track the hopefully informed judgments and observations recorded by China observers and cultural experts who have “had considerable systematic contact” with the Chinese. And I am particularly committed to exhuming several types of these expert evaluations. This chapter will review the vast volume of literature from foreign observers, though that is more readily available to English readers. But more importantly, it will highlight works from those nationals who, perhaps through their bilingual or overseas experiences, became astute observers and lucid interpreters of their own culture. This is in keeping with the comments made in Chapter 1 by Edward Hall and others – that only when we are confronted with cultural differences do we often begin to effectively reflect on our own cultural moorings. The “insiders” included here had seen “both sides” and thus sought to effectively build bridges toward understanding. The “outsiders” were sometimes confronted with something so different or unexpected that they grappled, sometimes for a lifetime, with ways to describe “the Chinese way.” Both inform us.

But reporting these bi-directional cultural observations is not an exercise of recording expert opinions only, but of intentionally seeking to sift out salient concepts or value items that might contribute to future descriptive analysis or instrument development. Again, Peng and his colleagues suggest:

The possibilities for establishing a broad “nomological net” (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955) would seem to be greater for studies of cultural differences than for studies of individual differences. For many cultures, there is a range of historical, ethnographic, and literary material that may be drawn on in establishing validity criteria. If survey results are not in accord with the generalizations prevalent in cultural studies, this provides genuine evidence that survey results are capturing something real about cultures and cultural differences. (Peng et al., 1997:332)

Thus we begin this analysis of those China studies and the “full range” of China observers (mostly those printed in English) to note what might contribute to a more accurate and full range of “cultural representations” (Shi-Xu, 2005) of “the Chinese” for a study such as this. Heeding the cautions of Chapter 4, one notes that Peng et al. appear to reify “Chinese values”. I further beg to differ with Peng et al. on another point: though this approach may have “obvious promise”, I have found it anything but one of “relative simplicity” to assemble this chapter. In fact, perhaps because it is so close to my academic background and years of reading interest, I found it the hardest of all to sift out and assemble. I hope the doubly arduous task of integrating the vast range of rich and relevant insights into this overview and then applying them to behavioral instruments analysis in

the later chapters will prove worthwhile and contribute to the desired convergence validity, or what qualitative scholars aim for in triangulation.

5.1.2 Considering China an Important Source for Cross-Cultural Comparison

Assessments of China and the Chinese people were often coarse-grained or inaccurate; they drew on imagination and stereotype as much as on any kind of informed application of intellect...those making the sightings we examine here felt that they shared in certain traditions that were different from those that they encountered in China, or thought that they encountered, or imagined that they might have encountered.... We are dealing with individuals reaching out in their various ways toward another world, which each of them saw differently, but which they gave the same name, that of China.

British-American Chinese Historian Jonathan Spence (1998: xviii)

Few scholars report any awareness that China actually figured large in the development of comparative studies. Yet there were very early historical contributions that not only shaped Western ideas about “the Orient,” but specifically about “the Chinese.” Images of, reports on or from, and comparisons to or with China have played a critical and important role in the Western mind since the time of Marco Polo. As Jonathan Spence opens his volume examining “China in Western Minds” (his subtitle for *The Chan’s Great Continent*) he suggests, “One aspect of a country’s greatness is surely its capacity to attract and retain the attention of others. This capacity has been evident from the very beginnings of the West’s encounter with China... (1998:xi).

I add to this argument that China comparisons are among the oldest and most abiding East-West cultural products and in obvious and unobservable ways have influenced the entire enterprise and emerging discipline of or related to intercultural communication. Similar traditions or trends can be noted with Japan, which later served as the most common “East” representative in intercultural comparisons, perhaps due to more ready access in the last half of the 21st Century. But this review shows that “China watching” predated, or at least substantially paralleled, and continues to have a significant place in the comparative culture literature. Therefore documenting these contrasts, especially at the level of values or related core-cultural elements, is a valuable and needed contribution to intercultural research.

In this chapter I will first provide a broad stroke chronological overview of some of the key authors, works, and ideas. Then a categorical “point-of-view” approach is adopted to examine some perspectives in more detail, along with the related or representative literature. Historically, the social science literature outside the Mainland has continuity that cannot be found within, due to

the political realities after Mao. Thus the revived developments of the last 30 years inside the Chinese mainland will be treated in the next chapter – this body of work has remained largely unknown and unreported in English publications.

Then I will attempt to highlight some of the thematic values issues emerging that have since become the focus of social science research (toward the possible “nomological net” building urged by Peng et al., 1997 and Chronbach & Meehl, 1955). It is my hope that each approach elucidates and highlights the leading sources and concepts that contribute to our understanding of the historical, contextual, and contemporary relevance of research on “Chinese values” in comparison and contrast.

5.1.3 Describing Early Introductions to China

What all observers of China appear to have done is to filter what they see through the spectacles of their own backgrounds, ideologies, biases, and experiences, and they cannot avoid the impact of the period and place in which they live. It is nearly universal, and perfectly understandable and natural, that observers of another people remain firmly planted in their own culture.

Australian Chinese Historian Colin Mackerras (1999:1)

Colin Mackerras attributes the distinction of being the first to write *about* China either to the Roman Pliny the Elder, 23-79, or to the Egyptian Greek Theophylactus Simocatta in the early seventh century (1999:11) or the Pope’s first emissary sent to Mongolia, Franciscan friar John of Plano Carpini (1247). Jonathan Spence suggests the first credible record is by Franciscan friar William of Rubruck, who actually met Chinese while in Karakorum in 1253 (1998:1).

Both acknowledge that these brief summaries had little influence in their time. Though not the earliest writer on China, most scholars begin their books or discussion with Polo (who incidentally also predates the dubious work of “Sir John Mandeville” of the mid-fourteenth century and of the Persian scholar Rashid ad-Din’s second-hand summary in 1310).

5.1.3.1 Marco Polo’s *Description, Travels* (1289)

Sometime after Marco Polo’s 1289-99 imprisonment where he dictated his Asian travels and stories to Rustichello, a version of his story *Il Milione* (*The Million*) came out in Old French, subtitled *Le Divisament dou Monde* (*The Description of the World*). A later version that Polo himself wrote in Italian seems to have been lost, but its Latin translation endured, and has been

translated into many European languages. The English translation I read early in my Asian career was a reprint of this widely-read version, *The Travels of Marco Polo* (1983). It provided a fascinating picture of the customs, history, and ways of life of the Chinese people during the Mongol-led Yuan dynasty, though its veracity, or even whether Polo ever visited China has been questioned by a number of scholars (e.g., Wood, 1995; Jackson, 1998).

The ongoing influence of the book however is not questioned, and Polo's *Travels* ranks among the most famous books ever published, especially as one that significantly fuelled conceptions of our interest in the Orient and the Chinese empire in particular. Even Edward Said (1978:58) notes that "there were travelers like Marco Polo who charted the trade routes and patterned a regulated system of commercial exchange.... Out of this comes a restricted number of typical encapsulations: the journey, the history, the fable, the stereotype, the polemical confrontation. These are the lenses through which the Orient is experienced, and they shape the language, perception, and form of the encounter between East and West." But Polo was not the only influence, or the most accurate.

5.1.3.2 The Early Catholic Historians

Jonathan Spence (1998), Colin Mackerras (1999), and Robert Ellis (2006) note other significant works. They report that Spaniards like the Catholic friars Juan González de Mendoza's *History of China* (1596) and Domingo Fernández Navarrete's *Tratados* (1676) produced some of the most widely read books on China of all time. "Both Mendoza [an Augustinian] and Navarrete [a Dominican] play decisive roles in shaping the West's perceptions of China and in constructing the Orient as a conceptual space. Yet whereas Mendoza's writing is largely descriptive, Navarrete's reveals how the representation of cultural others can lead to a refashioning of one's own identity and by extension a subversion of one's culture of origin (Ellis, 2006:470-471).

French Jesuit missionaries were also early involved in trying to crack the cultural puzzle of a civilization that seemed to function by such different rules and means. Scholars like Matteo Ricci (ca. 1616; see Spence, 1984, 1998:31-35) became virtual cultural insiders in their attempts to relate to Chinese the Chinese court officials. So did the later protestant missionary, James Legge, who after many years as a missionary in China carefully translated the classics (in the late 1800s) and then became the first professor of Chinese at Oxford University (Mackerras, 1999:47).

5.1.4 Initiating National Character Studies – Foreign and Domestic

Now in the study of national character, it is also of the first importance to pay attention, not only to the actions and practice of the people, but also to their notions and theories; to get a knowledge of what they consider as good and what as bad, what they regard as just and what as unjust, what they look upon as beautiful and what as not beautiful, and how they distinguish wisdom from foolishness [which he implies are values, morals, preferences, ethics].

Hong-ming Ku (1915/1998:120)

5.1.4.1 A. H. Smith's *Chinese Characteristics* (1890)

As shown in Chapter 2, the American Boasian tradition (starting in the early 1900s) is often credited with launching what became known as “national character” studies. However, what is often not noted is that an earlier and extensive “national character” summary was the oft-cited and reprinted work by the American protestant missionary, Dr. Alfred Henderson Smith, who wrote his *Chinese Characteristics* in 1890. Though an example of both positive and negative Orientalism and critical in places, Smith is noted for generally respecting and seeking to understand Chinese culture. Time magazine (September 12, 1932) reports in his obituary that, “Smith is credited with having convinced Theodore Roosevelt that a large part of the indemnity for the Boxer Rebellion should be returned to China for the education of Chinese students in the U.S.”⁷¹ In the 1920s, even the nationalistic writer “Lu Xun” recommended that his readers take seriously Henderson’s critiques of Chinese culture. One still finds this work being reprinted and in new Chinese translations (e.g., Smith, 1998, 2002, 2005, also included in Wang, 2006). The 2002 edition includes notable historical comments from the famous authors/scholars like Xun Lu (Lu Xun 鲁迅), Jinghan Li (李景汉), Guangdan Pan (潘光旦) and John King Fairbanks (费正清), and will be discussed in more detail below.

Following this trend, the contextually descriptive *The Real Chinaman* by Chester Holcombe (1895), another summary of “Chinese characteristics” was also recently reprinted (2006). Each of these works fit in the category of westerners observing the Chinese as “Other”, of which there is a long tradition (well documented both in Colin Mackerras’ *Western Images of China*, 1989, 1999, and his corresponding compilation of original sources, 2000; and Spence’s *The Chan’s Great Continent*, 1998). Contemporary Chinese appear to still (or again) harbor a concern about how Westerners view their culture. This sense of reappraising the Chinese image and position in the world has reached new proportions, as evidenced by increasing funding allocated for national key

⁷¹ Retrieved February 12, 2011, from <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,744370-2,00.html>

research projects for topics like “Western (or country x) views of China” (e.g., summarized by Chen Liu 刘琛⁷², carried out by Wenhua Yan 严文华⁷³).

5.1.4.2 Translating to Introduce the West – Yan

Highlighting such summaries might suggest that the initiation of comparative studies has rested with Westerners. But Chinese were also observing the world and writing about the strange or intriguing customs they heard about or saw. So far, I have been unable to obtain definitive evidence of such writing during the Tang, Yuan, or Ming dynasties, but this may be in part due to my limitations in Classical Chinese and access to libraries of antiquities. What we do know is that during the Qing dynasty, after the forced “opening” of China through the Opium Wars and treaty concessions, a flurry of translation activity picked up (see David Smith, 2007). A key figure in this mid-1800 translation work was Fu Yan (严复), who moved into new areas like science, medicine and technology seeking to introduce Western ideas that would help strengthen China. At the turn of the century he translated Huxley’s *Evolution and Ethics* (天演论, 1898), Spencer’s *The Study of Sociology* (群学遗言, 1902), Smith’s *The Wealth of Nations*, (原富, 1902) and Mill’s *On Liberty* (群己劝解论, 1902) [original publication references have not been able to be located] making him the most influential interpreter of Western thought. He and others who followed his lead, many from Japan where Western works were more available or already more accessibly translated, helped open the door for literate Chinese to compare and consider the world and worldviews beyond their borders (for further description, see Smith, 2007; Wright, 2001).

5.1.4.3 Linking East with West – The Reformers: Zhang, Kang, and Liang

The late 1900’s saw growing group of influential Chinese scholars (which in the Chinese system of that time meant they had also become political officials), grappling with issues of merging Eastern and Western values. Notable were reformers like Youwei Kang (康有为) and his student Qichao Liang (梁启超) (see Spence, 1982:4 which highlights Kang’s “A Study of Confucius as a Reformer,” which he drafted from 1886-1889, and his later *Book of the Great Community*, 1935). Their voices joined Zhidong Zhang (张之洞) and other influential leaders in the late-Qing “self-strengthening” modernization movement, who also sought to reform Chinese education to help it develop in the face of the increasing dominance of the West after the Opium Wars. Zhang wrote

⁷² see Chen Liu’s abstract “China’s intercultural communication studies and China’s national image studies: A comparative analysis of the relevant projects granted by China’s National Social Fund (1986-2009), in S. J. Kulich & L. P. Weng (Eds.) unpublished conference proceedings (p. 92), Chinese Intercultural Disciplinary Development Symposium, Shanghai, June, 2010.

⁷³ Yan’s key national psychology project, “Social adaption in changing society: The social cultural adaption of foreigners in China,” of which how “foreigners view China” was a key component.

specifically of the need to revive and maintain the “essence” of Chinese culture while adopting the technical “expertise” or “skills/practices” of the West – what became known as the *ti-yong* (体用) movement at the turn of the 20th century (see Spence, 1990). Spence notes,

such an interpretation meant that the new institutional and scientific elements being introduced by the Western powers could be seen as having antecedents in the Chinese tradition, and thus need not be simply rejected out of hand in an attempt to preserve some original Chinese “purity.” (Spence, 1982:4-5)

Kang in particular considered unique ways to blend the values of East and West. With his 1935 *Book of the Great Community* (*Datongshu* 大同书), he envisioned a cultural blending, some of which he had already penned in 1895, according to Spence (1982:5). A broad and imaginative thinker, he may have presented one of the early etic-emic integrations of values. We see some of his expansiveness in the opening quote to this chapter (above in italics). The section preceding that, which specifically lists some of the core values he envisioned, reads as follows:

Thus when I discoursed on the world, I approached the topic in terms of courage, propriety, a sense of righteousness, wisdom, and benevolence; when I discoursed on the sages of the past, I approached the subject from the point of view of the Three Historical Levels; and when I looked to the future, I based my views on the concept of the Three States of Human Development. I made benevolence the center of my philosophy, which was to follow the will of heaven in bringing about unity on this earth by drawing together all nations, races, and religions...on equality for men and women and universal laws for everyone, so that a paradise on earth for all men might be attained...(and the rest is cited as the opening quote for this chapter...[he] gathering of the deep and more abstruse statements...reviewed the present and the past in order to see the pattern of the future....”

Though seemingly idealistic, Kang sincerely sought to implement these ideas in close cooperation with his friend and former student, Qichao Liang (梁启超). Their efforts both at reform within and resistance to the Qing throne moved forward with fits and starts until the disastrous relegation of Chinese territory to foreign powers in the 1919 Treaty of Versailles. That event sparked the May 4 protests that gave birth to a new movement and new “epoch in China’s history, an epoch in which China’s indigenous cultural yearnings were combined with a new international political awareness and a new and wider social consciousness” (Spence, 1982:115).

Early domestic thinkers like Kang and Liang had laid the intellectual groundwork for the more pragmatic and more internationalized generation of scholars who had more opportunity to visit and

experience the West. Through their experiences, observations, and hybrid academic training, they were able to address some of these issues in more convincing ways, not only to Chinese, but also to Western audiences.

5.1.5 Emerging Cultural Awareness – The May Fourth Movement

The period just before and following the May 4th Period was ripe with treatises seeking to define Chineseness and China's place in the world. Much of this thinking came from the first waves of Chinese international students who had gone abroad, encouraged by the late-Qing reforms and founding of the Republic in 1911. The academic production and lingering influence of leading figures of this generation is incredible and duly noted.

5.1.5.1 Revisiting “Chineseness” – Ku, Lin, and Hu

Hong-ming Ku (Gu Hongming 辜鸿铭) was versed in nearly ten languages, received an MA from the University of Edinburgh, acquainted with Thomas Carlyle, and studied at the University of Leipzig before returning to China and working as Zhidong Zhang's interpreter for 20 years. Shi Hu (Hu Shi 胡适) studied at Columbia with John Dewey and was a key figure in the new Republic's educational and cultural policies. And Yutang Lin (Lin Yutang 林语堂), who studied at Harvard and got his doctorate from Leipzig established himself as a man of letters, translator of Chinese classics, founder of Nanyang University in Singapore, and author of an authoritative dictionary, actually wrote most of his masterpieces in English first before translating them into Chinese. Copies of Gu's (1914) *The Spirit of the Chinese*, Hu's (1934) *The Chinese Renaissance*, and Lin's (1936) *My Country and My People* are still being reprinted and widely read⁷⁴.

Each of these men in particular reflected aspects of what I have proposed as the “being exposed to the Other” perspective (see Chapter 1). This appears to have guided and elucidated their descriptions (in English!) of what they saw as the comparatively salient features of Chinese culture. Ku notes in his Preface:

⁷⁴ Ku's work seems to have been originally written in Leipzig in 1914, first published in China in 1915, and is still reprinted and widely available in 1998 and 2006a English versions (from Beijing's FLTRP, the press which also reissued Lin's volume, 1998). The Guangxi (2001) translation of Ku includes photographs of an original 1922 English edition, a 1924 German edition, a 1927 French edition, and a 1941 Japanese edition. A recently published Beijing compendium, called 中国人三书 (*The Three Books on the Chinese People*), includes Smith's *Chinese Characteristics* (2006), Japanese historian Jitsuzo Kuwabara's (桑原隲藏, 1870–1931) *東洋史説苑* (*An Oral History of the East*, 1927, which was also reprinted independently in China, Kuwabara, 2005), and Ku's *Spirit of the Chinese People* (Ku, 2006b). Smith's book keeps reappearing every few years in new versions (1984, 2002, 2005, 2006), perhaps as a classic representation of American or “Foreigner's” views of the Chinese.

The object of this book is an attempt to interpret the spirit and show the value of the Chinese civilization. ...what type of humanity, what kind of men and women it has been able to produce... which shows the essence, the personality, so to speak, the soul of that civilization...(and) the language which a man and woman speaks, shows the essence, the personality, the soul of the man and woman. (Ku, 1914/1998:5)

They also sought to serve as a corrective to the foreign observations reported above “to show how and why men, foreigners who are looked upon as authorities on the subject, do not really understand the real Chinaman and the Chinese language,” with Ku specifically citing the Rev. Arthur Smith and Dr. Giles (due to their American and British backgrounds), which “is not deep enough” or “is not broad enough” respectively (1914/1998:6).

5.1.6 Moving from Cultural Impressions to Social Studies

5.1.6.1 Initiating Academic Study –Guangdan Pan

Though the books mentioned above might only be considered popular non-academic reading (as Edward Hall’s books were actually also considered that by his colleagues in anthropology), China was also developing her first generation of cultural anthropologists. That first “open door” of the early Republic allowed some budding scholars to go abroad and bring back social science methodologies to China.

Guangdan Pan (潘光旦) studied in the 20’s at Dartmouth then at Columbia’s Graduate School. Though he majored in zoology, paleontology, and genetics, he showed great interest in psychology, literature, and philosophy. Back in China he applied these to his many works, like *History of Social Ideology*, *Chinese Family Issues*, *Family Tree Studies*, and *Nation History* (as well as research on minorities) [Reference citations not located]⁷⁵. Latent in these publications (such as his *National Characteristics and Racial Hygiene* 民族特性与民族卫生, 1937/2005) were distinct national culture ideas (e.g., specifically of the Chinese and Jewish peoples) derived from Ellsworth Huntington’s *The Character of Races* (1924) (cf. Jing, 2005).

5.1.6.2 Founding Chinese Sociology –Xiaotong Fei

Perhaps Pan’s greatest contribution was his influence on the precocious student, Xiaotong Fei (费孝通), who then went on to study at the London School of Economics with Bronislaw

⁷⁵ Though extensive searches have been conducted on this early literature, exact publication dates and information on each have proven difficult to specifically pin down, so book titles are just listed here for awareness that they were published.

Malinowski. With that training he came back to China impassioned to study the dynamics of the rural economy and its impact on Chinese society. His insightful ethnographic field studies touch indirectly on many Chinese values and core cultural issues, e.g., *Peasant Life in China* (1939), *Earthbound China* (1945), *Chinese Village Close-up* (1983) and *Small Towns in China* (1986). Fei's work in re-establishing sociology in China, and bringing the issues, lifestyles, and imbedded values of rural China to the forefront are exemplary and instructive.

5.1.6.3 Launching Psychological Anthropology – Francis L. K. Hsu

Francis L. K. Hsu (许烺光) was another self-avowed “marginal man” (see Hsu & Hsu, 1999) who completed his PhD in anthropology at London University, did field work back in Yunnan Province, then joined Ralph Linton and Abram Kardiner at Columbia University in their psychoanalytical “culture and personality” approach before staying on long term in the US at Northwestern University, becoming the founder of psychological anthropology. It was there that he first developed his important treatises on China, *Under the Ancestor's Shadow: Chinese Culture and Personality* 祖蔭下：中國文化與人格 (1948), and his updated *Americans and Chinese* (中國人與美國人：兩種生活方式, 1953; 中國人與美國人：通往不同的途徑, 1981). The second edition of *Americans and Chinese: Purpose and Fulfillment in Great Civilizations* was one of the books President Richard Nixon read before his historic trip to China in 1971.

Hsu contributed many other cross-cultural comparisons, some of which are still important reading for understanding Chinese cultural dynamics (e.g., 文化人類學新論, *The Study of Literate Civilizations*, 1969). In *Clan, Caste and Club* (宗族、種姓與社團, 1968, reprinted in China in 2002) he focused on the social organization of classic civilizations. This work was similar in scope to the comparative civilization analysis undertaken by Hajime Nakamura's, 1964, *Ways of Thinking of Eastern People*, and was followed only a few years later by Robert T. Oliver's *Communication and Culture in Ancient India and China* (1971), representing the *Zeitgeist* of the period on seeing to find ways to categorize, explain and understand classic non-Western civilizations.

These broader works were followed by Hsu's more focused study of core cultural components, like *Rugged Individualism Reconsidered* (1983), *Culture and the Self: Asian and Western Perspectives* (1985), *The Overseas Chinese: Ethnicity in National Context* (1998) and a Chinese translation of his psychological anthropology textbook 文化人類學新論 (*New Theories in Cultural Anthropology*, 2000). And then he summed up his lifelong bridge-building endeavor in *My Life as a Marginal Man* (with his son, George T. Hsu, 1997). Each of Hsu's works make significant contributions to our understanding of cultural variance, self in society and specific Chinese

cultural comparisons with many other cultures. All touch on values and core cultural studies in varying degrees.

5.1.6.4 Studying Mass Communication – Godwin Chu

Wilbur Schramm was a pioneer in mass communication studies, especially in developing a cultural systems approach related to national development (1953, 1964). With his interest in and focus on Asia, one of his understudies at Stanford was Chinese student Godwin Chu (Zhu Qian 朱谦), who later applied this approach specifically to the study of Chinese media in the Mao and post-Mao period. His life work at the East-West Center in Hawaii reflects cultural values with large, particularly in the mass media systems that reflect a culture (*Radical Change through Communication in Mao's China*, 1977; *Popular Media in China: Shaping New Cultural Patterns*, 1978).

He then applied this to social analysis in cooperative work with Francis L. K. Hsu, producing two works, *Moving a Mountain: Cultural Change in China* (1979), and *China's New Social Fabric* (1983). Later, he sought to apply this to the level of values, specifically in his work with *The Great Wall in Ruins: Cultural Change in China* (1990/1993) Yan'an Ju (居延安), then of Fudan, which was later compared with data in the US and published as *To See Ourselves: Comparing Traditional Chinese and American Values* (Chaffee et al., 1994). Each provides instructive content for values studies, specifically the surveys in the later volumes, which he then applied to Chinese-Japanese comparisons in his later years using a type of Q-methodology called the Hayashi Method (Chu, Hayashi, & Akuto, 1995).

5.1.7 Reviving Interest in Cultural Comparisons – Post-Cultural Revolution

Modern Chinese academics continue to encourage the “comparative culture” tradition, and most universities have offered courses on the subject since the 1980s, supported by numerous texts and reference books. More study could be done in documenting this trend. Hu (1999) provides his list from an intercultural communication (specifically language and culture and foreign language teaching) perspective. This section further supplements that list with sources from Chinese area studies that also inform comparative culture work and inferences to values.

Not listed in Hu (1999) is a pair of early works - Yuan Chen’s smaller booklet citing comparative examples *语言与社会文化* (*Language and Social Culture*, Chen, 1980) and his larger text *社会语言学* (*Social Linguistics*, Chen, 1983). Wenzhong Hu documents (1999, Chapter 2) the specific publications that led to the development of a clear field of intercultural communications, many of which devoted an early chapter to the answering the question “what is culture” invariably which included a brief summary, albeit general” of cultural values. Documenting specific “values” awareness or sophistication in these texts, and in fact the origins of the use of the term “values” (*jiazhiguan* 价值观) would be a worthy post-graduate research project. We have only sought to give a brief and concise history of some of the landmarks that we are aware of to show that Chinese have indeed been busy in this domain. A more specific essay on the recent flurry of value studies will appear in the next volume.

But this brief and introductive comparative cultural history outlined above continues to be largely overlooked by the Western social-psychological frame. The mainstream of cultural observation and description flowed out of the West (and we are mostly limited to the English versions of those writings), and was specifically moved forward by American scholars, so we consider briefly the early history of those writings in regard to China, and how they ended up influencing the development of intercultural values studies among Chinese as now applied by various disciplines.

5.2 Categories of Chinese Values Descriptions and Studies

Some [China observers] make more attempts at understanding, even appreciation than others. Some are quicker to draw comparisons with their own civilization than others. Some by temperament are more eager to expose weaknesses or criticize, or alternatively admire and exult in what is foreign. But while there can be common ground between images and realities, they rarely overlap completely. (Mackerras, 1999:1-2)

These initial pages have provided a chronological and thematic overview of the types of China studies literature that emerged over the centuries. Not all was specifically value related, but there are snippets or sections of a large number of works that do touch on values. Some mentioned above will now be covered in more depth. How best to handle this rich source of literature has been one of the perplexing questions and challenging tasks of this dissertation.

There are multiple ways in which the values literature on China could be organized. I have decided on the structure below, because it provides a way of integrating the large and diverse types of literature that is (marginally or significantly) related to values studies. It also seems to reflect the way many fields of study develop, from the more focused anecdotal generalized summaries of a culture, to the often equally anecdotal comparisons with another culture that sometimes produce more insights, to the beginnings of more systematic study of two or three cultures, to the more careful empirical theory generation and design for broader universal comparisons. Once the grand theories are produced, some scholars return to test them with deeper single or comparative culture analysis, then more broad cross-cultural analyses are conducted. The pattern seems to reflect one of general knowledge development. Thus, such an organization scheme could likely be used to analyze the values-related core-culture literature that might be found on any national or identifiable ethnic cultural group.

Briefly, I note here four types of approaches (from two main perspectives, A and B below):

- **Mono-cultural Summative or Analytical Descriptions Comparisons**
- **Bi-cultural Descriptive or Qualitative Comparisons**
- **Bi-Tri-cultural Empirical Investigations**
- **Multi-cultural Empirical Theory Building toward Global Frameworks**

To further demarcate these, this analysis considers two further perspectives or vantage points:

- (A) From the inside looking deep** (local indigenous perspectives) and
- (B) From the outside looking in** (“foreign” or “China-watcher” viewpoints).

Interestingly, it was often the (B) that happened first – “foreigners” taking note of the differences they saw in China – that prompted (A) – nationals trying to come to grips with and defend the China they felt was misrepresented or misunderstood by those foreign writings. Though this at first may seem strange, such a reality fits the proposal made in Chapter 1 (section 1.2.4) that observations of distinct difference are first what make us aware of values, and examination of “otherness” is what often brings reflection on our own cultural self. Sometimes it even takes the

push of misperceived or misjudged “others” to help us come to grips with “own cultural awareness.” This is in accord with the Chinese saying that states: 当局者迷，旁观者清 (*dangjuzhe mi, panguanzhe qing* – those within are confused, but those looking in see clearly). So that is where we start the discussion – with those “others” who wrote about and tried to make sense of China.

5.2.1 Mono-Cultural Historical, Personal/Experiential, or Change Descriptions

5.2.1.1 (B-1) From the Outside Looking In Descriptively

As a historian, I am interested in the ways that levels of reality intersect and overlap. It is my implicit belief that bold generalizations are usually wide of the mark, and that the individual experience rarely matches the allegedly universal trend. It is in that spirit that I offer these sightings of a great but distant culture. We must imagine our pilots and navigators – and perhaps also our cheats, and those with broken hearts—holding rather simple instruments in their hands and they make those sighting.

(Spence, 1998: Introduction, xviii).

It could be argued that the task of observing and describing another culture is more art than science, and like all art, it is creative, often very subjective, interpretive, personal, and limited by the abilities, perspectives, or tools of the artist. We may have fewer of these limits in our descriptions of “near cultures” (though even here our subjective points of reference may skew both our observations and interpretations). But for those that are either remote geographically or “distant,” with significantly fewer shared similarities, such creative reproductions may be especially at work. Edward Said (1978) has dealt extensively with the projected exoticism of Orientalism, specifically in the West’s views of the Middle East. The Far East was certainly construed with equal or greater romanticized, fantasized Orientalism.

Jonathan Spence calls these views “sightings,” employing the term from navigation and exploration. “A sighting...was fleeting or intermittent; one seized on whatever chance one had to get one’s bearings, one found oneself by the often random viewing of the anticipated destination” (Spence, 1998:xi). He further illustrates how sightings of China have included other usages of the word, like “hitting a target,” or using “a gaming term” like “cheating at dice,” or the reflective idea of “sighing” where “weeping and sighting” were often used together (1998:xii).

China’s observers have come from many countries and many persuasions, and their own cultural baggage or agenda has greatly influenced the way they have viewed China and the Chinese. Nevertheless, what they wrote had, and some still has, great impact in shaping our collective view

of “the Chinese.” As David Henry Hwang stated in his remarks on Spence’s book, “the West’s visions of China, rather than describing a foreign land, have instead largely revealed the minds of its observers” (for Spence, 1998: flyleaf). In most cases, observations of culture are colored more by the viewpoints of the observer than the reality of the culture under observation.

Spence’s poignant explanations are helpful for understanding the diverse psychologies behind such observations, and as noted in the opening quote to this chapter, they may be “coarse-grained or inaccurate...[or draw] on imagination and stereotype as much as on any kind of informed application of intellect” (1998:xvii). As observers, we are especially drawn to that which is different from us, that which is exotic or mysterious, that which seems to provide another rendering of reality. This seems particularly true of those who sought to describe China. As Spence suggests, “...one of the proofs of China’s strength is its capacity to stimulate and to focus creative energies at specific moments in time” (1998:xvii). And as with any bicultural cultural comparison, it is the viewing of another culture that begins the process of re-examination of our own context. Cross-cultural interaction is a two-way process – the culture observed leaves its permanent imprint on the life, thought, or imagination on the observer. Spence summarizes, “One can see that this is a book about cultural stimulus and response as much as it is in any way a book about China” (1998:xvii).

The final remarks of the preface to Spence’s book are particularly enlightening as we consider this process of viewing other cultures from our own contextual lenses.

Throughout this book we are dealing with individuals reaching out in their various ways toward another world, which each of them saw differently, but which they gave the same name, that of China. They did not necessarily understand it, or seek to do so. Most of them knew, as most of us know, that bigotry, gullibility, and ignorance are closely entwined. Most of them knew, too, that words can be violent and wound deeply. Certainly amongst them we find many examples of a language of dominance or dismissal; at the same time, we find many examples of a language of respect, affection, and awe. One can find cultural and historical roots for both sets of reactions.... And the target of their curiosity remains distant and often somber.... And then too, they cannot even be sure that they have come to the right place. But that, after all, is a risk that all of us must take (1998:xviii).

To present the detailed observations of all these observers is beyond the scope of this dissertation. But to be aware of the reasons behind their sightings, the situational contexting, and the time-space frames from which they saw and sought to interpret China supports some of the claims of modern cultural anthropology and post-modern, relativist approaches to describing contexted-cultures *in*

situ. The following pages seek to provide an overview list of, and selected highlights from, some of the noteworthy observers for future research.

To present a fairly complete summary of “Western views of China” as they relate to values, I have worked primarily from the writings of two scholars, namely, Jonathan Spence (1982, 1998) and Colin Mackerras (1999, 2000), and have taken Edward Said’s (1978) perspectives into account. For a complete treatment of the topic, future scholarship should incorporate a number of other important works, such as Wolfgang Franke’s *China and the West* (1967), Raymond Dawson’s *The Chinese Chameleon* (1967), Harold Issacs’ *Scratches on Our Minds: American Images of China and India, 1600-1950* (1972), Jerome Ch’en’s *China and the West: Society and Culture 1915-1937* (1979) or a number of other important works (cf., the list recommended in Spence’s Notes, 1998:243; or the “Secondary Sources” noted by Mackerras, 1999:199-200).

Spence was adopted as the starting point because of his selectivity. He suggests that he could have easily included three times as many observers in his treatment, but chose to limit his focus to 48 who were most representative and most informative (Spence, 1998:x). To help see the themes that his original lecture series focused on (12 sessions at Yale) as well as the dates and content frames included, I have designed an overview of these works in Table 5.1.

Spence notes, “It is an assumption of mine that the impact of China need have little or anything to do with the literalness of precision of an actual experience” (1998:xiii). If we began to examine each source that he or other’s identified, we will note that each writer emphasizes different aspects of what they noted about Chinese culture. Marco Polo’s (1298) analysis is complicated (if it is at all first-hand) as much of it concerns the Mongol culture of the conquering Khan’s, but he especially highlighted what he heard or observed about the Chinese values of chastity in women and decorum (Spence, 1998:16). Galeote Pereira (1561) was less enamored with the culture, especially the social realities of the masses, and noted the culture’s cruelty. But he did comment that Chinese justice, though meeting out severe punishments, provided justice and offered legal flexibility (p. 21-23). He also noted the Chinese values of enjoying all manners of food, of the wide-range and door-to-door availability of wares and services through hawkers, of governmental and social support for the blind, sick and lame (and tolerance of prostitutes), and of Chinese hospitality. Spence notes that he was “introducing a comparativist approach to Chinese culture that was to become a central part of Western thought (Spence, 1998:22). Hence, the lingering conventions of “East-West” comparisons, which seem unavoidable, even in a chapter like this. To deal with differences, the “Other” needed a name, and it was either called “China” or “the West.”

Table 5.1. Representative China Observers as Identified by Jonathan Spence (1998)

1. The Early Explorers	Flemish Franciscan William of Rubruck (Rubruquis), 1253-4, Venetian trader/adventurer Marco Polo, 1298-9, Franciscan friar Odoric of Pordenone, 1320-3, Adventure compiler Sir John Mandeville, c.1350
2. The Early Catholics	Portuguese sailor Galeote Pereira, 1561/1565 (in Italian) Portuguese Dominican friar Gaspar da Cruz, 1570, Augustinian priest Juan Gonzales de Mendoza, 1585/87 Portuguese adventure-novelist Mendes Pinto, 1578/1614, Jesuit priest Matteo Ricci, 1615-16, Dominican friar Domingo Navarrete, 1674-1677
3. Early British Realist Observers	Portuguese Jesuit Father Francisco Pimentel, 1670, Scottish doctor John Bell (for Russian Izmailov), 1720/c.1763, British Commodore George Anson, 1743, British diplomat Lord George Macartney, 1793
4. Early British Fiction Writers incorporating “Chinoiserie”	Daniel Defoe’s <i>Robinson Crusoe</i> , 1719, Oliver Goldsmith’s <i>The Citizen of the World</i> , 1762, Horace Walpole’s <i>Hieroglyphic Tales</i> “Mi Li”, 1785/1800
5. French “Chinoiserie” and Enlightenment Philosophers	German polymath Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, 1699, 1716, French philosopher Charles de Secondat Montesquieu, 1748, French philosopher Francois Arouet Voltaire, 1755, German historian/humanist Johann Gottfried von Herder, 1784
6. Women Observers Living in China	British writer Jane Austin’s <i>Mansfield Park</i> , 1814 American missionary wife Eliza Jane Bridgeman’s <i>Daughters of China</i> , 1853, Scottish wife Jane Edkins, <i>Chinese Scenes and People</i> , 1863, British Mary Crawford Fraser’s <i>A Diplomat’s Wife</i> , 1910 American Sarah Pike Conger’s <i>Letters from China</i> , 1909, American missionary Eva Jane Price’s <i>China Journal</i> , 1900
7. Views “At Home” of Chinese and Chinatowns in the US	Mark Twain’s reporting and <i>Roughing It</i> , 1861-64, 1870s Bret Harte’s poetry and pidgin, 1870s, <i>The Argonauts</i> , 1896, C. W. Doyel’s <i>Quong Lung</i> stories, 1900, San Rohmer’s (Arthur S. Ward) <i>Fu-Manchu</i> , 1910, 1916 Jack London’s “The Chinago”, 1909
8. The French New “Exotic” – Romantic Writers, Poets and Playwrights	Gustave Flaubert’s <i>Sentimental Education</i> , 1869 Pierre Loti’s [Julien Viaud], <i>Last Days of Peking</i> . 1898, <i>Daughter of Heaven</i> , 1912 Paul Claudel, “The City at Night”, 1896, Victor Segalen’s <i>Steles</i> , 1912, <i>René Leys</i> , 1919
9. The American China Exotic and Other Writers	D. W. Griffith’s film, <i>Broken Blossoms</i> , 1919 Ezra Pound’s Imagist School, <i>Cathay</i> , 1915, <i>Cantos</i> , Eugene O’Neill’s <i>Marco Millions</i> , 1927 Pearl Buck’s <i>Good Earth</i> , 1931 and other works Charles Finney’s <i>The Circus of Dr. Lao</i> , 1935 John Steinbeck’s “Johnny Bear”, 1939

10. Revolution, Radicals, Social Conscience and Political Writers	Andre' Malraux's <i>Temptation of the West</i> , 1926, <i>Man's Fate</i> , 1933 Bertolt Brecht's <i>The Measures Taken</i> , 1930 Edgar Snow's <i>Red Star over China</i> , 1937 Graham Peck's <i>Two Kinds of Time</i> , 1967
11. Political Theorists and Politicians	Karl Whittfogel's <i>Awakening China</i> , 1925, <i>Oriental Despotism</i> , 1957 Richard Nixon & Henry Kissinger's <i>China Trip</i> , 1972 French scholar Jean Lévi's <i>The Chinese Emperor</i> , 1985
12. 20 th Century Writers and Future Visions	Franz Kafka's "The Great Wall of China", 1917 Jorge Luis Borges, "The Garden of Forking Paths," Italo Calvino's <i>Invisible Cities</i> , 1972,

Note: I have sought to rectify dates between both Spence (1998) and Mackerras (1999). Bibliographic info for the each work can be located in those volumes, and only those cited below are referenced here.

A few centuries later, and following in his footsteps, one of the most extensive treatment of what we would now term values came from one of the most credibly integrated of all foreign observers, the Jesuit priest Matteo Ricci (in China from 1582, first in Macao, then Canton, and finally in Peking until his death in 1610). "No Westerner had ever come near to attaining his levels of knowledge of Chinese culture, language, and society" (Spence, 1998:32). Ricci left an amazing body of work, which, "When edited by his fellow Jesuits, translated into Latin, and published in Europe in 1616, the two surviving manuscripts at once established a new benchmark for the study and description of China (1998:33). Spence further notes that "Ricci's portrait of China was strongly favorable...a picture of a vast, unified, well-ordered country, held together by a central controlling orthodoxy, that of Confucianism".

Ricci wrote that though directed at a distance by reclusive emperors, the daily administration of the country was in the hands of a professional bureaucracy selected by a complex hierarchical examination based on merit. Social life was regulated by complex laws of ritual and deportment that induced social harmony. The working classes knew their place, marriages were harmoniously arranged by the young people's parents, and the practice of footbinding kept the women chastely at home. The classical Chinese language itself was so difficult that the years spent in mastering it curbed the "youthful licentiousness" to which China's young men might otherwise have been prone. China's patent distrust of foreigners could easily be explained by their worries over national security and the unsettling effect of newcomers and merchants on their long-established ways. (1998:33)

From Spence's summary of Ricci's writings, one can identify here many of the items that Michael Bond and his colleagues later generated as the Chinese Values Survey (with the Chinese Culture Connection, 1987), showing the importance of considering these descriptive summaries by various

observers. Some aspects of Chinese culture seem to have changed little, if at all, as the current reader will still note ongoing value attributed to hierarchy, bureaucracy, education, merit examinations, harmony, national security, and protecting Chinese ways of doing things.

The goal of Spence's book was to highlight selective representatives that show the types of images of the Chinese that were being portrayed. Several sources that he mentions, but does not treat in detail, need to be discussed here due to their scholarly impact and wide readership through various language translations. Though neither of these authors ever visited China, their church-sponsored histories were carefully written and broadly influential.

The first was by the aforementioned Augustinian priest Juan Gonzales de Mendoza (1587 in Spence, 1998:41, but earlier in Spanish, 1585, according to Mackerras, 1999:19-21). His *History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China* had been commissioned by Pope Gregory XIII and incorporated all that was then known in the West about China. It built largely on the accounts of Pereira and da Cruz as well as reports from a Fujian visit by Spanish Augustinian priest Martin de Rada (1575). Mackerras notes, "No book created images of China in late sixteenth-century Europe as this one did. By the end of the sixteenth century it had been reprinted forty-six times in seven European languages; Spanish, German, Dutch, Italian, French, English, and Latin (1999:20). As C. R. Boxer notes, "It is no exaggeration to say that Mendoza's book had been read by the majority of well-educated Europeans at the beginning of the seventeenth century" (Boxer, 1953:xvii). Donald F. Lach maintains "it became the point of departure and the basis of comparison' for all later works on China written in Europe before the eighteenth century (Lach, 1965, Vol. I, Two:744).

Regarding values, Mendoza primarily highlighted the central and local bureaucracy, suggesting that officials "generally have a marvelous moral virtue, and that is, they be all very patient in hearing any complaint" (Mendoza, 1585/1588, I:103 as cited in Mackerras, 1999:20), as well as the examination system, the harsh legal system, and savage punishments. These he considered to be "terrible and cruel," yet in this way the officials can "keep in peace and justice this mighty kingdom" (1588:21). He favorably covered the Chinese family system, the women being not only attractive but virtuous, "secret and honest", and positive views toward religion in China. He considered Confucianism part of this religious system, and treated it idealistically, in his general positive rendering of the Chinese. Along with Marco Polo's writings, this may have helped contribute to the idealized and stylistic adoption of "Chinoiserie" among elite circles (or as Said would argue, Orientalism) of that period.

This work was followed two centuries later by Jean-Baptiste du Halde's (1735-1736) detailed four-volume historical work, *General History of China* (Spence, 1998:56, 74-75; Mackerras, 1999:30-32). Beyond what Matteo Ricci had written, Jesuits had been reporting on their observations and experiences in China for nearly a century in two voluminous series, the *Edifying and Curious Letters of Some Missioners, of the Society of Jesus, from Foreign Missions* (1703-1776), of which about one-third of them dealt with China (Mackerras, 1999:26). This continued with the *Memoirs on the History, Sciences, Arts, Manners and Customs, etc. of the Chinese, by the Missionaries of Beijing* (17 issues from 1776-1814) [specific references not located]. Du Halde's work integrated these and other sources and is "the largest and most comprehensive single product of Jesuit scholarship on China. It is a truly spectacular accomplishment and in all senses a major landmark in the history of Sinology," and was a principle source of information for Montesquieu, Rousseau, Voltaire, Hume, Goldsmith, and other important European thinkers and writers (Mackerras, 1999:31).

Also "immensely positive about China, he praises virtually every aspect of its people and society", from the benign mandarins, who "gain their reputation of being the fathers of the people, and seem to have no other desire than to procure their happiness" (du Halde, 1736/1741:236 as cited in Mackerras, 1999:31), to the Chinese people, who "are mild and peaceable in the commerce of life", although they can be "violent and vindictive to excess when they are offended".

He found their modesty "surprising" in that "the learned are very sedate, and do not make use of the least gesture but what is conformable to the rules of decency". As for the women, decency "seems to be born" with them, as shown by the fact that "they live in a constant retirement" and "are decently covered even to their very hands". (Mackerrass, 1999:31)

Du Halde does bring out some shortcomings that he mostly attributes to overpopulation and the it effects poverty. "Yet it must be owned that, however temperate and industrious these people are, the great number of inhabitants occasions a great deal of misery" (1999:32). With these other descriptions, he informed the Europe of his day with a great deal of positively-oriented information on China, which continued to fuel the generally affirmative impressions (both "the cults of chinoiserie and sinophilism," in Mackerras, 1999:39) that people of the early Enlightenment period had of Chinese values and society. This early version of Orientalism looked to the vague impressions of Chinese culture as a potential holistic remedy to many of the problems of Western civilization, and was found in the writings of Liebnitz, Montesquieu, Voltaire, and others (his Chapter 5), though surprisingly *not* by von Herder. As inclusive and open as he was of other cultural systems, whatever he had read or heard of China did not appeal to him, and he uncharacteristically put down the language, civilization, and people as a "hollow society" with an

emperor “harnessed to this yoke” of banal imitation and superficiality, doomed to “go through this exercise like a drill corporal” (Herder quoted in Spence, 1998:99).

What a want of invention in the great, and what miserable refinement in trifles, are displayed in contriving for this language, the vast number of eighty thousand compound characters from a few rude hieroglyphics, six or more different modes of writing which distinguish the Chinese from every other nation upon Earth...the valin pomp of their dress, equipage, and amusements...So little taste for true nature, so little feeling of internal satisfaction beauty and worth, prevail through all these....” (1998:99)

Though we might cringe at this indictment, Herder considered himself to be offering a reasoned assessment, one not born of enmity or contempt, as he continued to admire Confucius, as others had. Yet he expressed concerns about what he saw as moral and mechanical “fettters” for a “superstitious populace” (1998:99).

Spence captures more of these confused, sentimental, and sardonic Orientalist attitudes in his introduction to his Chapter 8, “The French Exotic:” In each of them we see evidence of “value representations” pinned to perceptions of “Chineseness:”

Looking back from our present vantage, we can see that by the mid-nineteenth century, the emerging cult of the Chinese exotic in France had come to combine four main realms or elements. One was an appreciation of Chinese grace and delicacy, a sensitivity to timbre and texture, that spread from the initial stimuli of silk and porcelain and temple architecture to become the basis of an entire aesthetic. One was an awareness of Chinese sensuality, initially tied to this new aesthetic, but rapidly moving out to embrace something harsher and ranker, something unknowable, dangerous, and intoxicating, composed of scent and sweat, of waves of heat and festering night air. Separate from this, though inescapably linked to it, was the sense of a realm of Chinese violence and barbarism, of hidden cruelties, threats of ravishment, uncontrollable impulses. And lastly was the idea of China as the realm of melancholy, as a land that stood for something forever lost—lost to the West through uncaring materialism, lost to China through the weight of its own past, compounded by its weakness and poverty. Opium was the natural accompaniment to this fourth realm, the narcotic of langor and of longing (Spence, 1998:146).

These are precisely the type of exotic, exaggerated, or ambivalent approaches of Orientalism that Edward Said deplored and sought to correct (as Spence notes, 1998:148)— they dissected elements

of Asian cultures (those deemed desirable, dangerous, or intriguing) and failed to take them in their complex, complicated whole.

Both Spence and Mackerras note that it would remain for the more confrontational first-hand reports of tough-minded diplomats of the late 1700s for yet harsher critiques. These came from Baron George Anson and the reasons given by Lord Macartney for his refusal to bow before Emperor Qianlong (Spence's Chapter 3:52-61). Then came the increasingly realistic reports of diplomatic or missionary wives living in country after the mid-1800s (Spence's Chapter 6), who provided a more balanced, nuanced, but also documented and fostered an increasingly negative image of China. This critical and condescending sentiment grew as the Qing dynasty declined after Qianlong's reign and British (and other national) imperialism expanded with the Industrial Revolution in the nineteenth century (Mackerras' Chapter 4:39-58). Spence notes aptly, "For many in the West, Lord Macartney's experiences acted as a kind of summation for the ambiguities of China, its strange mix of pressure and profit, of arrogance and blandishment" (Spence, 1998:101). The difficulties of describing "the Chinese" were becoming more apparent, giving rise to one of the perplexing and enduring virtues of this (or any?) people: that of its paradoxes and confounding contradictions (*maodun* 矛盾).

Having highlighted salient points from a few of these seminal works, future research could conduct further content or discourse analysis of Spence's narrative, Mackerras' documentation, or other sources to compose a more comprehensive list of values as noted by foreign observers. Admittedly, most of these are "broad stroke" depictions describing Chinese life, customs, habits, politics – values are for the most part a hidden undercurrent, imbedded behind the scenes. Therefore that project has not been carried out as a part of this study. The aim here was to show that these writings nevertheless generated an ever increasing sense of "Chinese awareness" and painted pictures from which publics abroad formed ever clearer images of what constituted "Chineseness" and "Chinese values" (accurate or not).

Directly related to values descriptions, there are a few other important sources. Interestingly, Spence does not even mention Dr. A. H. Smith's *Chinese Characteristics* (1890/1984, who used the Chinese name 明恩溥, though usually it is transliterated as 亚瑟·亨·史密斯). Smith's is a book that continues to have an influence on how Chinese are, or at least were, seen by *laowai* (老外 foreigners). Spence might have been focusing on writings that had the most impact on Western publics, but as we saw earlier in the introduction from the ongoing publishing history in China, this book continues to have resonance or reaction with Chinese readers in the Mainland, especially in the last 10 years as China desperately seeks to be considered an important country with global

standing (at least 5 translations have been located so far during this period!). Mackerras summarizes its basic content:

Smith devotes a chapter to each of twenty-six characteristics, beginning with ‘face’ and continuing with others, including economy, industry, politeness, **the disregard for accuracy, intellectual turbidity, contempt for foreigners, the absence of public spirit,** conservatism, filial piety, benevolence, **mutual suspicion,** and the **absence of sincerity** (Mackerras, 1999:45).

What we immediately note from this list is that many of these “characteristics,” as they are stated, are actually not values, but value judgments (I have marked those in **bold**). In a later section I will provide the complete list (which includes more that qualify as values), each with variant Chinese translations, toward developing an inventory of value or cultural terms that have been used to describe the Chinese.

Descriptions like Smith’s are the type that Edward Said took specific aim at. “Said’s study is a passionate attack on Western scholarship for its lack of sensitivity to the value systems of the people studies, for its general inability to examine Asian countries in their own terms” (Mackerras, 1999:3). A danger in comparative cultural work is that lists or dimensions tend to isolate aspects of a culture from their integral whole, and can impose the outsider’s point of reference or cultural judgments on the insider being observed.

Though Said’s critiques are valid, some of his assumptions may be overstated. Specifically he argues that, ‘Interesting work is most likely to be produced by scholars whose allegiance is to a discipline defined intellectually and not to a ‘field’ like Orientalism, defined either canonically, imperially, or geographically” (Said, 1978:326). I agree with dismantling the “field of Orientalism” wherever it exists. But I argue that the writers mentioned in this paper belong to a wide variety of fields and disciplines, and though not all accurate, some do provide cultural insights that can be incorporated in later work. An interdisciplinary field like intercultural communications, which has developed and matured in its 40 years of academic history enough to now be considered be a discipline its own right, might be just the type of “field” that can help such cultural comparisons and consideration **not** be taken out of context, if it avoids the tendency to revert to simplistic “dimensional” or fragmented superficialities.

Said also argues that a major problem of Western representations of **any** Asian culture is its tendency to do so in colonizing terms. Though China was never strictly “colonized” there were certainly imperialist influences from the Opium War onward. Thous a British missions historian

dared to call this “China’s Open Century” (Alfred J. Broomhall’s two volumes, 1982), China considers this its 100 years of travail and shame. Analyzing this period presents a “frame of reference” problem, which the following section seeks to take into account with the countering Chinese view.

Nevertheless, “despite [Said’s] passionate attacks on Western scholarship, he is quite specific in recognizing the possibility of ‘decolonizing’ knowledge, in acknowledging ‘that there is scholarship that is not as corrupt, or at least as blind to human reality’ (Said, 1978:325-6) as the ‘Orientalist’ type he castigates in such strong terms” (Mackerras, 1999:3). It was dealing with these images and emerging stereotypes that the first generation of study-abroad bilingual and bicultural Chinese began to respond, seeking to clarify their own culture from their own pens. This is, perhaps, the beginning of the intercultural contribution.

5.2.1.2 (A-1) From the Inside Looking Back Affirmingly

I “tried to show how and why men, foreigners who are looked upon as authorities on the subject, do not really understand the real Chinaman and the Chinese language” [e.g., The Rev. Arthur Smith or Dr. Giles (due to their American and British backgrounds respectively), by which] “he is not deep enough” “he is not broad enough” – he has not the philosophic insight and the broadness which that insight gives. (Ku, 1915/1998:6)

As mentioned above, cultural insiders in the first half of the 20th Century produced a number of important descriptive monographs, though one questions if these are any less subjective than their “outsider” counterparts. Much of this literature arose out of the pre- or post-“May Fourth” literature (that produced by “reformers” around the May 4, 1919 movement). Notable among these were works by Hongming Gu (Ku Hong-ming, 1915), Shi Hu (1933/1934) or later works from Yutang Lin (1936). More recently, Lianxiang Sha compiled a comprehensive volume (1988) incorporating much of this literature and more (as the review for which her 1989 empirical studies were built). What they wrote appeared mostly to start through their study or stay abroad experiences. This comparative perspective seemed to motivate each to provide a more reasoned, contexted view of their culture – as insiders view.

Hong-ming Ku extols a number of Chinese values. Among them he highlights “the Chinese type of humanity (Ku, 1998:9) ...[which is] gentle, the product of a combination of two things, namely sympathy and intelligence...domesticated...not an intelligence which comes to them from reasoning... but from sympathy, from a feeling of love and attachment... because they live

wholly, or almost wholly, a life of the heart (1998:12)...human affection (1998:13). But he also argues that part of the problem in understanding China is in the translation of terms.

But as for the Chinese, the origin and development of their civilization rest upon foundations altogether foreign to the culture of the people of Europe. The foreign student of Chinese literature, therefore, has all the disadvantages to overcome which must result from the want of community of primary ideas and notions. It will be necessary for him, not only to equip himself with these foreign notions and ideals, but also, first of all, to find their equivalents in the Europe languages, and if these equivalents do not exist, to disintegrate them and to see to which side of the universal nature of man these ideas and notions may be referred. Take for instance, those Chinese words of constant recurrence in the Classics, and generally translated into English as “benevolence,” (ren), “justice,” (yi) and “propriety,” (li). Now when we come to take these English words together with the context, we feel that they are not adequate: they do not connote all the ideas the Chinese words contain. Again, the word “humanity” is perhaps the most exact equivalent for the Chinese word translated “benevolence;” but this, “humanity” must be understood in a sense different from its idiomatic use in the English language. A venturesome translator would use the “love” and “righteousness” of the Bible, which are perhaps as exact as any other, having regard from both the sense of the words and the idiom of the language. Now, however, if we disintegrate and refer the prime notions which these words convey, to the universal nature of man, we get, at once, at their full significance: namely, “the good,” the true,” and “the beautiful.” (Ku, 1915/1998:120-121)

Yutang Lin also wrote as one unashamed of the privileged, Confucian scholar-gentry class and extols the ongoing positive traits of Chinese civilization and of the Chinese people. In his extensive book *My Country, My People* he does not once mention the mass reality of peasants. He considers “the Chinese” to be a people who continue with the strong “simple common sense for which ancient China was so distinguished,” and “who have not lost their sense of ultimate human values” (Lin, 1936:xiv) (by which he seems to infer that the modernizing, industrial West may have left some human dignity behind).

Like A. H. Smith, before him, he notes the features of “the Chinese character”. But his list is very different, and much more positive, than Smith’s. The eight characteristics, in the order listed by Lin, are mellowness, patience, indifference, old roguery, pacifism, contentment, humour, and conservatism. The first given is the basic one, being in a sense the source of the others. (Mackerras, 1999:64)

These and their corresponding values are highlighted in chart form as part of the summary of this chapter below.

Though Lin waxes positive on traditional Chinese civilization, Confucianism, and the family, he does acknowledge some of the disadvantages and gives some critiques of his culture. But primarily he intends to present a positive picture of humanistic cultural qualities, many that he seems to hope the West will adopt as well, and furthers this humanistic theme in his later work, *The Importance of Living* (Lin, 1937/1998).

Shi Hu (Hu Shi 胡适) was also typical of some leading intellectuals in his day. Studying in the US at Cornell University, he did post-graduate work in philosophy at Columbia, where he was influenced by John Dewey, serving as Dewey's translator for lectures in China (1919-1921). Hu then lectured at Peking University and, with Duxiu Chen, became a leading proponent of the New Culture and vernacular Chinese movements. He later served as US ambassador – truly a “bridge person” and important integrative thinker in many areas. In his Haskell lectures (1933), he focused on elucidating important aspects of Chinese culture which needed to be revived and strengthened, hence his term, *The Chinese Renaissance* (1934).

These works were the first of a long tradition. Others have examined the Chinese from the discipline of comparative philosophy, such as Youlan Feng's many academic works, or the Chinese contributors (many from Fudan University) in volumes like those edited by Miaoyang Wang et al. (1997) or Kirti Bunchua et al. on values (1999) in the Council for Research in Values and Philosophy (CVRP) series (see Sec. 2.4.2.4). There are also important personal accounts of typical Chinese experiences (reflecting embedded values) like Heng Liang's (with Judith Shapiro) *Son of the Revolution* (Liang, 1984) and Yuan Gao's (Gao Yuan 高皋) *Born Red* chronicles (Gao, 1987) documenting the vicissitudes of the Cultural Revolution, along with a whole wave of post-Cultural Revolution and Open Door literature.

Some are critical of their own cultural heritage, like Taiwan-based Yang Bo's (Bo Yang 柏杨, born in Kaifeng, Henan) *Ugly Chinaman* (Bo, 1985/1992) and Ao Li's diffuse critiques (e.g., Li, 1979/1989). Others seek to defend or idealize their culture from the onslaught of harsh contrasts or global erosion (examples mentioned in the next chapter). And still others sought to take a reasoned, historical, analytical perspective, like Longji Sun (Sun 2002, 2004), or a social-historical or social-psychological approach like Lianxiang Sha's volumes (1998/2000, 2000/2003), which have been an inspiration to a number of intercultural scholars including Wenzhong Hu. As the next chapter will show, exploring, documenting, and investigating “Chinese values” and the core

essences of “Chineseness” has increasingly gained academic steam in the last two decades, and there is much that the Western scholar of values may benefit from in these emerging studies.

5.2.1.3 (B-2) From the Outside Looking In Critically – Personal History (Part 1)

What I hate in your clever men is that they always distort things.

所恶于智者为其凿也 Mencius (Book IV, Part II. 26, in Ku, 2006a:6)

The curious readiness of Westerners for things Chinese was there from the beginning, and it has remained primed, over the centuries, by an unending stream of offerings. Precisely why this should be so remains, to me a mystery. But the story we have traced seems to prove that China needs no reason to fasten itself into Western minds.

Jonathan Spence’s concluding comment (1998:241)

The idea of China watching has been a century old enterprise, and certainly the work of Arthur H. Smith (1890) discussed above qualifies as one of the earliest descriptive treatises in English, and one that inspired (or fired) the May Fourth writers to respond with their own indigenous descriptions. Likewise, Bertrand Russell’s (1922) philosophical critiques of China were cutting (such as his not so laudatory summary of “Chinese characteristics,” which one still finds reprinted in some English learning magazines domestically).

One notes greater polarization in the intervening years between those with political interests in China usually supporting the aims of Chiang Kai-shek’s nationalists, particularly building on the image building of his articulate wife, Madame Chiang, Soong May-ling, and those who saw firsthand the effects of an over-privileged gentry/crony class and the desperate state of the *lao bai xing* common people. As the Republic was worn down by the Sino-Japanese war, rotting from within, and the new winds of socialism blew, journalists like Agnes Smedley, Edgar Snow, Theodore White, and Analee Jacoby wrote impassioned pieces seeking to sway the West’s understanding of (and specifically America’s policies toward) the rising star of Mao’s Socialists. But the liberated communist dream they hoped for many turned out to be campaign and movement nightmares for others. Some started to see through the rhetoric of socialist idealism, and authors like Simon Leys wrote biting critiques of the Cultural Revolution. While China was seeking to set a new course of opening and reform (with many anti-Western, anti-bourgeois fits and starts in the early 80s), journalists were setting out a new conceptualization and critique of “the Chinese.”

Having been steeped in various traditions – whether of John King Fairbanks’ rather positive take on China as the historical repository of a great Confucian civilization; of pro-Maoist journalists

who painted hopes of a truly utopian socialism; or those of neo-socialist Marxist scholars reacting to America's hyper-conservative McCarthyism – the first generations of journalists to reenter the Peoples' Republic seemed hard hit by the unexpected stark realities of mass China. Having been inundated with either classical ideals or positive propaganda, many appeared compelled to take up the task of debunking "Chinese civilization" stereotypes and point out harsh post-Cultural Revolution political and social realities.

Though these writers reported on "culture and society" from various angles, one finds some values descriptions underlying the journalistic analysis of reporters like Simon Leys (Pierre Ryckmans, 1977, 1979, 1981), Fox Butterfield (1982), John Fraser (1980), David Bonavia (1980/1991), Richard Bernstein (1982), John and Linda Matthews (1983), and Orville Schell's many insightful books (listed in Table 5.2). These "hot off the press" fresh eye-witness accounts of "The Chinese" inspired many a student of China, and their tradition continues with later analyses by the husband-wife team of Nicholas Kristoff and Sheryl Wudunn (1995), Jasper Becker (2000) and David Bryant Starr (2000). Colin Mackerras provides a good thematic summary of recent developments in China based largely on the body of work provided by these reporters (in his 1999, Chapter 8, "Images of Post-Mao China," as well as referring to them in his later chapters), giving weight to their unique and timely opportunities, credibility, and insights.

What has been covered in this paper to this point has primarily included what some might consider "the classical repertoire" on the Chinese nation or about the Chinese people. This was the body of knowledge that I was expected to become aware of as an MA candidate in 1990-92 majoring in Chinese Studies (East Asian Languages and Cultures) at the University of Kansas. Most of the works mentioned so far constitute part of that general body of knowledge that someone developing an academic grounding in Chinese culture was expected to be aware of – the core requirements of "cultural literacy." Naturally some would focus more on Chinese history, others on Chinese philosophy, and others still on Chinese literature, but we were all expected to have a basic understanding of most of these writers and thinkers.

My academic inquiry grappled with this theme from the start – what informs or updates the conceptualization or transitions of "Chinese culture," "Chineseness," or its related values? Though Mackerras mentioned a few of the early works, those highlighted here fill in the gap between the classical/traditional or Liberation/Culture Revolution China periods and the more recent changes that have been happening under the Open Door and Reform Period, framing a "post-Spence" list and discussion.

As one working in Asia since 1979, living in Chinese societies, travelling through the Mainland in 1981 and moving in to study Chinese in 1986, the early “China watcher” and journalist accounts were an important source of cultural orientation and awareness. The *Far East Economic Review* and *Asiaweek* (both out of Hong Kong) were essential weekly reading for their candid pulse taking on Chinese society (especially the reporting by Willy Wo-lap Lam in *Asiaweek* and in the *South China Morning Post*), and were balanced with academic reading on Chinese history and sociology. Caves Bookstore both in Taipei and on Hong Kong Island, and Swindon’s in Kowloon were browsing and book-shopping havens to keep avid China reader/observers up to date.

For an affective understanding, it also helped to read historically-based novels (both old and new, from Pearl Buck’s *The Good Earth*, 1931, to Robert Elegant’s *Dynasty*, 1977). Pat Barr’s post-Boxer Rebellion novel provided insights from a Western woman’s viewpoint (*Chinese Alice*, 1981) but one that surely would be accused of classic Orientalism (an inference to “Alice in Wonderland”?), regarding its exotic portrayal of genteel lifestyles, chauvinism, women, sexuality, and cruel and unpredictable manhood (it was rereleased in 1982 as *Jade*). Malcom Bosse’s novel about the fitful 1920s Republican period, *Warlord* (1983), contained similar themes, but was more historically and culturally grounded, incorporating themes from indigenous classical Chinese novels like *The Three Kingdoms* and *Outlaws of the Marsh*. Table 5.2 lists some of the significant “China Watcher” books that I read, digested, marked up and still refer to for specific insights or historical snapshots or “readings” on aspects of the Chinese situation as it has developed.

Table 5.2. Modern (Post-Liberation) China Watchers that have Influenced this Project

Year	Author	Published Work
1971	Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars	<i>China! Inside the People’s Republic</i>
1971/ 1981	Simon Leys (Pierre Ryckmans, Belgium)	<i>The Chairman’s New Clothes</i>
1977	Simon Leys (Belgium)	<i>Chinese Shadows</i>
1979	Orville Schell	<i>Watch Out for the Foreign Guests</i>
1979/ 1980	Simon Leys (P. Ryckmans, Belgium)	<i>Broken Images: Essays on Chinese Culture and Politics</i>
1980	David Bonavia (UK)	<i>The Chinese</i> (original and 1989/1991 revised edition)
1980	John Fraser (reporter for Canadian media)	<i>The Chinese: Portrait of a People</i>
1982	Richard Bernstein	<i>From the Center of the Earth: The Search for Truth about China</i>
1982	Fox Butterfield (US, New York Times)	<i>China: Alive in the Bitter Sea</i>

1983	Jay (Washington Post) and Linda Matthews (LA Times)	<i>One Billion: A China Chronicle</i>
1983	Steven Moser	<i>Broken Earth: The Rural Chinese</i>
1984	Heng Liang & Judith Shapiro (she a US teacher)	<i>Son of the Revolution</i>
1984	Alistair Clayre	<i>The Heart of the Dragon</i> (later a BBC series)
1985	Orville Schell	<i>To Get Rich is Glorious</i>
1986	Tiziano Terzani (Italian)	<i>Behind the Forbidden Door: Travels in China</i>
1989	Orville Schell	<i>Discos and Democracy: China in the Throes of Reform</i>
1990	Steven Moser	<i>China Misperceived: American Illusions and Chinese Realitys</i>
1995	Orville Schell	<i>Mandate of Heaven</i>
1995	Nicholas Kristof & Sheryl Wudunn (reporter couple)	<i>China Wakes: The Struggle for the Soul of a Rising Power</i>
2000	Jasper Becker	<i>The Chinese: An Insider's Look at the Issues which Affect and Shape China Today</i>
2000	David Bryant Starr	<i>Understanding China: A Guide to China's Economy, History and Political Structure</i>

They fed an interest in comparing their written perceptions with my own experiences (some similar, many divergent), fostered a more observant eye as to what might be better ways to describe the core-culture of China, especially a street-level people view rather than a political one, and spurred on my academic interest and reading of scholarly authors (noted below in Table 5.4).

So what values did books such as these elucidate? As an example, David Bonavia and Orville Schell were among the most insightful informants. Bonavia in particular aimed to “present a realistic picture of life today in the People’s Republic of China” (1989:Preface). Even in his Prologue he sums up some of the central characteristics of this people, especially some of the contradictions or paradoxes, some at the nation-state political level but some as values:

Child-loving to a fault, they have made it virtually a crime for a couple to have more than one child...Always mindful of personal comfort and good food, they can endure hardships beyond the breaking point of most other people. They are admirable, infuriating, humorous, priggish, modest, overweening, mendacious, loyal, mercenary, ethereal, sadistic, and tender. They are quite unlike anybody else. They are the Chinese.

(Bonavia, 1989:16)

He then takes on important topics like the city (Chap 1), migration and urbanization (Chap 2) the countryside (3). Even in these chapters, one finds embedded descriptions of values related to behavior, e.g., “Noise is the essential accompaniment to almost any activity in China.... Noise

means company, and company means security. Most Chinese people are happiest in a crowd, feeling cheerful and safe in the anonymous throng” (1989:29). He continues his treatment of life style and attitudes of the Chinese at almost all levels: love, sex, and marriage (“Behind the Bedroom Door” Chap 5) as well as fertility values under the one-child policy (Chap 6), classroom culture (Chap 11), legal culture (Chap 10), consumerism (Chap 12) as well as broader issues like attitudes toward economics (Chap 13) and international relations (Chap 14).

Chapter 4 on “Function, Roles, and Attitudes” is one of the most significant regarding values:

The most determining feature of the Chinese people’s attitude to the world around them is their total commitment to life as it is – if necessary, with an extra commitment to make it better than it is.... The attitude towards life makes the Chinese super-conscious of the functions of things. Their material circumstances and their own diligence and skill are the sources and instruments of well-being; the trick is to find the inner working relationships of things and manipulate them to make life better for oneself and one’s family or social group. In this view, all human activity—religion, sex, war—consists of functional acts aimed at achieving something (1989:56).

In this chapter he deals with functionality, belonging to a social group, obligations and commitment, remnants of Confucianism, maintaining harmony (or how conflict is managed at verbal and face levels), national face management, socialist lethargy vs. motivated bursts of mass effort, functionality in religion, and the personal dimensions of face giving, loss and saving. Weaving in both social summaries, apt anecdotes, and his own cultural insights, this chapter paints a fairly realistic picture of important values operating at the daily life level for many Chinese in the 1980s, and thus serves as a good reference point for ongoing comparisons. Bonavia seeks, however, to be balanced, noting, “No generalization about a nation and its typical attitudes can be true of all its people” (1989:57).

These books provided one important window on China. Whenever I have been asked to provide pre-departure or arrival-orientation training for China, I have often copied select chapters to provide discussion about the past, the issues, and the changes that are taking place. Amazingly, several of the early touris guidebooks also did an amazing job of condensing quite accurate overviews of Chinese history, cultural norms, and current insights (even Mackerras cites, discusses and quotes from them, e.g., 1999:110note38, 119note11 and note 12, 125n37, 133n68, 167n27), and made excellent cultural orientation material. Among them, those most cited are Kaplan and de Keijzer’s *China Guidebook* (1982) and Samagalski and Buckley’s *China – A Travel Survival Kit*

(1984), which helped launch the successful and respected *Lonely Planet* series (e.g., Taylor & Story's 5th edition in 1996, and others since).

Several "made for TV" series were also very influential and informative, and the most profound was Alistair Clayre's excellently developed book (1984), *The Heart of the Dragon*, and insightful BBC production (1985) which provided incredible on-location footage on topics ranging from love to law, from traditional ideologies to current economic realities (cf. Mackerras also refers to its brilliance and importance, 1999:106-107, 119, 125). Equally valuable was the British *Inside China* series, first broadcast in 1983, produced by Grenada television and available during my residence in Singapore. These specifically focused on and provided wonderful visual footage of many aspects of Chinese life and social orientations.

With now over 20 years living in Mainland China, it will likely not escape reader's notice that I must have also personally experienced the events of the late 1980s. I did go through that tumultuous time, extensively reading newspapers and publications from various perspectives seeking to make sense of or work through the events. Though highlighting the impossibility of "becoming as Chinese as the Chinese" and incredibly shaping my identity as a long-term "foreigner" (*laowai* 老外) in China, I have, for hopefully obvious reasons, chosen not to include those materials which still may not fully be exonerated locally (Mackerras covers representative sources in his Chapter 9, 1999:139-145). Suffice it to say that first-hand experience of those events while studying Chinese at Xiamen University and processing them in conferral with my closest Chinese friends was a significant motivating force for my ongoing quest to understand and clarify Chinese values in this rapidly changing context.

The political interests of the 1970s and 80s have given way to material ones in the 90s and since, and the rise of the market economy has led to lucrative publishing (and I hope reading) of a whole new range of business books from presses both abroad and within China. Table 5.3 lists sources used to keep me abreast of trends in business, since I continue to be invited to conduct intercultural training for companies. The advantage of business books is that they cut to the chase, and often provide important cultural information in concise, clear ways. The danger of these books is that they may boil the cultural complexity down too much. One notes the increasing trend to (over-)use Hofstede's 4D model (1980), usually ignoring his 5th dimension (the one that is supposed to be more China specific!) or his 2001, 2005, or 2010 updates (with the Minkov-added 6th dimension), and to provide simplistic, binary, black and white, East and West cultural comparisons (e.g., Chen, 2001).

Table 5.3. Books on Chinese Business with Core-culture or Values Content

Year	Author	Published Work
1989	Christopher Engholm	<i>The China Venture: America's Corporate Encounter with the People's Republic of China</i>
1990	Kevin Sinclair & Iris Po-Yee Wong	<i>Culture Shock China: A Guide to Customs and Etiquette</i>
1992	Arne J. de Keijzer	<i>China: Business Strategies for the 90s</i>
1993	Fred Schneiter	<i>Doing Business with the Chinese - for Fun and Profit</i>
1994	Boyé De Mente	<i>Chinese Etiquette & Ethics in Business</i>
1994	Peggy Keena and Sondra Lacy	<i>Business China; Business Taiwan</i>
1997	Carolyn Blackman	<i>Negotiating China: Case studies and strategies.</i>
1998	Yuan Wang	<i>Business Culture in China</i>
1999	Scott D. Seligman	<i>Chinese Business Etiquette: A guide to Protocol, Manners, and Culture in the Peoples' Republic of China</i> (1 st ed. 1989)
1999	Tony Fang	<i>Chinese Business Negotiating Style</i>
2000	Yadong Luo	<i>Guanxi and Business</i>
2001	Ming-Jer Chen	<i>Inside Chinese Business: A Guide for Manager's Worldwide</i>
2001	Carolyn Blackman	<i>China Business: The Rules of the Game</i>
2002	Kevin Bucknall	<i>Chinese Business Etiquette and Culture</i>
2003	Seow-Wah Seah	<i>Chinese leadership: Moving from classical to contemporary applications</i>
2004	Ken Liberthal	<i>Harvard Business Review on Doing Business in China</i>

Among these authors, Scott Seligman (1999) was one of the first to elucidate the complicated cultural nuances of business protocol, from name card formats to banquet seating to negotiating principles, not only providing “the hows,” but also suggesting “the whys.” Other authors followed, some of which I would classify as long-term Asian residents/consultants who have a keen eye for the marketable need to better understand Chinese culture and customs, including Boyé Lafayette De Mente (1994, 1996, with an even stronger focus on Japan) or Lawrence J. Brahm (e.g., his 1996 *China as No. 1*), whose prolific work has ranged from analysis of economic effects of Zhu Rongji’s Premiership, to the prospects of a China century, to the art of making deals with the Chinese, to understanding the *Art of War* or other classics, to finding solace in Tibet. Other popular more journalistic titles have been William Overholt’s *China: The Next Economic Superpower* (or its US title: *The Rise of China*, 1993), James McGregor’s *One Billion Customers* (2005), and T. C. Fishman’s *China, Inc.* (2005).

Keena & Lacy’s *Business [Country Name]* series provided a minimalist training approach, listing in point form and comparative form (to the US) preparatory background information for “understanding the culture,” “communication style,” “leadership/status,” “organizational structure,” “punctuality,” “meetings,” and “negotiation style,” as well as pointers for building

relationships, things to avoid, and so on. Some trainer/writers also treat China specifically in their broader discussion of business or management across cultures, notably Richard Lewis's briefing sections on specific countries (1996/1999/2004). Though not particularly deep on insights, by typing in "business" and "China" in search engines like Google or Baidu, one finds a wide-variety of "how to" web-sites that simplify the complicated workings of Chinese business culture into a list of key knowledge and awareness points.⁷⁶ At a degree of greater sophistication, a group working with Richard Brislin (Wang et al., 2000) designed a set of Chinese-American critical incidents providing useful cases for intercultural training.

At a basic and contextualized level, Don Snow (2004) and Enping Zhuang (2004) have sought to design English learning textbooks that take Chinese business situations into consideration. Yet, for deep cultural value insights in real-world business challenges, they are limited. Other texts would be needed to fill in the "whys." Weilin Dou (窦卫霖) comes closer, both with her introductory book on Chinese business (跨文化商务交际, 2005), her general textbook (跨文化交际基础, 2007) and her forthcoming book of business cases. Zhuang is also leading co-author of Hu & Groves' new edition of *Encountering the Chinese* (Zhuang et al., 2010).

Fortunately, more academic offerings have been coming out. An early work was Christopher Engholms's *The China Venture* (1989), documenting the early histories and cultural complexities of joint ventures in China. Carolyn Blackman's work is nuanced with solid scholarship as well as interlaced with excellent, detailed case studies. In her *Negotiating China* (1997), all nine cases provide excellent material for sub-textual analysis of underlying values. Her more comprehensive book on *China Business* (2001) is also culturally insightful and realistically complex, yet clear. Overseas Chinese scholar Tony Fang has added his offering on negotiation (1999) in addition to another book in Swedish about doing business in today's China. Seow-Wah Sheh analyzes *Chinese Leadership* (2003), and notable Sino-American scholars like Kenneth Liberthal edited the *Harvard Business Review on Doing Business in China* (2004).

One of the benefits of what was once feared to be a "brain drain" is that Chinese students who went abroad in the 1980s and 1990s are now established as scholars and using their academic skills and experiences to carefully re-examine the workings of Chinese culture – in a sense, a new generation of Hong-ming Kus and Yutang Lins. Examples of such well-grounded work would be Yuan Wang's *Business Culture in China* (1998), Tony Fang's already mentioned work on negotiation (1999), and Yadong Luo's *Guanxi and Business* (2000). The impeccable scholarship

⁷⁶ Webpages abound, like "Doing Business in China," retrieved August 5, 2009, from <http://www.kwintessential.co.uk/etiquette/doing-business-china.html>

of Hui Wang's *China's New Order* (2003) puts business in its broader national(istic) context and is highly recommended reading for assessing the current social political and economic context.

With this growing sampling of "culture and business" guides from all manner of perspectives over about a 20 year period now, an important and recommended research project would be to examine these and the many other emerging "business handbooks" on "doing Chinese business." I have mostly highlighted the offerings in English, but a whole genre exists in Chinese on cross-cultural management "with Chinese characteristics." Further analysis is needed to assess the quality or range of core-cultural content and specific values highlighted in these volumes, as well as fertile areas for ongoing research.

5.2.1.4 (B-3) From the Outside Looking In Academically – Personal History (Part 2)

*I have attempted to raise a whole set of questions that are relevant in discussing the problems of human experience: How does one **represent** other culture? What is **another** culture? Is the notion of a distinct culture (or race, or religion, or civilization) a useful one, or does it always get involved either in self-congratulation (when one discusses one's own) or hostility and aggression (when one discusses the "other")? Do cultural, religious and racial differences matter more than socio-economic categories, or politicohistorical ones? How do ideas acquire authority, "normality," and even the status of "natural" truth? What is the role of the intellectual? Is he there to validate the culture and state of which he is a part? What importance must he give to an independent critical consciousness, an **oppositional** critical consciousness?* Edward Said (emphasis his, 1978:325-326)

As noted above, while the "China Watchers" (of Table 5.2) sparked my interest and filled in some personal, anecdotal, insight gaps, their main function was to alert me to some of the academic authors providing essential texts for understanding the working domains of Chinese culture. First as a post-graduate "Chinese major," then as an instructor of "Chinese civilization," of "comparative culture," and eventually as a professor of "intercultural communications, I was both compelled and eager to read broadly and eclectically.

Table 5.4 lists works particularly significant which were read or browsed during my first decade of living in Asia in the 1980s, while enrolled in the Master of Arts program at the University of Kansas from 1990-1992, while hired to teach the 10-week "China component" of the "East Asian Civilizations" course for three semesters in a row (including two semesters with honors students), or since. The list mainly includes those works that make a contribution to elucidating some aspects of Chinese values and core-cultural domains.

Among these historical or philosophical scholars, or those who are often referred to as “sinologists” (汉学家) in their study of classical China, the work of Donald Munro was particularly enlightening for cultural insights. One could almost map out explanatory details on the Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck framework (1961) with his examinations of the Chinese view toward “the concept of man” (1969, 1977) and “individualism and holism” (1985).

There are of course many other “China Studies” volumes that could be listed, but these are those that have stood out in shaping my China awareness. In working through each, my attention has particularly focused on “a cultural reading,” noting the rich or “thick” descriptions of culture, cues to the cultural logics, or hints of underlying values. Though much of it might be considered “mono-cultural” in describing “the Chinese” context, obviously each of them had another culture as their frame of reference (as both Spence’s “sightings” in *The Chan’s Great Continent*, 1998, and Mackerras’ work, 1999, both attest to).

Beyond Spence’s social-biographical histories and Bonavia’s journalistic acumen, the other scholar who had a cultural-values approach was political psychologist Lucian Pye, starting with his seminal work in 1968. Whether in his influential study on Chinese negotiation behavior (1982) or his work with Mary Pye on *Asian Power and Politics* (1985), his deep cultural insights gained through the experience of growing up there (born in 1921 in Shanxi), broad reading, inquiring mind, astute observation, and in-depth interviews (with 44 former PRC residents, conducted in Hong Kong in the late 1970s) provided unparalleled insights.

Table 5.4. Some Important Scholars and Texts for a Foundation in Chinese Culture

Year	Author	Title
1966	William Hinton	<i>Fanshen: A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village</i>
1971	John K. Fairbanks	<i>The US and China (3rd ed.)</i>
1980	Jonathan Spence	<i>To Change China: Foreign Advisors in China</i>
1980	Michael Frolic	<i>Mao's people: Sixteen Portraits of Life in Revolutionary China</i>
1981	Roger Garside	<i>Coming Alive: China after Mao</i>
1982	Lucian Pye	<i>Chinese Commercial Negotiating Style</i>
1982	Jonathan Spence	<i>The Gate of Heavenly Peace: The Chinese and their Revolution, 1885-1980</i>
1984	Richard Madsen	<i>Morality and Power in a Chinese Village</i>
1984	William Hinton	<i>Shenfan: The Continuing Revolution in a Chinese Village</i>
1985	Margery Wolf	<i>Revolution Postponed: Women in Chinese Society</i>
1986	Michael H. Bond	<i>The Psychology of the Chinese People</i>
1985	Lucian Pye & Mary Pye	<i>Asian Power and Politics</i>
1987 1995	James Wang	<i>Contemporary Chinese Politics: An Introduction (4th ed., 5th ed.) (now a 7th ed., 2002)</i>
1990	Paul Ropp	<i>Heritage of China: Contemporary Perspectives on Chinese Civilization</i>
1989	Perry Link, Richard Madsen & Paul Pickowicz	<i>Unofficial China: Popular culture and Thought in the PRC</i>
1990	Paul Cohen, Merle Goldman, Benjamin Isadore (Eds.)	<i>Ideas across Cultures: Essays on Chinese Culture in Honor of B. Schwartz</i>
1990	Jonathan Spence	<i>The Search for Modern China:</i>
1991	Michael H. Bond	<i>Beyond the Chinese Face: Insights from Psychology</i>
1996	Jacques Gernet	<i>A history of Chinese civilization / 2nd ed.</i>
1996	Michael H. Bond	<i>The Handbook of Chinese Psychology</i>
1996	Daniel Bays	<i>Christianity in China from the Eighteenth Century to the Present</i>
1996	Zha Jianying	<i>China Pop: How Soap Operas, Tabloids and Bestsellers are Transforming a Culture</i>
1998	Jonathan Spence	<i>The Chan's Great Continent: China in Western Minds</i>
1999	Colin Mackerras	<i>Western Images of China (Rev. ed.)</i>
1999	Maruice Meisner	<i>Mao's China and After</i>
1999	Geremie R. Barmé	<i>In the Red: On Contemporary Chinese Culture</i>
1998 2001	John K. Fairbanks (with Merle Goldman, 2 nd ed.)	<i>China: A New History</i>
2002	Perry Link, Richard Madsen, Paul Pickowicz	<i>Popular China: Unofficial Culture in a Globalizing Society</i>

His self-described focus (1981:305) is analyses that “illuminate the fundamental impulses of Asian cultures and their reflection in contemporary Asian political ideology, political values, and political behavior.” A major theme in his research has been the impact of modernization on traditional Asian societies. However, one need not have a strong interest in politics to benefit from Pye’s books, as they elucidate cultural values at every turn (as seen in Table 5.5).

Table 5.5. Chinese Values in Pye’s *The Dynamics of Chinese Politics* (1981)

Ingroup Loyalty (Factionalism)	Hierarchical Power/Relations	Authority (and respect for it)
Ideological Orientation	Consensus	Dependency
Stability and Order	Power (Status)	Personal Ties = <i>Guanxi</i> (and Loyalty)
Pragmatism	Ambiguity (Symbolism)	Personal Morality
Fate (External locus of control)	Paradoxes (Ambiguity & Anxiety; Consensus & Conflict)	Ambition (and Inhibitions, positive <i>xiungxin</i> vs. negative <i>yexin</i>)

Source: Pye (1981).

Pye goes behind large events, exploring the more enduring aspects of Chinese culture and the stable elements of the national psychology as they have been manifested in traditional, Republican, and Communist periods.... The emphasis is on the roles long played by authority, order, hierarchy, and **emotional quietism** [emphasis mine – this is a new value item to be added to the list] in Chinese political culture as shaped by the Confucian tradition and the institution of **filial piety** [also explained more than in his earlier work], and the resulting confusions brought about by the displacements of these traditions in the face of political change and modernization...[and adds analysis] on the basic tension between consensus and conflict in the operation of Chinese politics, illustrating the "spirit" in action....” (The publisher of Pye, 1992:book cover)

To provide a few examples, we note his insightful treatment of the various levels of the generations situated in Chinese society (1981:101-106), fate (112-113), and the complexities of *guanxi* (138-142). At the time of his writing, he noted,

Western commentators have generally ignored the importance of *guanxi*, or particularistic personal ties, in describing Chinese personal traits and have favored instead such other topics as the Chinese concern about gaining or losing “face” (*lien* or *mienze*). Possibly this has been because such concepts as “face” or “filial piety” have a more positive ethical quality, distinguishing as they do honorable from shameful conduct. In contrast, foreigners and modernized Chinese alike have tended to see *guanxi* as a somewhat sordid form of

unenlightened favoritism that should disappear once the “restoration” of Chinese culture occurs (1981:139).

He goes on to explain the concept and its implications:

Guanxi involves far more than the Western notion of social contacts and connections related to influence. In the West, the key to the flow of personal influence in particularistic relations, say, in an “old boy network,” is actual acquaintanceship; in the case of *guanxi*, it is enough that social roles are seen as related, even though the individuals may not have previously known each other...

First...it is thought of having an almost physical objective existence, and therefore is not merely a subjective phenomenon, knowable only to participants... The third party should be able to give a precise reading of the exact “quantity” and not just the “quality” of the *guanxi*...

Second...it is a phenomenon whose existence or non-existence affects the behavior of not just those directly involved in the relationship—it can potentially affect all who are to any degree related to either one of the principals....

Guanxi, however, must not be confused with the concept of patron-client relations...(since) the relationship is in the first instance based upon a shared particularism—a common place of origin, a shared teacher, grandfathers who were friends, and the like—and thus there is a pretense at equality even as there must be a subtle recognition of superior and inferior (Pye, 1981:140-142).

Similarly Lucian Pye’s (1982) account of Chinese negotiating behavior is in essence emic and yet comparative (which Carolyn Blackman, 1997, 2001, and Tony Fang, 1999, 2003b have now updated). One finds his and the Pye & Pye (1985) books often cited in training materials (e.g., Hu & Grove, 1991, 1999).

This kind of detailed, reflective, comparative analysis of specific Chinese cultural values and how those are evaluated as traits and corresponding practices is a significant source for our unfolding understanding of Chinese culture. It serves as a time-period benchmark for comparison to contemporary practices. New work by Yunxiang Yan (1996), Yadong Luo (2000), and Gold, Guthrie, and Wank (2002) have analyzed and updated *guanxi* practices in specific contexts. Mayfair Mei-hui Yang (1994), like Yan (1996), has shown the outworking of gift-giving practices, just as Wenshan Jia (2001) has sought to explain and update the concept and practices of face. More of this type of extensive, non-assumptive, situated, carefully analyzed, and updated work is needed to fill gaps in our understanding of the diverse meanings and practices attributed now to these values (as Hui-ching Chang recently did with her summary of Chinese interpersonal styles, 2010).

I posit that etic perspectives can only be well understood or applied effectively in local contexts if one has a deeper grasp of a comparative emic system. Therefore it was important to also read broadly on Chinese philosophy from the works of Benjamin Schwartz, Dirk Bodde, Theodore de Bary, Burton Watson, Tsit-chen Wing, Youlan Feng, and other classical philosophical or historical scholars. I have the late Professor Wallace Johnson to thank for teaching me the basics of Classical Chinese and getting me into various translations of Confucius' *Analects*, the *Classic of Filial Piety*, the *Dao De Jing*, *Mencius*, or *The Book of Songs* which I still consult and feel enlightened by at regular intervals. And I have Professor Dan Bays to thank for guiding me through the labyrinth of modern Chinese history and particularly highlighting the social and cultural influences of people and events.

Almost everything Jonathan Spence (who I would call a "biographical historian") has written has had a profound influence on my understanding of Chinese people and cultural issues, and thought not cited above, the *Death of Woman Wang* (2005b), and *Emperor of China* (1974) both were very influential in my understanding of Chinese gender issues and power values. Encouragingly, the Shanghai Far East Press has translated a whole series of his books into Chinese (e.g., Spence, 2005b, *Woman Wang*; 2005a, *Search for Modern China*). Obvious in the paragraphs above show his influence from *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (1984) *To Change China: Foreign Advisors in China* (1980), and *The Gate of Heavenly Peace: The Chinese and their Revolution, 1885-1980* (1982). Each book deals with the conflux and conflicts of people seeking to understand and integrate complex cultural systems. I will deal especially with bi-cultural comparisons in a section below.

Beyond the standard Chinese historical or civilization perspective (e.g., Gernet, 1996), a number of authors have specifically sought to elucidate deeper philosophical, world-view, or values aspects of Chinese culture in contrast to other cultural systems. Noteworthy and instructive here is De-Yao Wu's (吴德耀) treatment of Confucianism (*The Roots of Chinese Culture*, 1980), Hartzell's *Harmony in Conflict* (1988), though it is very specific to Taiwan culture, and Blair and McCormack's comparative civilization perspective (2006). From the emic perspective (keeping the etic clearly in mind), one of the most careful observers has probably been Michael H. Bond, who mobilized and worked with Chinese colleagues to map out the psychology of their own people (in seminal volumes like Bond, 1986, 1996, 2010 and his own synthesis of these in Bond, 1991). We now turn attention to this body of work.

5.2.1.5 (B-4) Outsiders Inside – Living / Teaching in China – Personal History (Part 3)

Since this dissertation is being submitted to a department of comparative education, and since my primary identity among the Chinese for these nearly thirty years has been as an educator, much of my perceptions on this people and their core values have been first observed, shaped, and developed in the classroom. Students have often been my best teachers (as the classroom values clarification exercises of the next chapter show). But there have also been significant first-hand “instructors-in-China” accounts that clarify the culture of learning, education, and institutional dynamics, giving voice to that which I also have experienced.

Based on Howard Galt’s (1951) careful summary of the tenants of Confucian education in which he quoted extensively from the classics and Mencius, in 1991 I began writing a 40-page term paper on how these tenets were still embedded in Chinese society, even after 40 years of Communist “feudal eradication”. It was that “comparative education” project that caused me to note that some key cultural elements are slow to change. It also shaped my penchant for documenting the classical past as a basis for understanding the contemporary present (which this dissertation has obviously attempted to do, both for the origins of IC and Chinese values studies). Unfortunately Galt only completed Volume 1 (up to 900 AD).

Ruth Hayhoe documented current education (e.g., 1984) in books that provided mostly systemic and statistical analysis – her more culturally-oriented *China’s Universities* was not published till 1996. But a number of important biographies and guidebooks had appeared by 1990 encouraging my interest in exploring this important topic. My original MA thesis proposal was to document these “cultural primers” and note the salient cultural differences between the US and China (comparative education and culture), but I quickly realized that such an idea was limited in content and reified stereotypes. Hu and Grove’s *Encounters with the Chinese* (first edition in 1991) had just come out, but it turned out there were historical gaps in the literature and limited academic sources for the Mainland. My interests shifted to a more specific focus of intercultural communication expressed in interpersonal relationships. From those intellectual beginnings, I am still at it 20 years later, exploring and trying to sort out this complex puzzle! The books listed in this section have continued to be seminal towards understanding classroom values.

Understanding traditional attitudes and the philosophy of education is still important for teachers. Students may not clearly understand or be able to explain Confucianism, but some of the traditional classroom attitudes, learning and teaching styles, and administration of education are still lingering beneath the surface. Related to my early work from Howard Galt, Chen’s (陈景磐) summary of *Confucius as a Teacher* (1990) was useful, as well as Howard Gardner’s comparative

To Open Minds (1989), both documenting the educational software and instructional processes of Chinese culture. Joseph Tobin et al.'s comparative work on how this all plays out at in how children are taught even in the early years (*Preschool in Three Cultures*, 1989), and Mette Hansen's on how this script is transferred in minority education (*Lessons on Being Chinese*, 1999) provide background or critically important perspectives.

But what is the cultural context of today's students? Chinese culture is a moving target, and the last three decades have brought incredible changes in the attitude, expectations, and life-style of those that we are teaching. It is increasingly important to try to understand the "youth" (which in China can mean anyone under 40 or 45 years of age, *qingnian* 青年). Several works have been highly instructive regarding the mindset, experiences, expectations, and social context of youth during the opening up, reform, and modernizing context. Ann-ping Chin's *Children of China* (1988) provides actual interview discussion scripts of students in the mid-80s on a wide range of topics. James Farrer adds discussions and description of the extracurricular emergence of the dance hall, bar, and sex-oriented culture of the 1990s in *Opening Up* (2002). Vanessa Fong similarly provides insightful scholarship into the implications of this "single-child" generation in *Only Hope: Coming of Age Under China's One-Child Policy* (2004), and varied essays by Chinese scholars on changes in youth culture are provided by Xi, Sun, and Xiao's (2006) recent work, *Chinese Youth in Transition*.

Biography is also important. In Jonathan Spence's insightful work on images of China (1998), he devoted a chapter (6) to personal writings (primarily of women) and notes "Such passages...gave a more nuanced picture...as a whole than anything before" (1998:105) and "No Westerner had written about China like this before (1998:108). Biography continues to provide a personal, situated, and holistic context for sensing some of the workings of culture and the values that guide it. Illustrating culture is sometimes more intuitively instructive. I have benefitted much from those writers who have lucidly described their encounters and emotions instead of trying to prescribe principles. Discourse analysis on the plethora of journalistic or personal sojourn accounts would make another excellent research project.

From the Chinese perspective, one of the earliest I read was Zongren Liu's *Two Years in the Melting Pot* (1998), which provided thoughtful and entertaining anecdotes of a Chinese journalist's growing cross-cultural awareness in the US. Insights can be gained from those travelling to or from both sides of the ocean or continent. A more recent offering in German is Yu-Chien Kuan's *Mein Leben zwischen zwei Himmeln* (2003). Like Heng Liang, George Wang provides a very interesting perspective as a local Shanghai man married over the years to two

long-term British teachers. (*Between Two Worlds*, 2004, of which his earlier work *Shanghai Boy*, *Shanghai Girl*, 2002 provides a personalized pre-liberation history.)

From the “foreign experts” perspective, the China watching of Tani Barlow and Donald Lowe (1985, 1987) covered a wide range of observations and experiences on teaching in the 80s⁷⁷, as did Vera Schwarcz’s *Long Road Home* (1984), and Naomi Woronov’s *China through My Window* (1988). Lisa Carducci (2002) summarized her experiences and observations as foreign expert both in teaching and journalism. Each of these provides contemporary equivalents of the perceptive women’s biographies noted by Spence (1998:Chap 6).

Men have also contributed. Mark Salzman (1986) garners rich cultural insights from a stint in Hangzhou in *Iron and Silk*, which are also well illustrated in the film in which he stars as himself (1990). Bill Holms (1990) captures the humor (and occasional agony) of his living and teaching experiences in a light-hearted set of essays (*Coming Home Crazy*). More recently Peter Hessler (2001) captures life and teaching in central China in *River Town: Two Years on the Yangtze*. Language teachers Zhen Zhou (周真) and David Knapp have done a masterful job of collecting such personal experience stories in their *Experiencing Another Culture* (2007) which highlights personal, educational, and relationship values, as well as areas of culture shock, misunderstanding, and eventual cooperation.

Most of these biographies intuitively touch on aspects of comparative education. Judith Shapiro’s experience is embedded in Heng Liang’s story (1984), but became the focus of a film starring Melissa Gilbert. Shapiro and Liang continued to document the intellectual situation in China with *Cold Winds, Warm Winds* (1986), and Heng Liang secured National Endowment for Democracy (NED) funding to launch and continue editing a journal called the *Chinese Intellectual*, which was even published in the late 80s for a time in China before relocating back the US after the events of 1989.

⁷⁷ Barlow and Lowe have recorded further observations on Chinese culture, like “Chinese Film”, retrieved August 5, 2009, from <http://www.ejumpcut.org/archive/onlinessays/JC31folder/Barlow-Lowe.html>, as well as Barlow’s ongoing study of Chinese feminism (see her webpage at: <http://history.rice.edu/faculty.aspx?id=442>) and her editorship of *positions*, an award-winning (1995) journal on East Asian culture critique, available at <http://positions.rice.edu/>

There have also been a number of important guidebooks specifically for the educator, describing both life and classroom contexts, often with a “Chinese values” and cultural context undertone. Among them, the sources in Table 5.6 have been useful in my own awareness and development and are recommended reading. One notes later versions exist for many of these, but reviewing the earlier versions still provides an important reminder of how much attitudes, administration, and the actual situation have changed in these several decades.

Table 5.6. Chinese Educational Culture and Values Sources

1981	Katherine Donovan	<i>Assisting Students and Scholars from the People's Republic of China: A Handbook for Community Groups</i>
1981 1987	Karen Turner-Gottschang & Ann Thurston	<i>China Bound: A Guide to Academic Life and Work in the PRC</i>
1987	Foreign Student Administration Society	<i>Study in China: A Guide for Foreign Students</i>
1987	Rebecca Weiner et al.	<i>Living in China: A Guide to Teaching and Studying in China including Taiwan</i>
1988	Chinese National Foreign Experts Bureau	<i>The Foreign Experts' Handbook: A Guide to Living and Working in China.</i>
1988	Linda Reed	<i>Education in the People's Republic of China and U.S.-China educational exchanges</i>
1991	Jean Brick	<i>China: A Handbook in Intercultural Communication</i>
1994	Ann Thurston et al.	<i>China Bound: A Guide to Academic Life and Work (Rev.)</i>
1997	Rebecca Weiner et al.	<i>Living in China: A Guide to Teaching and Studying in China including Taiwan (Rev. ed.)</i>

In what way do these sources represent “the Chinese?” Obviously they provided some snapshots: some old and faded, some from a wrong angle (in my view) by putting the important subject in the background or focusing on tangential side-shows in others, and some somewhat (or significantly) out of focus. But most produced some interesting “photos,” illustrations, or anecdotes that raised questions, provided insights, and led to new inquiries. As the citation from Edward Said in the next section puts it, the collection of such images, no matter how true or verifiable, brought to attention important questions for the evaluation of my own experience and observations – they kept me on the journey of seeking to understanding aspects of “Chineseness” and the values underlying it. Most of all, such descriptions motivated me to consider other ways of verifying the conclusions generated, to get beyond mere “sightings” to the more substantial research reports of the next section.

5.2.2 Mono-cultural, (Cross-)Cultural, and Indigenous Psychology Research

*...as scientists...our experiences...will lead us to question more freely,
to be less taken in by the “obvious”, to see fresh possibilities of relationships,
to put facts together into more productive combinations,
and to entertain sweeping alternative constructions of events...
in the manner that “psychologists” write so much about.*

George A. Kelly (1977:11)

5.2.2.1 (A-2) Non-Mainland Insiders Doing Indigenous Psychological Research

An argument could be made that the mainstream of psychological studies on Chinese values originated and continues in “offshore” Chinese communities. While some continue to use Western-derived instruments (as K. S. Yang also did initially, 1972), much Chinese scholarship on their own culture adopts a more contextualized approach. Since those early years, the indigenous Chinese psychology movement, primarily led by Kuo-shu Yang (杨国枢) and Kwang-Kuo Hwang (黄光国), has published scores of monographs, hundreds of journal articles, and several encyclopedic volumes, many of which are related to specific values-related domains of Chinese culture. Many of these studies originated in Chinese (e.g., two volumes specifically entitled “Chinese values” edited by Wen, 1989; K. S. Yang, 1994).

Yang (1986, 1996) and Bond (1996) have documented the early work in English. While Taiwanese researchers spearheaded the indigenization movement, its influence has rippled to both the Hong Kong SAR and Mainland with different degrees of intensity and reaction (Yang, 2004:11-24). Interested readers are directed to the work of influential Mainland researchers (e.g., Sha, 1998, 2000; Zhai, 1999, 2005; Zhai & Qu, 2001) who have benefited from such educational and scholarly cross-fertilization (cf. Peng, 2001; Zhang & Yang, 1998).

Wang (2005) provides one of the more up-to-date summaries of overall values research among this group, suggesting that indigenous scholars must always position their work between the fundamental issues of specific situational and trans-situational values. Two important implications for studying Chinese values are highlighted here. The first is to investigate the subjective meanings of those values that may be central to the functioning of Chinese culture and yet overlooked in the objective approach. The second concerns the continuity and change of values confronting individuals living in the societies that are striving to join the ranks of the developed world. This section reviews the Chinese emic concepts that have been most extensively studied as well as the revised modernity hypothesis.

From an emic perspective, key concepts in the indigenous study of Chinese values by this community of scholars are shown in Table 5.7. Each concept is listed in the first column, representative psychological research is cited in the second, and the third column by overseas communication scholars will be discussed in a later section.

Table 5.7. Significant Research Literature on Specific, Core Chinese Values

Chinese Core Cultural Value Orientation	Studies from Social/ Indigenous Psychology	Studies from Overseas Chinese Communication Studies
集体 <i>jiti</i> (collectivism & the interdependent self)	Ho, Chan, Peng, & Ng, 2001; Ho & Chiu, 1994; K.S. Yang, 2006; C. F. Yang, 2006	individualism vs. collectivism, Cai, 2005; X. Lu, 1998
面子 <i>mianzi</i> , 脸 <i>lian</i> (face, face-saving, face-giving)	Ho, 1976, 1994; K. K. Hwang, 1987, 2005; Hwang & Han (2010)	Chang & Holt, 1994b; G. Chen, 2004b; Jia, 1997-8, 2001, 2003, 2006b; see link with <i>guanxi</i> below
孝 <i>xiao</i> (filial piety)	K.S. Yang, 1988b, 1988c; Ho, 1994, 1996, 1998; Ho & Peng, 1999; K. K. Hwang, 1999; Yeh, 2003; Yeh & Bedford, 2003, 2004	Huang, 1988, 1999; Q. Xiao, 2002;
关系 <i>guanxi</i> (social networking, mutual obligations, interrelationships)	Ho & Peng, 1998; Ho, 1998; Ho, Chan & Zhang, 2001; Hwang, 1997-8; Chen & Farh; Hwang & Han (2010)	Chang & Holt, 1991a; Jia, 2006a; Ma, 2004; see note on link with <i>mianzi</i> below
儒家教育观 (Confucian educational value orientation)	Ho, 2002; Ho, Peng, & Chan, 2001a, 2001b; Ho, Ng, Peng, & Chan, 2002; Lin, 2003; Hau & Ho; Ni, Chiu, & Cheng (2010)	Chen & Chung, 1994
成就 <i>chengjiu</i> (achievement)	Yu, 1996, 2005; Yang & Lu, 2005	
道德 <i>daode</i> (morality)	authoritarian moralism, Ho, 1994; Hoshmand & Ho, 1995; Fung, 2006; Hwang & Han (2010)	
人情 <i>renqing</i> (interpersonal sentiment)	Ho, 1999; C. F. Yang, 1999; C.F. Yang & Peng, 2005; Chan, Ng, & Hui (2010)	Jia, 2006a, 2006b
仁 <i>ren</i> (human-heartedness)	In Hwang's model (2007)	Xiao, 1996
礼 <i>li</i> (rites or decorum)	Hwang & Han (2010)	X. Xiao, 2002
客气 <i>keqi</i> (politeness)	Shi & Feng (2010)	Feng, 2004;
和谐 <i>hexie</i> (harmony)	L.L. Huang, 2005; see also Leung & Au, (2010)	H. Chang, 2001a; G. Chen, 2001, 2002; S. Huang, 2000, Edmondson & Chen, 2008 [Special issue], including Chen, 2008b; Jia, 2008
缘 <i>yuan</i> (fatalism, predestined relations, destiny)	K.S. Yang & Ho, 1988; K.S. Yang, 2005; Leung (2010)	H. Chang, 2002; Chang & Holt, 1991b; Chang, Holt, & Lin, 2004; L. Chen, 2002a

家(族主义) <i>jia (zu zhu yi)</i> (family, clan, familism, parenting)	Ho, Peng, & Lai, 2001; Fung, Lieber, & Leung, 2003, Yang & Yeh, 2005; Wang & Chang (2010)	See note that extends “ <i>mianzi- guanxi</i> ” below
羞 <i>xiu</i> (shame and embarrassment)	Bedford, 2004; Ho, Fu, & Ng, 2004; Fung, Lieber, & Leung, 2003, Fung, 2006; Yik (2010)	
忍 <i>ren</i> (endurance)	Li & Yang, 2005	
报 <i>bao</i> (reciprocity or retribution/reward of good and evil)	Z. X. Zhang, 2006; Zhang & Yang, 1998	Chang & Holt, 1994a; Holt & Chang, 2004
气 <i>qi</i> (inner power, energy)		Chung, 2004; Liu, 2008; Chung, 2008; Yao, 2008; Starosta, 2008
中 <i>zhong</i> (centrality)		Xiao, 2003
矛盾 <i>maodun</i> (paradoxical contradictions)	Ji, Lee, & Guo (2010)	Yu, 1997-8, Chen, Ryan, & Chen, 2000
上司 <i>shangsi</i> (hierarchical relations, defer to superiors)	Chen & Farh (2010)	Chen & Chung, 2002; Chung, 1997
风水 <i>fengshui</i> (the art of spatial arrangement)	Leung (2010)	G. Chen, 2004a
占卜 <i>zhanbu</i> (divination)		Chuang, 2004

Compiled from multiple sources, but of special usefulness for psychology was Bond (1996) and for communication studies, G. M. Chen (2007:306-308).

The significance of these psychological studies is that they empirically test, challenge, or expand value orientations that have been posited in the West, but with non-Western populations, namely the Chinese. For example, Ho and Chiu (1994) expanded the individualism and collectivism framework, and developed two basic schemes of classification based upon the three guidelines proposed by Kağıtçıbaşı and Berry (1989) and echoed by Schwartz (1992), that the two contrasting items are multidimensional, not bi-polar opposites, each with different implications for social organizations. Ho and Chiu’s first scheme, CIC (Components of Individualism and Collectivism) has 18 elements that can be further combined into five major categories, viz., values, autonomy/conformity, responsibility, achievement, and self-reliance/ interdependence. The second scheme, the CSO (Components of Social Organization), comprises eight components and is used to divide social organizations into two major categories: the integrative and non-integrative. These two schemes could provide a comprehensive classification standard for the value elements in any society or culture and serve as a scale for categorizing a culture into either a more individualistic or collectivistic system.

Because every Chinese society has been undergoing rapid development and transitions, an emphasis has been both to clarify the emic domains that specify Chineseness, as well as to analyze how traditional Chinese values are changing with modernity. While the interest in “the modernization of man” waned with the decline of classical modernization theory in the 1980s, indigenous psychologist K. S. Yang and his colleagues in Taiwan have continued with the research on Chinese individual traditionality/modernity (T/M). This decades-long devotion has resulted in the construction and validation of T/M instruments (MS-CIT and MS-CIM), laudable empirical evidence documenting personality changes (Yang, 1986, 1996), and perhaps more importantly, a revival of interest in this topic in Asia (i.e., a special issue devoted to individual T/M in *Asian Journal of Social Psychology* in 2003; for data on Chinese Singaporeans, see Chang, Wong, & Koh, 2003).

As one would expect when dealing with traditionality, Confucian explanations figure prominently in the grounding of these value studies, especially in the work of Hwang (e.g., 2007). Though certainly more influential in some Chinese societies than others (note that the Mainland once sought to wipe out such “feudal influences”), Confucianism is but one facet of the multifarious Chinese culture. While it can be argued that most people of Chinese descent share a deep sense of traditional and core “Chinese values,” the varied contexts in which Chinese live suggest that different perceptions may exist of how such a set of Chinese values should be arranged or prioritized.

5.2.2.2 (A-3) Chinese Abroad Looking Back Explanatorily

The notorious indirectness of Asians may, to a certain extent, be nothing more than our inability to recognize Asian-style directness when we see it.

Craig Storti, in *Figuring Foreigners Out* (1990:80 -81)

Since the 1980s launch of the open door and reform policies, a whole new generation of Chinese scholars have gone abroad. With some parallels to the May Fourth movement, many of these have established themselves in the Western academy. But in their concurrent pressures to adapt, they have also sought to redefine their own identities and address the frequent misperceptions their students, colleagues, or Western media portrays of China and the Chinese. Armed with modern and advanced research methodologies, these Chinese scholars abroad have carried out a new level of more academically informed and scientific-based types of inquiry and reinvestigated many indigenous Chinese values from a communicative or social-psychology perspective.

Naturally, classic values dimensions like individualism and collectivism have been evaluated with new sensibilities and insights (e.g., Cai, 2005; X. Lu, 1998). Xia (2006) provided a general introduction to the link between Chinese values and communication style, but G. M. Chen (2007) has given a definitive summary of this work so far and extensively documented these types of studies. Noted above are those (Table 5.7, the right column, with some additions), which he entitled, “the study of Chinese culture-bound concepts” (pp. 306-308).

Obviously, whenever two or more cultural systems come into interaction, certain indigenous terms may be so culture-rich and meaning-laden, that translation into other linguistic terminology inevitably weakens or loses some of the inherent meaning. In Table 5.7 above, we sought to provide the best approximation of each Chinese term, and list significant research related to that concept.

Summary and comparison of key indigenous value themes.

For indigenous psychologists, the “big five” focus seems to have been primarily testing conceptions of collectivism, face, filial piety (and its influence on indigenous authoritarian hierarchies), *guanxi*, and the influence of Confucian values and morality (like benevolence *ren*, righteousness *yi*, decorum *li*). Specifically included are those embedded in valuing face/*guanxi* relations (cf., Hwang, 2007; Hwang & Han, 2010) or valuing success/achievement (cf., Hau & Ho, 2010). For communication scholars the order and focus is somewhat different, as the “big five” have been studies on aspects of face, *guanxi*, harmony, *yuan*, and values related to conflict management or avoidance, as would be expected given the more communicative orientation to value-behavior relations.

As Chen notes (2007:307), “*guanxi* and *mianzi* are the two most commonly studied” Chinese cultural influences (see also Hwang, 1997-8, 2007), and a wide range of literature further explores comparative aspects and Chinese expectations in:

1. Interpersonal relationships or friendships (Anderson, Martin, & Zhong, 1998; Chan, Ng, & Hui, 2010; Chang & Holt, 1996a, 1996b; Chen, 1998; X. Lu, 1998; Ma, 1992; Ma & Chuang, 2002; Myers & Zhong, 2004; Myers, Zhong, & Guan, 1998; Myers, Zhong, & Mitchell, 1995; M. Wang, 2004),
2. The dynamics of family communication (G. M. Chen, 1992; Huang, 1999, 2000; Huang & Jia, 2000; Sandel, 2002, 2004; Sandel & Cho, Miller, & Wang, 2006; Sandel, Liang, & Chao, 2006; Wang & Chang, 2010; Zhong, 2005; Zhong, Myers, & Buerkel, 2004), and those in

3. Corporate communication (Chen & Chung, 1994; G. M. Chen, 2006; Chen & Farh, 2010; Liu & Chen, 2002; Liu, Chen, & Liu, 2006; X. A. Lu, 2005; Shi & Feng, 2010; Wang & Chang, 1999; Yu, 2000, 2002;).

But Chen (2001, 2007:308, 2008b) suggests that underlying the Chinese values of face and an emphasis on social networking is perhaps the most important value animating Chinese culture – harmony (*he xie* 和谐). This value is currently being promoted in the Chinese Mainland as the key traditional virtue for integrating society and moderating the impact of modernization. Chen considers harmony as “the axis of the wheel of Chinese behaviors, which is supported by two spokes, i.e., *guanxi* and *mianzi*”.

Both Hwang (1987, 1997-8, 2007:262, 265-9) and Chen (2001, 2007) have argued that the traditional Confucian influences of *ren* (仁 benevolence, humanism), *yi* (义 righteousness), and *li* (礼 propriety, rites) form the core of social relations, face and favor negotiations, and conflict management. Hwang also argues that showing *renqing* (人情 human heartedness, “the affection rule”) is an essential mechanism enabling all social ties (Hwang, 1987, 2007:263). But, each admits that the employment of power (Chen, 2001:58; Hwang, 1987) is also a very important, albeit latent, motif in the delicate, sometimes seemingly contradictory world of Chinese interpersonal “games”.

Cultural values are, however, operative at multiple levels. Kluver suggests that scholars should expand the list, to include not just interpersonal values but also traditional Chinese values played out in larger social contexts. Values are externalized in cultural products such as political culture, nationalism, social conflict sensibility and resolution, media preference, privacy in Chinese Internet usage, organizational structures, honoring of intellectuals, or valuing elite based discourse (cf., Kluver 1997, 1999, 2001, 2004). Some communication studies listed above have addressed these issues, and other can be found in published bibliographies (cf., Chen, 2008a; Miike, 2009; Miike & Chen, 2006; Powers, 2000).

Similarities and variations across Chinese communities?

Though Table 5.7 shows some of the different focal points for psychologists and communication scholars, in recent years the range of areas has been increasingly merged and broadened through mutual stimulation. Through the 1990s, it seemed that transplanted Chinese scholars had done most of the studies on more traditional value or culture-laden, possibly because first-hand experience of cultural difference and communication barriers evoked a yearning to rediscover and reclaim cultural roots.

Such studies provide important observations about this historical, philosophical, and religious heritage, which explicate some of the deeper meanings that sustain the identity, cultural continuity, and collective ties for those of Chinese descent in any society. They also make us more aware of how to interpret and extrapolate the situated meaning of etic dimensions in cross-cultural studies. And of interest for psychologists might be the way these studies descriptively link emic values to specific communicative behaviors or expectations, addressing a weakness that is often noted concerning values studies (e.g., Bond, 2009; Hechter, 2000; Kristiansen & Hotte, 1996:79).

What has been little analyzed is whether there are variations in themes and style of coverage of these emic topics depending on one's point of origin and how the variations interact with differences in academic standards, group status, or intergroup relations in a given society. For example, some cross-cultural psychologists relying on a more etic approach tend to subsume Confucian concepts (e.g., filial piety: Chen, Bond, & Tang, 2007; Confucian values: Fu & Chiu, 2007; Lam, Lau, Chiu, Hong, & Peng, 1999) under the universalist framework, thus making it hard to put their work in an unequivocal category.

Meta-studies of “cultural imprinting” might help explain some variation of approach, content, and philosophical orientation. Mainland readers of such studies comment that though some aspects clearly reflect what they construe to be “Chinese”, some explanations are not presented in ways that they can readily identify with in their situated history and context – the need for considering varieties of Chineseness and nuances of “Chinese values” is clear.

5.2.3 Bi-Cultural Comparisons (Personal, Historical, Anthropological)

Under this category are two additional types of literature. One is the academic comparison for elucidating contrasts and comparisons in some field of knowledge. The other is the more recent contrast of cultural differences for pre-departure training for business sojourners.

5.2.3.1 Descriptive Academic Bi-Cultural Comparisons

Related to a project like this, it is important to locate work that considers the Chinese in comparative frames. Obviously the work of Francis L. K. Hsu (1953, 1970, 1981) has been instrumental in this (see 5.1.6.3). I started reading his latest edition of *Americans and Chinese* while teaching in Taiwan in 1980, and bought the 3rd edition as soon as it came out. Other migrated scholars like Godwin Chu have been insightful and influential (cf. his multiple works on Chinese culture in mass communication, 5.1.6.4), especially his cooperation with Yan'an Ju in China, which later included Steven Chaffee and Zhongdang Pan (some versions listed as Chaffee, 1994, others as Pan, 1994) to compared this data with Americans.

Chu & Ju (1993) noted that China's mainland culture is undergoing significant cultural shifts (extended and compared to the US in Chaffee, Pan, *et al.*, 1994). They point out that the "great wall" of cultural homogeneity is "in ruins" as mass media brings about individualistic changes in lifestyles and cultural orientations. This concurs with other research on global shifts from collectivism to individualism (Kim et al., 1994; Triandis, 1995). The integrated Confucian society of the late Qing has passed through the freethinking intellectual fervor after the 1919 May Fourth movement, the chaos of decades of warlordism and civil war, and now nearly fifty years of Marxist, Leninist, Mao Zedong, and Deng Xiaoping thought.

Even during these fifty years of Communism there have been different cultural influences, first through extensive contact with Russia, then through the isolation of the Great Cultural Revolution, and now through the Open Door policy with extensive international exchange as China emerges as the leading developing nation. How have all of these changes and influences impacted on cultural values? How can we study them? How can we compare the findings to international value studies theories?

An encouraging development has been the increased attention given to Chinese-American histories and experiences. Wei-ming Tu, in his promotion of Chinese identity related to neo-Confucianism, early edited a high-profile volume analyzing *The Changing Meaning of Being Chinese Today* (subtitle, 1994). This fits into the broader discussion grappling with "Chineseness", "Chinese values and identity," and bicultural identities in an increasingly global context. A number of other works examine this from varied perspectives, Gregory Lee's (2003) and Doreen Wu's (2008) edited volumes from discourse, images, and media (following representation methodologies like those advocated by Shi-xu, 1997), and Zheng's (1999) analysis of growing nationalism, summarizing the popular sentiments (and best-selling books) that emphatically concur that, "China that can say no!" and "China is not pleased."

As Rui Zhang and I have recently noted (in a chapter in Bond's *Oxford Handbook of Chinese Psychology*, 2nd ed., 2010), studies on Chinese as sojourners and biculturalism will surely figure large in our understanding of values complexity and shifts from or the mixing of traditional, modern, and/or post-modern mindsets. Fortunately, a whole new offering analyzing Chinese-American identities and values are now available (cf. Chen, 2002; Chun, 2000; Louie, 2004; Ma, 2000; Tung, 2000; Wei, 2003). Among these Andrea Louie's *Chineseness Across Borders* (2004) and Shenhong Chen's *Being Chinese* (2002) are particularly relevant, as are volumes dealing specifically with the impacts of Orientalism on Chineseness (e.g., Ma, 2000, Liu, 1999). This is an important area for further research, to consider what the levels of cultural heritage, continuity, and identification are for Chinese in America or other societies. This reoccurring and intensified trend of research toward clarifying values and identity also suggests and supports the "societies in change" hypothesis (Section 4.6) that will be further elucidated in Chapter 7. If this chapter has shown anything so far, it is that studying values is not "old hat" or an unsophisticated comparative exercise, but that it has, and continues to, engage some of the most talented of academic minds.

5.2.3.2 Functional ("How-to") Training Comparisons

Guidebooks sell well (as noted by Mackerras), and especially those that promise to provide advice on "how to" do business, study, communicate, or succeed at anything, especially in China. Intercultural trainers and companies especially appreciate these types of guides, and there have been a number that have proven useful. Hu & Grove's *Encountering the Chinese* (1999) could be considered under several categories, but perhaps best falls under this "how to" section. Now in its third edition (with Zhuang, 2010), it is one of the top 10 intercultural books of all time, in that elite class with the late Robert Kohl's *Survival Kit for Overseas Living* mentioned in Chapter 3. The book primarily focuses on how to communicate effectively with the Chinese one works with, teaches with, or lives near. Related to our topic, Hu & Grove's book contains sections on "The Chinese Way of Life" and "Chinese Values" and then deals the day-to-day workings of how Chinese use name titles, greetings and farewells, dining norms and banquet etiquette, self-deprecation, and other communications forms. The second half of the book applies these functions to the contexts of friendships (Chapter 7), education and training (Chapter 8), business and negotiating (Chapter 9), and face (Chapter 10) (cf. Flower, 2003)

Seligman's *Chinese Business Etiquette* (the second edition in 1999 – his first edition had the misfortune of coming out in 1989 and did not sell well in the political climate of that time) has already been mentioned above as providing similar, and even more detailed, guidelines for most aspects of relational, business meeting, banquet, or negotiation protocol, and is also a perennially useful how-to guide. Using the classic interpersonal IC self-OTHER perspective as a conceptual

foundation, Ge Gao (Kao, Ko) and Stella Ting-Toomey's *Communicating Effectively with the Chinese* (1998) has also served this role, categorizing very carefully the values that guide verbal and non-verbal communication, as well as face-giving/saving, trust building, and *guanxi* expectations and practices. Yet it can be critiqued as promoting a reified traditional norm that may not be the case in all Chinese contexts.

As I have sought to point out throughout this paper, this is one of the perpetual dangers of trying to pin down a culture into a clarified codex or few guiding principles. Describing the complex emic workings within Chinese culture in concepts relatable to etic theories is indeed what many cross-cultural and indigenous psychological scholars have been seeking to do. A number of social and context-sensitive, historically-oriented scholars have been grappling with the cultural nuances of specific aspects of Chinese culture, e.g., Mayfair Yang's description of the functioning of gifts, favors, and banquets in social relations (1994), Yunxiang Yan's contextual analysis of these reciprocal social networking in a village situation (1996), Gold, Guthrie, & Wank's edited volume on *guanxi* and social connections (2002), and Wensha Jia's constructivist analysis of face practices (2001).

5.2.4 Bi- and Tri-Cultural Empirical Investigations

While descriptive discussion of Chinese-American comparisons are fruitful, whether from experiential narrative, historical, or critically analytical methods, some would argue that more rigorous empirical methods are needed to identify important psychological constructs, dimensions, and statistically identifiable variances among populations. To contribute to this "scientific study" of cultural elements, social psychologists have been increasingly active over the last half-century to devise studies of ever greater complexity. Attempts to develop psychologically-based survey instruments and conduct empirical data analysis on "the Chinese" as in comparison with other ethnic or national samples began, as mentioned in Chapter 3, with notable studies like those of Morris (1956), Singh, Huang, & Thompson (1962), Yang (1972), Bond (1988), Sha (1989), Garrott (1995a). These are each outlined in Bond's seminal review chapter (1996).

In the early years of cross-cultural psychology, two and three culture comparisons were the norm. But increasingly, empirical scholars are committed to understanding variations across the universal spectrum, so since the advent of Hofstede's (1980) work, large scale, framework-oriented, theory-testing studies including Chinese samples have been increasingly important (e.g. Schwartz, 1992; Bond & Mak, 1996). Chen & Starosta (1998) note this trend as contributing to clearer interpretations and comparison of China to other cultures.

5.2.4.1 US Values Instruments Used in Chinese Communities

The first steps of this “psychological mapping” of “the Chinese” often began with the importation of established instruments from “the West” by scholars trained in the USA. Because of divergent histories since 1949, much of this work was conducted first in Taiwan or Hong Kong or with other accessible Chinese populations. Only in recent years (as Table 5.8 below shows, mostly since the mid-90s) has similar work started in Mainland China. This table documents the trends, content, and applications of imported instruments with Chinese.

Note that in Column 1, several of the scales discussed in Chapter 3 are omitted, as no Chinese Mainland or Taiwan projects located so far have used them, e.g., Gordon’s Survey of Personal Values (SPV, 1967) or the more business-oriented England’s Personal Value System (EPVS, 1967a, b). Note also that Hofstede’s Values Survey Module (VSM) has not been included, as its application areas are mostly non-psychological business or general culture studies. Discussions of the main findings of these studies have already been covered in the seminal reviews of Yang (1986) and Bond (1996), and since 1996, the trend has been increasingly moving toward avoiding the “imposed etic” of imported studies. More efforts have been taken to universalize global frameworks to better include the results of indigenous psychologies.

Table 5.8. Western Instruments Applied to Chinese Values Research

Instrument Used	On Non-Mainland Chinese Populations	On Mainland Chinese Populations
Allport-Vernon-Lindzey’s Study of Values (1951/1960)	Rodd (1959, with Mainland and Taiwan samples); Huang, Singh, & Thompson (1962 with Morris)*; Chiu, 1967; Li & Yang, 1972; Lei & Yang, 1984** (with CITMS); Wu, 1984; (reported in Yang, 1986:121-122); Li, 1987; Ho, 1990; Li & Yang, 2006	Xu & Wang (2001), Xu et al. (2004);
Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck’s Values Orientations (1961)	Chang, 1959; Y. N. Lin, 1978; Yang & Chang** (1975 with CITMS) in Taiwan; Liu, 1966 in Hong Kong (reported in Yang, 1986:116-117)	Zhang, K. C. (1990); Chi, R. B. (2004), Chi & Kulich (2010a, 2010b)
Morris’ Ways to Live Survey (1956a, b; 1966) (his own 1948 mainland Chinese sample N=743)	Huang, Singh, & Thompson (1962)*; Yang (1972); Yang & Hwang (1984)** in Taiwan (with CITMS) (reported in Yang, 1986:117-118); Xie Huiling (1987),	Garrott (1995a, b; 2000); Xu & Yang (2008), Zhao (2002) using Takakatsue Kato’s “C” version (1964)
Rokeach’s Values Survey (RVS, 1967, 1973)	Appleton (1970; 1979); Grichting (1971); Ng et al., 1982 (with CVS);	Wang, X. L. (王新玲, 1987), Huang, Zhang, & Zhang

	Wang (1981); Committee for Education Planning (CEP, 1983) in Taiwan (from Yang, 1986:122-123); Lau (1992 comparing Hong Kong and Singapore); Hofstede & Bond (1984), Bond (1988) (all noted in Bond 1986:214, 222); Ho (1990); Wang (1994); K.K. Hwang (1995); Feather (1986a, 1986b); Katz, Juni, & Shope (1993); Lau (1988); Lau & Wong (1992) (reported in Peng et al., 1997:333)	(黄希庭, 张进辅, 张蜀林, 1989); Kou (寇, 1993); Dou & Huang (2006); Ye (2007a, 2007b); Huang, Dou, & Zheng (2008)
CCC's Chinese Values Survey (CVS, 1987) with Michael Bond (40 items)	CCC (1987); Bond (1988); Guan & Dodder (1998, 2001); Matthews (2000; 2001); Chang, Wong, & Koh (2003); Pickering & Hornby (2005)	Garrott (1995a); Fan, Y. (2000, extension to 71 items); Kulich (1997, extension to 60 items)
Bales & Couch's Values Test Scale (VTS, 1969)		Kou (2002) related to parenting styles
Schwartz's Values Survey (SVS, 1992, 2005a)		Of Schwartz's (1994:36) 38 school teacher samples, 6 were Mainland Chinese; Bond & Chi (1997); Kulich (1998), Kulich, Zhang, & Zhu (2006), Zhang, Y. F. (2007); Yuan (2009), Montgomery (2006), Hughes (2007), Littrell & Montgomery (in progress)
Schwartz's Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ) (Schwartz, 2005b)	Lam, T. H., Stewart, S. M., Yip, P. S. F., Leng, G. M., Ho, L. M., Ho, S. Y., & Lee, P. W. H. (2004)	Xu, J. J. (2008); Wang, X. M., (2009); Guo, Y. F. (2009); Niu, C. Y. (2009); Zhong (2010)
Hideaki & Takakatsue Kato's value scales (1964)		Noted by R. Zhang (1993), used by Zhang & Ma (2002)
Gordon's Survey of Interpersonal Values (SIV) (1960, 1975)	Tarwater (1966 in Taiwan) (from Yang, 1986:122)	
Edward's Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS, 1959) – 15 psychological needs/values	Hchu & Yang** (1972 with CITMS); C. H. Hwang (1989, summarized in Yang, 1996:481). See Yang (1986:109-110) for list of more than ten representative studies in Taiwan since 1963.	

Sources: Column one studies are all discussed in Chapter 3. Sources for Column two are primarily from Yang (1986:106-170), Yang (1996:480-486) and Bond (1996:208-226). The Chinese Mainland studies in Column three are from new research conducted for this paper and are discussed in Chapter 6.

* Starred studies (*) represent those that use several scales for correlation of items, validity/reliability testing or comparative factors.

** Double starred (**) also represent multiple scale studies, but those specifically employing Chinese indigenous scales, which can be found in Table 5.9.

5.2.4.2 Chinese Indigenous Values Scale Development

But as this project has sought to point out, adapting etic research for local use alone is not sufficient, or in the long-term, even desired. K. S. Yang notes,

An ‘etic’ approach using universal categories or constructs, no matter how carefully executed, will be unable to unravel those psychological characteristics that are unique to, and most representative of, Chinese people as a cultural group. In order to understand Chinese personality better, an ‘emic’ approach using specific Chinese categories or constructs should be given more weight in future research. (1986:166)

Table 5.9 provides an overview of the studies that Taiwan scholars sought to develop toward such an “emic” orientation.

Table 5.9. Indigenous Scale Development in Chinese Taiwan

Scale Authors, Year	Indigenous Scale Name	Applications, Samples
Hchu & Yang, 1972 ; Yang & Hchu, 1974 (development reported in Yang, 1986:152-153)	Chinese Individual Traditionality-Modernity Scale (CITMS)	6 step rating scale of 50 items; Used by Yang & Chang, 1975
Yang & Cheng (1987)	40 traditional values, testing Kahn (1979) and Redding (1984) post-Confusion hypothesis	9 Taiwan privately-owned companies. Factors = Chinese Familism, Modesty and Contentment, Face and Relationship Orientation, Solidarity and Harmoniousness, Capacity for Hardship and Perseverance
Chinese Psychological Association (CPA, 1979) ; Bureau of Social Welfare, (BSW, 1980) (reported in Yang, 1986: 124-125)	22 item comprehensive Chinese personal characteristics + 16 goals of life + most valuable achievement	CPA N=17,000 Taiwan college and university students BSW N=4,000 12-20 year olds in Taiwan
Yu, 1990	Social-oriented achievement motivation (SOAM) ; Individual-oriented achievement motivation (IOAM)	
Yang, Yu, & Yeh, 1991; Yang, 1992	Multidimensional Scale of Chinese Individual Traditionality (MS-CIT) Multidimensional Scale of Chinese Individual Modernity (MS-CIM)	Multiple studies summarized in K. S. Yang (2003)

Sources: Summarized from Yang (1986:106-170) and Yang (1996:480-486).

The interesting thing to note about the development of indigenous scales by Taiwan-based scholars is that these (1) generally were initiated much earlier than in China, due to obvious historical, economic, and international relation reasons, and (2) that they almost expressly seek to measure aspects of traditionality compared to modernity (which has been a feature of the research from K. S. Yang, K. K Hwang, and their associates). This fits to some degree a stated mission of the regime in Taiwan toward preserving the historical cultural continuity of China, which is in clear contrast to the Mainland's post-Liberation and specifically 1966-1976 Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution, which aimed to wipe out the traditional "shackles" and feudal (classed) constraints. In the People's Republic, anti-Confucianism, anti-bourgeois, and anti-Westernization campaigns continued until the mid-1980s, even under the initial thawing of the Four Modernizations.

5.2.4.3 Modernization and Values Change Studies in Chinese Contexts

The earlier "modernization" studies focus of Taiwan might also have just been a product of the times related to growing prosperity and earlier influence from US media and academics in particular. Were these concerns about whether modernization was undercutting traditional Chinese culture – reflections of an increasing generational and cultural gap, where the older generation looked back with hope to their China roots, but the youth looked forward to an American future? Similar themes have emerged in the Mainland, though later (generally starting from the late 1980s or mid-1990s). However, as the next chapter will show, in the People's Republic, such studies were not as situated in social psychology, but rather in language and culture teaching departments, and thus have not been as empirical. These developments also came more compressed and in more rapid succession, dealing with the more pressing realities of globalization (the next stage of development after modernization?). This motivated Mainland indigenous studies to focus more on the practicality of value orientations related to people's social and economic progress, so scale development, if any, was in specific domains like success-oriented interpersonal values and work values.

In reflecting on the non-Mainland studies, albeit it over a decade ago, Yang notes that "more and better studies should be carried out into the change of Chinese character [values] under the impact of modernization" (Yang, 1986:168). Further, "Where there have been a number of studies of the change of Chinese personality, virtually no systematic research has been done to attempt to understand why and how specific Chinese personality characteristics [values] have been changing in certain directions under modernization" (1986:169).

This is a point I strongly echo, as these “whys” are certainly contextually motivated, and illustrate the need – only a few representative studies are cited by Yang, and work in the Mainland might balance assumptions made so far. It is one thing to say that “Chinese values” are changing, but it is quite another to examine “how” they are changing, “where,” and “why” such changes might be happening (if the scholar even assumes that there is at some historical juncture an assumed, shared “Chinese cultural heritage.”). Determinants like time, location, and situation may all need to be factored in more carefully to note subtle differences instead of just standardizing means for generalizations.

Note, as an example, the variations of two sequential studies. (1) David Y. F. Ho (1990) reports the findings that, compared with data collected in 1984 and 1989 [in Hong Kong], the 1989 [students] group put more emphasis on economic and social values and less on aesthetic ones, assigned more importance to a comfortable life, a world at peace and freedom, and less to ambition and obedience. (2) In research done at virtually the same time, C. H. Hwang’s (1989) follow-up study reports that three comparable samples of students from National Taiwan Normal University showed increasing needs in factors of Exhibition, Autonomy, Intraception, Succorance, Change, and Heterosexuality and decreasing needs in factors of Deference, Order, Dominance, Nurturance, Endurance, and Aggression (each reported in Yang, 1996). Both are “values studies,” but Ho’s (1990) work clearly highlights Hong Kong shifts toward terminal idealized values (using Rokeach terms), while Hwang’s (1989) study suggests more individualization and less collectivization (using personal preference terms from Edwards’ EPPS, 1959), though he does not clearly report the contextual factors that might have brought about these changes.

Though it will be the focus of the next factor, one wonders what comparable studies have shown in the Mainland or other Chinese contexts at that time? Using Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck’s (1961) more generalized categories, K. C. Zhang (1990) reported that college students in Xi’an, central China’s Shaanxi Province, displayed a stronger tendency to prefer the future orientation and a weaker tendency to prefer the present orientation in the time-perspective sphere, a weaker tendency to prefer the submission-to-nature orientation in the man-nature sphere and no differential preferences on the activity and relational spheres. Unfortunately, he did not use carefully scaled instrument. Most likely the research for this MA project (and perhaps for Ho and Hwang) was in process before some of the unsettling national events, so we also have no clear “pre”- and “post”-Tiananmen assessments. We are unfortunately left with an inadequate picture of how different samples responded during in this 1984-1989 period of growing Mainland student dissatisfaction and unrest. The next chapter will focus on the Mainland and on how some studies

since are being carried out, though still with some inadequate scales and insufficient attention to context factors.

5.2.4.4 Summarizing the Need for Standardization of Indigenous Studies

This discussion has illustrated another plaguing problem in past values research, that of using divergent and uncorrelated scales. Yang notes that “as a field for scientific research and discourse, the study of Chinese personality [and values] and its change has been theoretically underdeveloped, in the sense that previous attempts at theory building have been few and fragmented...” (Yang, 1986:169). Scholars abroad like Hofstede, Schwartz, and others using their surveys (including those now integrating Inglehart) have increasingly sought to compare and correlate their scales to others (as noted in Chapter 3), so there are some promising trends in this direction that we hope Chinese communities of scholars will emulate.

One guiding goal of this dissertation has been to take up Yang’s challenge, who also notes, “To remedy this unsatisfactory condition, better theories should be constructed anew or developed from the old, so that they can be used as tools for integrating previous findings, generating testable hypotheses, and explaining new phenomena in the formation and change of Chinese personality [values]” (Yang, 1986:170). If we can consider the work of Schwartz as possibly the only theoretically integrated universal values theory (as scholars from both sociology cited in Chapter 2 and many from psychology affirm in Chapter 3), and make sure that it is culturally well-adapted to the Chinese context (with the emic well-represented in the etic), then we might be able to better meet the Yang’s next challenge. “Such theories must be able to explain adequately how modal Chinese personality [and value] patterns have been formed in a historical context, have developed as a result of socialization, and have changed under the impact of modernization” (Yang, 1986:170). That has indeed been the overarching goal of this chapter, and will be continued in the Chapter 6 by adding “contextual” elements to Yang’s list – those of the Chinese Mainland.

5.2.5 Empirical Research Toward Building Theoretical Frameworks

Previous chapters have introduced (see Sec. 3.2.1 and 3.1.2.3) the classic theory-based frameworks of Hofstede (1980, 2001), Schwartz (1992, 2005a), Inglehart (1997; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005), and studies like Bond & Mak (1996) or Chen & Starosta (1998), which consider Chinese culture in its broad context or in comparison to many other cultures. In this chapter the emic survey of Michael Bond has been mentioned (the Chinese Culture Connection’s CVS, 1987). Yet he notes, “By the early 1990’s the CVS had served its purpose...(and) I judged that the CVS had been justly supplanted by the superior Schwartz value survey (SVS)” (Bond, in press:1).

“Because of its conceptual and empirical grounding, the SVS has assumed its rightful place in the Pantheon of established psychological measures, and provided a model for the key construct of values in a theory of social responses and behaviors” (2010:3). Therefore the following chapters will consider how to integrate some of this indigenous knowledge in meaningful and reliable ways into research designs with the SVS (see Chapter 8 for qualitative and 9 for quantitative attempts). Volume 2 in particular will focus on linking new multi-method probes with the universal framework of Schwartz.

5.3 Integrating Conceptualizations of “Chinese Values”

5.3.1 Reviewing and Integrating Emic “Chinese Values” Lists

It is now time to review all this descriptive input and seek to construct some consolidated lists for further analysis. There is precedent for doing so, namely in the work of Bales and Couch (1959) and Schwartz (1992). Proposing such integrated lists hopefully provides itemized frames of reference and linguistic sets of correlates for future analytical work. In the work summarized so far, several important conceptualizations can serve as value list benchmarks.

5.3.1.1 Smiths 1890s “Chinese Characteristics” Benchmark

It seemed best to start with the values “characteristics” described by A. H. Smith (1890). Though dated, his was one of the earliest and most extensive listings (Mackerras’ sampling noted earlier left out many items). The main challenge in using such a list in emic research is one of translation. I initially backtranslated from Chinese versions, then located the original English book, and in the end decided to include both. What both Ku and Said stated about indigenous expressions proved true – that a culture’s deepest values may not always be clearly translated in meaning-transferrable terms.

Some items are difficult to describe with one term (as Ku, 1915/2006 noted). Table 5.10 provides my rendering of Smith’s 26 concepts (with alternate, updated “value-like” proposals in parenthesis) as a historical benchmark list of “Chinese values.” Some terms needed additional explanation, and the anti-values, “negative values,” or more accurately, his cultural pronouncements and “value judgments” on the Chinese are marked in **bold**.

Table 5.10. Smith's "Chinese Characteristics" with Varied Translated Expressions

1. "Face"* 面子，脸面	10. The Absence of Nerves (doing everything slowly, numb, not hectic) 不紧不慢，麻木不仁，缺乏紧张，	19. Benevolence* (human-heartedness) 仁慈，仁爱之心，仁慈行善，慈悲，善举
2. Economy* (frugality) 节俭，持家，省吃俭用，节约，节省	11. Contempt for Foreigners* (cultural superiority) 轻蔑外国人，轻视外族，优越感，含蓄的冷落	20. The Absence of Sympathy (avoid vulnerability, lack of compassion) 缺乏同情心，缺乏同情
3. Industry* (diligence/hard work) 辛勤劳作，勤劳，勤勉，勤奋，勤劳刻苦	12. The Absence of Public Spirit* (particularistic, inner-circle oriented) 缺乏公共精神，缺乏公心	21. Social Typhoon (easy to get angry) 社会台风，社会风暴，社会风波
4. Politeness* 礼节，礼貌，礼仪	13. Conservatism* (over-respect for tradition) 守旧，因循守旧，崇古，述古，崇拜过去，循规守矩，墨守成规，固执，传统，迷信风水，保守	22. Mutual Responsibility and Respect for Law (family reputation, an individual's crime causes the whole family to suffer), 连坐受法，互相牵连，株连守法，共担责任与尊重律法
5. The Disregard for Accuracy* (not punctual, (flexibility with time) 缺乏时间观念，漠视时间，忽视精确，漠视精确，双重标准缺乏精确，模棱两可，模糊性，不确定性	14. Indifference to Comfort and Convenience (contented with ones lot, fatalistic) 随遇而安，不讲究舒适和方便，漠视舒适方便	23. Mutual Suspicion* (be cautious of others, wariness) 互相猜疑，用人不疑，疑人不用，互不信任，缺乏信任
6. The Talent for Misunderstanding (easy to misunderstand others) 易于误解，误解的才能，天性误解	15. Physical Vitality (working hard for survival and improvement) 顽强生存，生命力，生命活力，再生能力，适应能力，长寿，恢复再生能力，康复能力，繁衍能力	24. Absence of Sincerity* (be slow to build trust) 缺乏信，言而无信，缺乏诚信，虚情假意，表里不一，口是心非
7. The Talent for Indirection (inexplicit, indirect) 拐弯抹角，欺瞒的才能，迂回曲折，委婉，爱绕弯子，拐弯迂回	16. Patience and Perseverance (tolerance, endurance) 遇事忍耐，忍耐与坚韧，能忍且韧，坚韧，忍耐力，韧性，耐久性，耐心，坚忍，忍受苦难	25. Polytheism, Pantheism, Atheism (adhere to diverse beliefs, polytheistic) 多神论，泛神论，无神论，多元信仰
8. Flexible Inflexibility (feigning outward obedience but not bowing in ones heart - intellectual autonomy) 柔顺固执，柔顺的顽固性，顺而不从	17. Content and Cheerfulness (enjoying life/ being optimistic) 知足常乐，宿命论，天命，乐观，天意，自得其乐	26. The Real Condition of China and Her Present Needs (practicality, functional) 中国的现实与需要，现实环境和目前需要，中国的现实与时务
9. Intellectual Turbidity* (complex, convoluted thinking) 智力混沌，思绪含混，心智混乱，思路不清楚，智力迟滞，含糊不清，头脑糊涂	18. Filial Piety* (veneration, respect of elders) 孝心，孝悌为先，孝行当先，孝顺，孝，孝行美德，守孝，孝道	

* Starred items are those that appeared in Mackerras' sample list (1999:45). **Bold** items are negative. Variant Chinese terms are compiled from four translated versions available (1998, 2002, 2005, 2006).

5.3.1.2 Lin's and Soong's 1930s Benchmark Lists

To provide other benchmarks, there are two more important list: one provided by Yutang Lin, which most scholars acknowledge to be a positive, patriotic, Confucian literati perspective (cf. Mackerras 1999:65-66). Conversely, Madam Chiang Kai-shek (Soong May-ling, in pinyin Song Meiling, 宋美龄) sought to note Chinese traits that were not so positive – a list of anti-values, or value needs – in order to win the sympathy of the American public,

Lin (1936/1989) suggested that the first item, mellowness, is the most basic one, serving as the source of all the others and a cornerstone of Confucianism (which he unabashedly placed as the focus of all genteel Chinese educated values):

A mellow understanding of life and of human nature is, and always have been the Chinese ideal of character, and from that understanding other qualities are derived, such a pacifism, contentment, **calm** and **strength of endurance** which distinguish the Chinese character...strength of character is really **strength of mind**, according to the Confucianists. (Lin, 1936/1989:40-41)

Table 5.11. Comparing Lin and Chiang's Value Lists (Positive and Negative)

Lin Yutang's Positive List (1936)	Madam Chiang (Song Meiling's) List (1940)
Mellowness	"The seven deadly sins" (negative traits)
Patience	Self-seeking
Indifference	"Face"
Old roguery	Cliquism
Pacifism	Defeatism
Contentment	Inaccuracy
Humour	Lack of self-discipline
Conservatism	Evasion of responsibility

I have put several of these items in bold, for although Lin only lists 8 items, these extras could well be added to the list, as well as the value of **family, self-restraint, practicality, materialism, and enjoyment of life (hedonism)** (which are explained below). Before touching on family, I include one of Lin's summary passages to illustrate the other values:

In the general survey of Chinese art and Chinese life, the conviction must have been forced upon us that the Chinese are past masters of the art of living. There is a certain wholehearted concentration on the material life, a certain zest for living, which is mellower, perhaps deeper, anyway just as intense as in the West. In China the spiritual values have not been separated from the material values, but rather help man in a keener enjoyment of life as it falls to our lot. This accounts for our joviality and our incorrigible humour. (Lin, 1936/1989:326)

In a later passage, Lin explains the supreme importance of the family as the heart of Chinese culture and place where these values are cultivated:

It very nearly takes the place of religion by giving man a sense of social survival and family continuity, thus satisfying man's craving for immortality.... The family system is the negation of individualism itself, and it holds a man back as the reins of the jockey hold back the dashing Arabian horse. (1989:168-170)

Lin does, however, also admit that the family system is the root of a great deal of corruption in China, such as "nepotism and favouritism, robbing the nation to enrich the family" (noted in Mackerras, 1999:65).

With his literary ease, Lin also contributes to some of our most endearing and enduring conceptions of “the Chinese:”

They are in fact the three Muses ruling over China. Their names are Face, Fate, and Favor.... It is not a face that can be washed or shaved, but a face that can be “granted” and “lost” and “fought for” and “presented as a gift.... Face cannot be translated or defined.... It is more powerful than fate and favor, and more respected than the constitution. It often decides a military victory or defeat, and can demolish a whole government ministry. It is that hollow thing which men in China live by. (Lin, 1936/1989:135)

Was he playing with the Orientalism of his day to cultivate a unique concept of Chinese “Otherness” to distinctively position his beloved civilization? Such assessments certainly portrayed “the Chinese” as hierarchically-embedded individuals, face-conscious, context-dependent, conservative, and collectivist and those perceptions persist (see Bond, 1986).

Another who utilized perceptions, but perhaps more to draw public sympathy and political support, was Soong May-ling, Madam Chiang Kai-shek. Through her public speeches, address to the joint-houses of Congress, and press conference with President Roosevelt (documented in Mackerras, 1999:65-66) was one of the most influential of all image-makers for China, especially during the war against Japan. Almost echoing some of the negative and judgmental “Chinese characteristics” of A. H. Smith, she outlined the “seven deadly sins” which had held the country back (Chiang, 1940:38). She passionately pleaded that the invasion of the “barbaric” Japanese had “shocked the suffering patriotic people” of China into a realization of “some of our national problems” and American support would give them the ability to overcome these deadly sins and lead to cultural resurgence (Chiang, 1940:42-43). This reflected another of the enduring Chinese virtues – **optimism** (as both Mackerras, 1999:66 noted, and Weng, 2008 has proposed).

5.3.1.3 Peng et al.’s late 1990s Cultural “Chinese Values” Benchmark

This chapter started by citing Peng et al. (1997), who provided another benchmark. Their article discussed a procedure whereby a panel of 17 cultural experts helped rate 52 value items and noted the 13 that had the highest agreement, either as most valued by Chinese or most not, in which case they were most valued by Americans. Their highly rated list of nine Chinese values, and a confirming list of supporting literature are both listed in Table 5.12.

Table 5.12. Nine Generally Agreed-upon and Expert-confirmed “Chinese Values”

Accepting my position in life	Bloom (1981)
Authority	Singh, Huang, & Thompson (1962); Ho & Lee (1974); Meade (1970); Mede & Whitaker (1967)
Honoring parents and elders	Ho (1994b); Ho & Kang (1984); Lockett (1988)
Humble	Chiu & Kosinski (1994); Yang (1970)
Inner harmony	Abbott (1970); Young (1982)
Moderate	Chen et al., (1995)
Respect for Tradition	Abbott (1976)
Self-Discipline	Ho (1981); Ralston et al, (1992)
Social Order	Bond & Wang (1983); Earle (1969)

Source: Listing of studies in Peng et al. (1997:339)

After providing this list, they specifically noted, “no literature that we are aware of suggests value differences that are inconsistent with our experts’ judgments”. This supports their suggestion that analyzing “the Chinese” through historical, sociological, and ethnographic studies, as well as psychological reports, has merit, if we agree on some of the more general aspects of “Chinese” values and identity.

Each of the items listed above originally arose out of the Rokeach values list (1973) or Schwartz’s integration or adaptation of it to over 50 items (now 58). In the next chapters, exploratory classroom values exercises will be carried out to determine if these items still surface as prominent values. One of the challenges reported in the Peng et al. series of studies is their critique of aggregated responses (1997:329), and they also acknowledge varied “mental constructive processes” [and I would add contextual variation] in self-reports by individuals [from different sub-cultural locations].

Yet they put forward a reification of “Chinese values” as being a distinct “cultural” set, even though they draw on, and even admit to, some inconsistencies in data samples from Beijing, Singapore, and other studies that were conducted in Taiwan, Hong Kong, or Chinese groups in the US. As noted earlier, this is a concerning tendency of cultural psychology – though seeking to not be universalistic, it still lumps or norms groups by assumed “civilization” or “ethnic” origins (e.g., their demarcation of “East Asian students,” no matter where they were from or were living at the time, 1997:335). Does historical context trump situational context?

5.3.1.4 Bond's late 1980s Chinese Indigenous Measure CVS Benchmark

Another benchmark was mentioned in Sec. 3.2.1.2. Michael Bond and his associates sought to compile a working list from an emic perspective on Chinese values with the express purpose of testing the confirmatory validity of Hofstede's dimensions with a sample of very different origin and situation. Though never intended to be a measure of Chinese society, it does represent a procedure (which I further explain, replicate, and apply in Chapter 8) that generated a list of what most would agree represent a least one fairly broad set of Chinese values (see Table 5.13). I place it at the conclusion of this chapter, since it provides the broadest and most recent list by which we can assess other etic instruments (do they provide meaning equivalents or most of these items?) or emic measures (do they capture these sufficiently?). This list of items has more similarity to values measures being developed in the PRC, as the next chapter shows.

The list is not without problems or critiques. In Chapter 8, I report on my own attempts to update the CVS using proverbs and report on several related projects there. In the next chapter it is noted that the Mainland scholar Ying Fan (Fan, 2000) also re-examined these 40 values and amended the list to produce a new list of Chinese Culture Values (CCVs), which contains 71 core values. Each of these attempts to compile and list indigenous terms form important emic checklists for further research developments on "the Chinese."

Yet, we do not know at what level these values constructions are actually operative among "Chinese" persons. Are they describing ideas that influence personal decision-making or behavior choices in the culture? Are they summarizing the social expectations of ingroups or social relationship networks? Or do they rather reflect the litany of national- or ethnic-cultural myths by which "a people" identifies itself, or differentiates their group from "Others"?

These are the issues raised in Chapter 1. As proposed in the "multi-M" model of cultural representations (see Figure 1.11, Kulich, 2007:218-227), these combined lists of values might function at multiple levels, in multiple ways, from multiple perspectives. Likewise the research assumptions and methodologies used to elicit or analyze them may bring out divergent results. These methodological and interpretative challenges will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

Table 5.13. Bond and the CCC's Chinese Values Survey (CVS)

CV1 孝 Filial piety (服从父母，尊敬父母，遵从祖先，financial support of 供养父母)	CV 11 团结 Solidarity with others	CV21 诚恳 Sincerity	CV 31 知耻 Having a sense of shame
CV2 勤劳 (努力) Industry (working hard)	CV 12 中庸之道 Following the middle way, Moderation	CV22 清高 Keeping oneself disinterested and pure	CV32 有礼貌 Courtesy
CV3 容忍 Tolerance of others	CV 13 修养 Self cultivation	CV 23 俭 Thriftiness	CV33 安分守己 Contentedness with one's position in life
CV4 随和 Harmony with others	CV 14 尊卑有序 Ordering relationships by status and observing this order	CV 24 耐力毅力 Persistence (perseverance)	CV 34 保守 Being conservative
CV5 谦虚 Humbleness	CV15 正义感 Sense of righteousness	CV 25 耐心 Patience	CV35 要面子 Preserving your "face"
CV6 忠于上司 Loyalty to superiors	CV16 恩威并施 Benevolent authority	CV 26 报恩与报仇 Repayment of both the good or the evil that another person has caused you (retribution)	CV36 知己之交 A close intimate friend
CV 7 礼仪 Observation of rites and social rituals	CV17 不重竞争 Non-competitiveness	CV 27 文化优越感 A sense of cultural superiority	CV 37 贞洁 Chastity in women
CV 8 礼尚往来 Reciprocation of greetings, favors and gifts	CV18 稳重 Personal steadiness and stability	CV 28 适应环境 Adaptability	CV38 寡欲 Having few desires
CV 9 仁爱 (恕，人情) Kindness (Forgiveness, Compassion)	CV19 廉洁 Resistance to corruption	CV 29 小心谨慎 Prudence (Carefulness)	CV39 尊敬传统 Respect for tradition
CV 10 学识 (教育) Knowledge (Education)	CV20 爱国 Patriotism	CV 30 信用 Trustworthiness	CV 40 财富 Wealth

Source: adapted from the Chinese Culture Connection (1987:147-148)

5.3.2 Monolith or Myth? How Extensive/Persuasive are “Chinese Values?”

Each society has its own regime of truth, its ‘general politics’ of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements...the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true.

Culture Critic Michel Foucault (1980:131)

Foucault’s approach to cultural analysis revolutionized the way critical scholars look at culture and society. And yet, does his “discourse of power” (admittedly a Western product) function in Asian or Chinese societies? If power structures were the determinant of cultural systems, then there should be incredible diversity across Asia, where one finds everything from strong-armed dictatorships (e.g., North Korea, Myanmar) to monarchies with parliamentary representation (e.g., Thailand, Malaysia, Brunei, and until recently Bhutan), to thriving free-economic democracies (e.g., Japan, Singapore). It may be in vogue to apply Foucault to the analysis of semiotic or discourse systems, but when is it relevant and when is it also “an imposed etic”?

Having lived extensively in three distinct Chinese societies as an observer-participant, based on Foucault’s propositions, there should have been noticeable and obvious difference in the expressions of “Chineseness” or “Chinese values” that I was exposed to. Structurally (and therefore culturally) what could be similar to the American influenced/leaning Taiwan of Chiang Ching-kuo’s reign (my stay there dated from 1979-1981 and repeated annual month-long stays until 1985), or the British influenced Singapore of Lee Kuan-yew and Goh Chok-tong and their People’s Action Party (during my stay there from 1982-1986 and regular visits back until 1990), or of Deng Xiaoping’s, Hu Yaobang’s, and Zhao Ziyang’s self-reliant Open-Door and Reform policies, continuing with Jiang Zemin’s, and now Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao’s Socialist Market Economy policies in the Chinese mainland? There are some admitted strands of diversity, yes, but despite quite variant forms of power, the “sense of common Chineseness” seems to prevail to some degree across each of these varying societies, which would defy Foucault. Is this actually the historical, racial, and cultural legacy of the “Yellow people” and “heirs of the dragon” (e.g., Hou Dejian’s best selling song 龙的传人 of the 1980s and 90s), or is there more to this than the Western observer and critic can fully understand?

There are naturally variations, and many of them are geographical, but even that needs to be read as a “geographic ancestry of birth.” Friends of mine whose families have lived for 50 years in Taiwan or 80 years in Singapore would assert, “we’re Shandong people, you know – we prefer

noodles and our grain alcohol,” or “we’re from Fujian, so we’re more mellow, eat rice, and a bit of mild rice wine after meals.” Hong-ming Ku illustrated this phenomenon.

The character of the Northern Chinese, as you know, is as different from that of the Southern Chinese as the character of the Germans is different from that of the Italians. But what I mean by the spirit of the Chinese people, is the spirit by which the Chinese people live, something constitutionally distinctive in the mind, temper, and sentiment of the Chinese people which distinguishes them from all other people, especially from those of modern Europe and America (Ku, 1915/1998:9).

Whether we agree with or acknowledge that notion or not, this is a persuasive and enduring discourse among people of Chinese descent, persisting in their perceptual world of ethnic identification. Any study of values needs to consider both the mythic level of broader ethnocultural association, as well as the regional realities that are becoming increasingly divergent, with unequal levels between coastal and inland regions, urban and rural areas, and other geographical or ethnic situated contexts (e.g. Yunnan’s, Shaanxi’s, Gansu’s, and Qinghai’s minorities, or the Tibetan Buddhist or Xinjiang Muslim autonomous regions). When does one’s cultural/ethnic identity/values-set prevail (when meeting “foreigners”), and when does one’s geographic or other identity/values-sets overrule? Sorting out the levels of values and their influence on identity, attitudes, and behavior continue to be perplexing problems - there is still much to be studied and parsed out on the ongoing research agenda.

5.4 Updating Analysis of “the Chinese”

A prominent Chinese scholar once noted radical changes and cultural shifts, and commented:

The larger problem is: How can we Chinese feel at ease in the new world which at first sight appears to be so much at variance with what we have long regarded as our own civilization? For it is perfectly natural and justifiable that a nation with a glorious past and with a distinctive civilization of its own making should never feel quite at home in a new civilization, if that new civilization is looked upon as part and parcel imported from alien lands and forced upon it by external necessities of national existence. And it would surely be a great loss to mankind at large if the acceptance of this new civilization should take the form of abrupt displacement instead of organic assimilation, thereby causing the disappearance of the old civilization. The real problem, therefore, may be restated thus: How can we best assimilate modern civilization in such a manner as to make it congenial and congruous and continuous with the civilization of our own making?”

As contemporary as those ideas sound, they were not made over worries about the influence of the WTO or globalization. Shi Hu made them in 1933 as China then also faced similar challenges of international integration (published in Hu, 1934). And yet they still ring with relevance today as China again seeks to clarify her collective soul and place in the world.

5.4.1 Considering China in Change – Are Values Shifts Occurring?

The issues of identifying the core of Chinese culture for its evaluation, maintenance, and development were at stake then, and seem to be again now. In the current climate of internationalization, Wenzhong Hu provided a related commentary:

During the past two decades China has undergone tremendous social changes.... China is deeply involved in the globalization process...(and) has been adopting a policy of opening out to the outside world and established extensive political, economic, and cultural ties with many nations of the world.... Against this background Chinese people's values are changing rapidly. What was once held as gospel truth is now forsaken as an outdated norm and instead people, especially younger people, are acquiring values, which are in many ways different from the values held by their parents and forefathers. (Hu, 2003)

There is no doubt that China is in transition. Parts of the country are globalizing, others modernizing, and almost every part is developing and changing in some way. There are internal forces pushing China to catch up or gain an equal playing field with other countries as well as external forces in economics (e.g., the WTO, World Bank, Asian Development Bank, Multinationals), politics, medicine, and health (e.g., involvement of the WHO in the SARS and H5N1 bird flu virus crises), and in myriad types of cultural exchange or international contact. In the 1970s or 80's one might still have been justified in considering the Chinese people somewhat homogeneous, by the mid 1990s, it seems that this is no longer the situation.

China is diversifying. There have always been some clear regional and cultural demarcations between northern Chinese and southern Chinese. But now the subcultures of coastal China are quite distinct from inland China. More and more we need to consider the cultural variations between rural and urban Chinese, or even those between metropolitan centers like Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Chongqing. Such increasingly cosmopolitan mega-cities share some common characteristics, but also have their regional differences, not to mention differences in provincial-level cities. And awareness of the cultural distinctions of the minorities in Yunnan, Xizang (Tibet), Xinjiang, and other provinces has grown.

Dan Landis (2008) provides the following analysis of what he considers the Chinese example of change due to political and economic policies.

In China, the “opening up” since 1978, has produced rather striking shifts in the norms of the society (Qi & Tang, 2004, Yuxim, Petula & Lun, 2007). Qi and Tang (2004) have examined the changes in moral thinking as a result of the “opening up” policies of the Chinese government since 1978. They note, “...the meaning of reform is to change the hierarchical social system of interpersonal dependence, due to Confucian influence, traditional ideas, and lifestyles that are not considered appropriate for modernization...” (p. 466). They point to changes in how children see decision-making (e.g., only about 30% made decisions in terms of collective behavior solely), adopt value orientations (e.g., when asked about their desired lifestyle, only 21% chose to be useful to society), and sexual attitudes (e.g., a clear majority expect that intercourse will occur before marriage). These are considered major shifts in moral attitudes, but they are not without negative consequences (e.g., the first cause of death among young people is suicide). It will certainly be a major undertaking to allow liberalization in moral and political realms while controlling the negative consequences. (Landis, 2008:340)

In this growing heterogeneity, what does it mean to have Chinese values now? How do we study the “core” of such a shifting context? Are there still some enduring traditional Chinese values, attitudes, and beliefs? Or do we now need to categorically consider younger Chinese as being more influenced by consumerism, modernism, post-modernism, globalization, or westernization? The mass-scale learning of English mass production of Hollywood DVDs, pop music CDs, fast-paced MTV, and high-speed Internet have certainly all been catalysts for new thought patterns. But how are these impacting today’s and tomorrow’s Chinese values?

5.4.2 Reconsidering Transitions: Taiwan’s Traditionality to Modernity?

An early focus of indigenous psychology was to consider some of the unique domains of Chinese personality. Kuo-Shu Yang (1986, 1996) was one of the leaders in this research, especially in identifying a list of indigenous motivational personality items. Though he calls these “Chinese personality” items, they equate closely to the values items of Rokeach (1973) or Schwartz (1992). Yang’s early studies noted shifts on the emphasis on certain items over time (see the contrast between his 1986 and 1996 listing), and began proposing his indigenous theory of modernization. Yang and his colleagues in Taiwan have continued to research Chinese individual traditionality/modernity (T/M), constructing two valid T/M instruments (the MS-CIT and MS-

CIM) and showcased the significant dialogue of this work via the special issue in the *Asian Journal of Social Psychology* in 2003.

That issue showed that Yang's protégé, however, has another perspective on T/M research. He advocates two levels of Confucianism, the more idealistic orientation that scholars aim for, and the "ethics for ordinary people," which are still steeped in timeworn Confucian principles (e.g., Hwang, 2007:264-269) such as the "face and favor model. He challenges the theoretical and empirical grounding of Yang's instruments (Hwang, 2003a, 2003b).

Yet Yang demonstrates the empirical coexistence of traditionality and modernity as measured by the MS-CIT and MS-CIM as being in some degree uniquely Chinese/Asian, and argues it supports his "limited convergence hypothesis" (Yang, 1988a). This postulates that the modern psychological characteristics in all contemporary societies will only partially converge, and the traditional psychological characteristics can only partially diverge. This line of research is consistent with the thinking of modernity theorists (Eisenstadt, 2001; Tu, 2000) and holds great promise as a reference and integration point with the psychology of globalization and acculturation (as proposed in Kulich & Zhang, 2010:262). It appears, for example, that the statistical independence of individual T from M is paralleled by what has been observed in various measures of individualism and collectivism (e.g., Oyserman et al., 2002). This supports newer models of the traditional-modern bicultural self (Lu & Yang, 2006) and echoes recent attempts in psychology to conceptualize the self in a global context as a dynamic confluence of multiple cultures (Arnett, 2002; Hermans & Kempen, 1998; Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000).

This calls into question both Yang's conceptualizations of traditionality and Hwang's ideas of Confucianism, since in situated Chinese communities, these elements may be mixed, traded, transformed, or made an unconscious part of almagammated value orientations. Yes, most people of Chinese descent share a strong sense of the core "Chinese values," and "Chineseness" distinctives highlighted in this chapter. How do we reconcile these two realities? Perhaps it must also be asked in what ways are modernized, global, or interactive contexts changing the way which "Chinese" live and think, order, or prioritize their values. The "whens", "hows" and "whys" need to be put at the forefront of the discussion. The encouraging fact is that Chinese scholars themselves are leading the way in this discourse, and their indigenous or situated investigations into self, society, and the that role values might play seem to be uncovering important theories and findings which can inform the broader social science dialogue on these topics.

5.4.3 Chapter Summary

Having traversed these many centuries, perspectives, and writings from astute observers, we now have to consider the “construct validity” of the picture here constructed. Most seem to agree that there has been, and continues to be in some form, a homogenous or at least identifiable core of traits that we could distinctly term “Chinese values.” And we continue to find many studies that pit that set of values against value sets that are quite different in appearance, often “American” or “Western values.” The Chinese-American set of comparisons continues unabated (even in careful cultural psychological work like Peng, Nisbett, & Wong, 1997). But already in 1970, Robin Williams, Jr. was cautioning us about the “melting pot” reification or glossing together the anomaly we might lump together as “Americanness:”

Any attempt to delineate a national character or typical American values or a national basic personality type is extremely hazardous, not only because of serious gaps in the requisite data but also because of the enormous value-diversity of the nation.... American society does not have a completely consistent and integrated value-structure. We do not find a neatly unified ‘ethos’ or an ‘irresistible’ strain toward consistency. (Williams, 1970:450-51)

With the broad contextual divergences and mutated milieu that host “Chinese culture,” even within the Chinese mainland, where large gaps of economic, educational, social, and other types of reality are found between coastal and inland China, urban and rural – not to mention that classic Northerner-Southerner demarcation, do we need to exercise similar vigilance as Williams urges? Or can we at least take these distilled elements with us as a checklist or trial test resource, linked with other more international or more blended value lists, as a tool toward investigating the current state of “Chinese values” in specific populations? This seems to be an endeavor worth trying, and will be carried out in Chapters 8 and 9.

This chapter has sought to provide an overview of the historical and general perspectives of “the Chinese” as their values and related identity aspects have classically been perceived (the first half). It then sought to move on to the specific, scientific studies that have been conducted in non-Mainland Chinese populations, both indigenous and in comparison (the second half). But in varied studies we read of calls for “more data” needed from the PRC, or that “more analysis needs to consider the Mainland.” The assumption for some is that little data exists, or that it is not rigorous, or for many it is just not accessible due to the language and past e-retrieval limitations.

Chapter 6 now addresses how, and what types of studies, have been developing in the Chinese mainland, showing that there is much more research available than we were previously aware of.

This is then followed by considerations on how research design can be adapted for the specific study of the Chinese (Chapter 7) before a summary is provided of how different types of exploratory studies have been conducted in the context of classroom values clarification exercises in China (Chapter 8 and following).

Chapter 6: CONTEMPORARY VALUES STUDIES IN CHINESE FROM THE MAINLAND

6.1 Introduction to Cultural Comparisons Related to the Chinese

6.1.1 Considering Limitations in Mainland Social Science Developments

It was not until a few years after the official end of the Cultural Revolution that Chinese social studies were resumed (1979) and reconstructed in the Chinese mainland. Xiaotong Fei was rehabilitated and asked to relaunch field of sociology at People's University (*Renmin Daxue*) and the fields of psychology, anthropology, and other social studies slowly crept back into the university. However, with such a recent and devastating history, these fields initially dared only to tackle clearly approved or non-controversial topics. This and other reasons contributed to a dearth of empirical research in China (noted early by 杨国枢, Yang, 1996:107; as well as by 胡文仲 Wenzhong Hu, 2005; and 陈国明 Guo-Ming Chen, Keynote address comments, 2007). The increasing number of publications has been written mostly in Chinese and is therefore not readily available or even known to researchers outside of China. To balance these comments we note that until the advent of the *Chinese National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI)*, which was launched in June, 1999 and increasingly comprehensively updated (eventually supplementing some areas back to the early 1990s), the publications that were produced were spottily distributed. Ideological factors also have influenced how “Chinese values” have been studied such that varied approaches to research have been significantly slower in developing.

Further, the prevailing academic tradition has been one of promoting more holistic, philosophical, and ideological approaches to general knowledge (the Confucian conservative legacy overlaid with Marxist orthodoxy). “Good academic writing” exhibits erudite language, broad postulations, clever integration of ideas, and a greater tolerance for (or artful promotion of) ambiguity. Thus, many articles eloquently evaluate past work or propose new ideas with limited citations or empirical support. In the humanities, university promotion systems still acknowledge *only* first authors, so there has been limited research cooperation on larger projects. Each scholar advances by quantity of writing output, so the same study may be published in several locations or forms. One might find exactly the same piece in a conference collection, a journal article, and also as a book chapter. “Establishing a name for oneself” is based more on coming up with a new modification to previous ideas, so “theoretical postulating” prevails without the requisite commitment to work on the more intricate procedures of step-wise theory testing. Journals with a blind review or jury system seem to be scarce or function partially via *guanxi* (关系) networks,

and editing of work submitted is not as rigorous as abroad (guided in part by face saving?). Thus most “research” produced constitutes descriptive summary, generalized commentary, sweeping critique, polemic ideology, or perhaps the creative suggestion of a new point of view.

Conditions are changing, however, and the trends above are giving way to the transition of post-Cultural Revolution, Open Door/Reform, and now WTO modernizations, where social science is increasingly moving toward international standards of literature citation (in a push to comply more with intellectual property rights), theoretical review, hypothesis testing, and more rigorous statistical design. In conducting literature reviews for this project, almost every topic of CNKI literature shows a marked increase in the number of accessible articles and some advances also in the quality of research design since 2000. This chapter notes these developmental trends by first reporting progress on values studies chronologically, then focusing on some of the exemplary programs of empirical research.

6.1.2 Analyzing Chinese Value Study Literature Reviews

Similar with the analysis of the Western values study tradition above, much introductory insight can be gleaned from noting the trend and foci of seminal literature reviews. Table 6.1 highlights the progression and content of those reviews, and then the specific types of studies being conducted are discussed. There has been a steady stream of reviews since 1994, when values studies seemed to appear on the academic radar in China. What little literature existed before 1994 in intercultural or culture studies texts only mentioned values in general, cursory, or introductory terms, if at all. It helps to note that the field of intercultural communications, though an early interest of a number of language and culture scholars in the 1980s and 1990s, wasn’t officially formalized until the establishment of the Chinese Association for Intercultural Communication (CAFIC) at the Harbin Institute of Technology Conference in 1995 (Kulich & Chi, 2009).

6.1.2.1 Chronology of (Pseudo) Literature Reviews

Chapter 2 showed that Western reviews seem to emerge out of each discipline about every 5-10 years to capture significant updates in the field. However, a new Chinese review seems to appear *every* year! Either this supports the comments above about the lack of distribution of academic publications, where new authors are not noticing work recently done, or scholars’ attempts to establish a name for themselves (so that recent or even past substantial work of *others* is not duly noted), lax attitudes toward sourcing and citing, or just the generalizing nature of Chinese scholarship (trying to put in one or two new ideas to what has already been said). It could also signal the urgency of the task of values studies now being taken on in various disciplines, such that

many scholars are seeking, from their disciplinary perspectives, to urge advances to catch up with the rapid trends of cultural change they are witnessing.

Table 6.1. Literature Reviews on Chinese Values Studies (in Chinese)

Author (Year)	Discipline	Focus of Review	# Refs (# pages)
Xiting Huang, Jinfu Zhang & Hong Li (1994)	Psychology (book)	Introductory, conceptual overview and study	Not located
Weiwei Ning (1996a)	Psychology (article)	Seminal review on definitions, structures of values (first mention of Schwartz), link to personality, and values measurement surveys	22* (7 pp)
Yongfang Liu & Yinping Zhong (1997)	Psychology & Education (article)	Introductory summary on values, attitudes, indigenous Chinese philosophical concepts	4 (4 pp)
Yiyin Yang (1998a)	Psychology (article)	Extensive comparative Western and Chinese indigenous review, highlighting theories, approaches, and applications	68 (12pp)
Yiying Yang (1998b)	Psychology (article)	Considers values theory in related to self-orientations (individualism-collectivism) reviewing work by Hofstede, Triandis, Kim	9 (5 pp)
Junfeng Ma (1999)	Philosophy (article)	General, toward a domestic approach, relates values (价值论) to other concepts, cognitive choices, decision-making	10* (4 pp)
Xuewei Zhai (1999)	Sociology (article)	Historical, chronological classification of key emic values (<i>renqing</i> , <i>mianzi</i> , and <i>guanxi</i>)	26 (9 pp)
Xuewei Zhai & Yong Qu (2001)	Sociology (article)	Emic review and research application, testing predictability of 8 demographic variables.	6 (7 pp)
Maotang Dai & Yang Jiang (2001)	Philosophy (ethics) (book)	General descriptive summary on traditional Chinese values and contemporary changes	528 (192 pp)
Xinhan Chen (2002)	Unknown	General review on Chinese values studies in this transitional period	5 (5 pp)
Xiaoming Oyuang (2002)	Psychology (article)	General overview of sociological and psychological approaches	18* (4 pp)
Shuiyuan Xiao & DesenYang (2002)	Psychotherapy	Reviewed Western literature and Chinese philosophical concepts, postulated four traditional to modern dimensions for scales	9 (3 pp)
Jin Shenghua & Xin Zhiyong (2003)	Psychology (article)	State of the art summary of Western, overseas Chinese indigenous and Mainland research focused on applying theory and developing a relevant Mainland instrument	27 (9 pp)
Xiting Huang & Yong	Psychology	Updates the Huang et al. (1994) volume with new	Unavailable

Zheng (2005)	(book)	research studies	for analysis
Zhang Jinfu (2006)	Psychology (book)	Explains and analyzes 10 domains of youth values and their value structures	172C+46E (271 pp)
Zhu & Chen (2006)	Business Adm (article)	Reviews the work values of employers and managers from China and abroad.	20 (5 pp)
Benxian Yao & Yuanqing He (2007)	Psychology (article)	Reviews developments and problems in domestic values study, adding a focus on the formation and transformation of values.	29 (5 pp)
Wenqing Tang & Jinfu Zhang (2008)	Psychology (article)	Focused review of Western and Chinese research advancements in values research	25 (3 pp)

Note: * There is a general discrepancy between cited works and references listed. Some papers only list “literature consulted” and others list names/works without putting them in footnotes or references. Where this was particularly noted, the number of actual citations counted (*) is reported.

6.1.2.2 Toward More Extensive Literature Reviews (in English)

The most obvious observation in tabulating these so-called reviews is how few are really “literature” reviews. Note that of the 13 seemingly overview-oriented articles by local scholars, only Ning (1996a), Yang (1998a), Zhai (1999), Ouyang (2002), Jin and Xin (2003), and recently Yao and He (2007) and Tang and Jin (2008) really qualify as “reviews” (with 20, 68, 26, 19, 27, 29, and 25 references respectively). Otherwise, the average number of citations for most articles is well under 10! This strongly confirms the limitations leveled at Mainland research, either due to a lack of available resources, a low priority on sourcing, the tendency to integrate ideas rather than document them, or the preference toward “conceptual” summaries and new postulations noted above.

After being influenced and propelled forward by the chapter from Michael Bond (1996), which had little access and basically no reference to Mainland studies, I first sought to lay groundwork for future research in the Mainland by developing both literature and conceptual reviews. These were admittedly limited somewhat from some similar lack of exposure or awareness of concurrent Chinese reviews mentioned above, though each was incorporated as it was located. In retrospect, it is likely that my English papers have been inaccessible to or unobserved by the general Chinese academic public. Nevertheless, this series of reviews are highlighted in Table 6.2 as a comparison and contrast to Table 6.1 above. In preparing these tables, it became clear to the author that all the “conceptual overviews” may be, their contribution to the growing pool of Chinese values literature should be analyzed to fill the gap that others have mostly failed to do. This dissertation aims to integrate and update both bodies of work toward this end.

Table 6.2. Literature Reviews on Chinese Values Studies (in English)

Author (Year)	Discipline	Focus of Review	# Refs (#pages)
Kulich (1997)	English IC Training (conf. paper)	Reviewing values clarification approaches, linking values to common cultural proverbs and the interface of language and culture	40 (13pp)
Kulich & Min Zhu (2004)	English FLT & IC (article in local book series)	Highlights China studies and intercultural psychology to integrate “own-culture” awareness in FLT & IC teaching and emic research programs	105 (28pp)
Kulich (2008)	Intercultural Studies (article in US journal)	Reviews values shift hypotheses, approaches and proposals to studying Chinese values changes in transition.	81 (16pp)
Kulich & Rui Zhang (2010)	Cross-cultural Psychology (chapter in Oxford book)	Comprehensive review of Western research conceptions, approaches, issues, and three strands of Chinese research: indigenous psychology, communication studies, and Mainland studies with extensive theoretical and future application proposals	426 (52pp)

6.1.2.3 Historical Developments Reported Since the 1990s

The early pioneers either reported on or sought to adapt the Western literature on values. Domestically, Xiting Huang (黄希庭) and his protégé Jinfu Zhang (张进辅) at Southwestern China Normal University launched their initial data-based research program in 1989 (they did not review much in that first study as there was very little to review at that point) and their larger study in book form in 1994 (cf. Ning, 1996a). In general these early works were grappling with cultural interpretations about the nature of values, definitions, classifications, and characteristics of specific value items (e.g., Liu & Zhong, 1997).

Yongfang Liu and Yinping Zhong (1997) provided the first general overview introducing some general concepts related to the composition and characteristics of values and attitudes. In this early paper, the authors compared, contrasted and built on definitions of values from various disciplines (e.g., philosophy, sociology) while wrestling with how values are related to influential aspects of life. Though loosely structured, Liu (a psychologist) gave one of the first analyses of the psychological denotations of values, and with co-author Zhong (from an education background) brought in some values education ideas. Instead of explicitly giving values definitions, this article mainly discussed the interpretation of values in psychological terms. They stated, “Values are an individual’s essential and comparatively stable attitude system,” and noted that values are

important “in affecting an individual’s attitudes and behavior” (1997:85-87). Though obviously influenced by some Western or Chinese philosophical sources (mentioning names only, no years, and not listed), it hardly counts as a literature review, since the four (4) citations are mostly the authors’ own papers.

Yiyin Yang (1998a) greatly expanded previous work and provided the first seminal review, especially bringing in the Western cultural-, cross-cultural psychology, and Chinese indigenous psychology traditions. In this well documented paper (68 citations), she provided a broad review of values definitions, the contents and various taxonomies of values, their changes over time, and values measurements and instruments. This was a step forward for local psychologists as it clarified the concepts of value orientation, self orientation, constructs, shared symbolic systems, national character, social values, societal values, value socialization, commonalities, terminal values, instrumental values (both from the Rokeach, 1973 RVS), and the individual/collective dimension (INDCOL, or sometimes labeled Ind/Col).

She provided Mainland Chinese scholars with the first broad review of the values studies tradition of Parsons, Kluckhohn, Morris, Rokeach, Robinson, Traandis, Gudykunst, Bond, Schwartz, and the work of overseas Chinese scholars like C. F. Yang, K. K. Hwang, Francis L. K. Hsu, Godwin Chu (Zhu Qian), and compared domestic scholars Yinhe Li and Xiting Huang (who she noted as the only scholar doing Mainland empirical work at the time). She also put forward a wide range of value applications for further study, touching on a geography of values, mapping cultural groups, universal motivational types of values, the possibility of a prototypical collectivist society, and also discussed methodological issues like the imposed etic approach versus the indigenous emic approach, as well as the validity of self-rating surveys. As one of the first extensive conceptual and theoretical surveys, her paper has been extensively cited (32 times so far) forming an important foundation for scholars following her (e.g., Hou & Zhang, 2006; Jin, et al. 2003; Jin & Xin, 2003; Wu, 2005; Yao & He, 2007; Zhao & Bi, 2004).

Junfeng Ma (1999), as a philosopher, took a more domestic and analytical approach in summing up the characteristics of Chinese values studies as well as pointing out problems to be addressed in future research. Highlighting that Chinese values studies started at the time of reform and opening-up policies, this interest accompanied a liberalization of the mind. Features of Mainland Chinese values studies that he noted are: using reason as guidelines; being realistic, putting theory into practice; emphasizing an integration of facts and value (强调事实与价值的统一); not being limited to psychology, but applying a macro-view of social history and cultural thought history. The problems of Chinese values studies he noted at that time are: there is too much dogmatism, weak

empiricism, heavy reliance on epistemology, but not yet having formed a unique perspective and methodology. Sparsely cited, it serves only as a general conceptual overview.

Xuewei Zhai (1999:118-126) took a historical, chronological perspective to analyze the classification of Chinese values in previous studies. He noted that adopting Western taxonomies seemed to not take the historical richness of the Chinese into account, and suggested that Chinese values be organized along five domains: religious conscience-oriented, ethic/theoretical-oriented, social/culture-oriented, political-oriented, and economy-oriented (interestingly adopting the Allport SOV personalities structure, leaving out only aesthetic-oriented). He specifically suggested that China's underlying social-orientation had been neglected in values studies so far and should be a key element, especially to bring out the indigenous values of Chinese social communication centered on *renqing* (人情), *mianzi* (面子), and *guanxi* (关系).

Zhai and Qu (2001), linking review to new research, built on this and sought to take those five classification domains and answer the questions: (1) what are the features of the values that have changed in each area, (2) what is the relationship between these changed values and traditional Chinese value orientations, and (3) what relationship is there between these values and people's actual behaviors? To answer these, they conducted a study to compare results along eight demographic variables. As they suspected, many traditional values have generally vanished, though the proposed cores of *renqing*, *mianzi*, and *guanxi* are still operative. And of all their demographic determinants, statistical correlations showed age and occupation to be the main predictors of difference.

Maotang Dai and Yang Jiang (2001) produced a fairly thick volume about traditional Chinese values and their changes in contemporary times. Organized in three sections, the book first contrasted traditional Chinese values with Western values, especially highlighting those values held by Chinese intellectuals. Noteworthy is their treatment of the contradictory values dimensions that traditional Chinese concurrently affirmed, such as the contradiction between ethics and at the same time the bankruptcy of ethical standards (伦理之反道德性). The second section analyzed the multidimensional shifts and changes of the traditional Chinese values under the context of the reform and opening up policy and the market economy. The third section presented suggested solutions to the modernization of traditional Chinese values. Though a rich resource for insights into and considerations of traditional Chinese values in their modern or changing context, the 528-page book has only 294 footnotes, 102 of them related to Chinese classics. Only about 192 notes qualify as references. Generally, this work is typical of many "integrated" compendium of its time, where authors paraphrased and borrowed information from many sources, some unattributed.

Xinhan Chen (陈新汉, 2002:16-20) also reviewed Chinese values studies in this transitional period. His brief summary mainly addresses the shortcomings noted, that (1) there is a lack of more profound theoretical research, and thus results so far have not been convincing, (2) most theoretical work has been confined to the field of philosophy, so more interdisciplinary work is needed, and (3) more practical surveys should be integrated with theoretical research. Primarily his paper calls for more scientific survey methods toward theory building.

Xiaoming Oyang (2002) also conducted another general review from a sociological and social-psychological perspective. In his critique, studies to that time had mainly focused on traditional Chinese values, but the reform, opening up, and family planning policies had changed and shifted China both economically and socially. With past Chinese behavior orientations already broken down, he issued a call to study the characteristics of the new generations brought up in this new social environment and how their values systems had been impacted, specifically to construct and develop new indigenous and theoretical perceptions and models to analyze Chinese social behavior orientations.

Shuiyuan Xiao and Desen Yang (2002) sought to establish a theory and measure of traditional Chinese values for applications to psychotherapy. After a review of some of the Western literature and Chinese philosophical concepts, they postulated four traditional to modern dimensions (non-action vs. action, loyalty vs. benefit/profit, reason (*dao*) vs. desire, and altruism vs. egoism), but it appeared that these scales have not yet been tested.

With the intent to do empirical research, Shenghua Jin (金盛华) and Zhiyong Xin's (辛志勇) provided the most comprehensively etic and carefully emic Chinese review (2003). Jin and Xin (2003) went conceptually beyond Yang's (1998a) earlier introduction (though hers is still the most extensively referenced local scholar work), partially because the field had clarified more domestically and more information from abroad was more readily available in the Mainland by this date. This article clearly provided the most thorough review of values studies (especially from psychology) to date and first broad integration of the history and status of the field by both Westerners and Chinese. It started by reviewing the work of Perry (1926), Spranger (1928), and Allport & Vernon's (1931) six dimensional *Study of Values*.

Though having taught values studies for nearly a decade, it was through this article (and Yi Yinyang's, 1998a) I first learned of the earlier roots (Perry and Spranger) and their introduction clarified for me why Allport's study was so personal interest based. Too often Western reviews pick up where the intellectual conversation last left off, but some of my motivations for this study

came from the more historically-rooted approach seen in Jin & Xin and several other scholars. They then covered the prominent Western scholars (the known territory), but linked that work to what Chinese scholars have been seeking to do.

Like other articles, definitions are reviewed (e.g., mostly Western cultural anthropology and psychology). Jin & Xin (2003) critiqued the tendency to apply Western definitions wholesale, and noted that if Chinese philosophical ones are substituted, this happens without making due adjustments to the needs of psychological studies. They further discussed the limits of the previous broader understanding of values as “people’s interests, hobbies, likes, preferences, responsibilities, moral duties, desires, needs, dislikes, attractions, or other selective orientations” (2003:57). They noted that it was Kluckhohn’s (1951) definition that sorted values out as that which is “desirable” and linked values to a universal and organized system of “value orientations” that influence peoples choices. The lament that such a common, agreed-upon psychological definition of values is still lacking for China. This leads to their overview of research at three primary levels (the individual, social, and cultural-national levels), but that most focuses on cultures, and too little on social or individual concerns.

Regarding the state of the Chinese research, Jin and Xin (2003) covered both qualitative theoretical studies and quantitative empirical research, but note that most studies in China have been done on college students and youth in major cities (convenience samples), most are synchronic (not longitudinal), and most work examines the general values systems, not values related to a specific area (e.g., religious, political, or aesthetic values). There is also a dearth of experimental designs or follow-up observations on those surveyed to check actual behavior with stated values. This same insightful list of limitations could be generated for most countries. They asserted that Chinese values scholars mainly fall into two camps:

Generally speaking, Hong Kong and Taiwan scholars tend to directly cite the definition forwarded by Western scholars, Kluckhohn (1951), Rokeach (1973), and Schwartz (Grad & Schwartz, 1998; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987) in particular. Scholars in the Mainland, on the other hand, instead of simply adopting the western definitions, often refer to those formed in the research of philosophy. (Jin & Xin, 2003:57)

Then they put forward specific proposals for improving Mainland research (more multiple-method, longitudinal, value-behavior, and values education related). This review provided a clear platform for their research program (below) and other scholars to build on.

In seeking to bring a “China studies” historical and cultural perspective to English teaching programs, as well as integrate cross-cultural psychology and intercultural communication research toward improving “own culture” awareness, the author worked with a number of his graduate students (Kulich and Zhu, 2004) to lay the foundation for emic studies on Chinese values. We reported initial results (Kulich, S. Zhang, & Zhu, 2006), which showed a values hierarchy similar to that one for identity (S. Zhang & Kulich, 2008). To lay further foundations for this project, I updated the literature on studying cultures in change as it relates to China (Kulich, 2008), and in conjunction with this dissertation, was asked by Michael H. Bond to expand this work and map out the broader scope of Chinese values studies in chapter form (Kulich & R. Zhang, 2010).

Xiting Huang and Yong Zheng (2005) produced a new book to provide a theoretical foundation and guide for conducting values studies on contemporary Chinese youth. In it they carefully outlined the psychological concept of values, related theories like need theories, social structures, and methodological considerations, and then provided a general overview to the ten types/domains of values they considered salient to China’s youth. It also provided an important resource for developing empirical studies.

Zhu and Chen (2006) provided a literature review on the work values of employers and managers from China and abroad. As with each of these formative or foundational reviews, this will hopefully further fruitful research in this area (some related theorizing advancements on work values will be discussed below).

Yao and He (2007) updated these reviews with their article “On the Present Situation, Problems and Tendency in the Study of University Students’ Outlook on Life.” Specifically to provide an overview, they mentioned the early studies of Spranger, Allport, & Vernon, Morris, Bond, and Rokeach. For applications in China, they reviewed K. S. Yang, K. K. Hwang, Jin & Xin, and Jinfu Zhang. They proposed to future studies should use both qualitative and quantitative methods, and compare Chinese studies with overseas studies. Their advancement over previous reviews is a focus on the formation and transformation of values.

They reviewed the three steps in value formation (complying, recognizing, and internalizing) (顺从, 认同与内化) proposed originally by Ralph Kilmann (with the “Kilman Insight Test” KIT, 1975, which measures interpersonal values, also in Robinson et al., 1991:668); the scale developed by Beech and Schoeppe (1974) for the state and change of values, integrated with one by

Takakatsue Kato (加藤隆胜, 1964, reviewed by Ri Zhang, 1993⁷⁸); as well as suggesting conditions for their formation (人生观的形成条件). They also reviewed value formation and transformation studies in China, like one by Chongde Lin (1989) who stated that values are budding during adolescence and are formed during youth, Xinying Cheng (2004) who posited that value is formed due to the interaction between the recipient and the environment, and Qian Sui and Lin Shi (Sui & Shi, 2003) who discussed the relationship between values and emotions. They are among the few authors who note that beyond positive and optimistic values, there are some selfish and negative values (like Yao & He, 2007).

From this overview we gain some general ideas about how the field has developed, but as often been noted, most of the writing has been about work done overseas, about instruments that have been or can be imported, or focused on theoretical musings without much real research. The next section will begin to profile the beginnings of study applications.

6.1.3 Launching Generalized Chinese Values Studies

In evaluating values studies, Chuanxiang Lai (赖传祥) (1994) provided one of the earlier summaries on changes in Chinese values, specifically in the three areas of economic, political, and cultural values. Noting that modernization could be eroding some Chinese values, he suggested that a combination of criticism and inheritance toward traditional Chinese values should be adopted, while noting that Chinese and Western values may not be incompatible – urging a general “both - and” approach (what I would consider a type of “doctrine of the mean” harmonizing).

Another early study suggested that values clarification is closely linked with mental health (e.g., the student samples of Shi, 1997, who used using the INDCOL scale with the SCL-90, N=200). Early findings with university students suggested that collectively-oriented students were more psychologically healthy (Shi, 1997) in the Chinese context of that time. Some scholars suggested promoting pro-social values, though not always documenting which ones specifically (e.g., Huang, Zhang, & Li, 1994) toward enhancing students’ positive life outlook for this period of social transformation (Bond & Chi, 1997). Zeng (2004) recently suggested the values clarification contributes to mental health. Other recent studies consider the relations of values to salient psychological constructs, subject constraints in a specific social system, or the current needs of subjects (Shen, 2005; Y. Y. Yang, 1998b, Wei, 2006).

⁷⁸ Bingjie Zhao (2002) informs us that Kato’s instrument was a updated version of Morris’s Ways to Live” Survey (...使用日本心理学家高期木秀明加藤隆胜修订C*莫里斯“人生之路”价值观测量量表进行调查). Retrieved May 21, 2010, <http://www.xwyx.cn/pdfqw/200204/20020454.pdf>

Some types of publications serve social purposes, even some quantitative or comparative ones, and seek to advance political agendas (e.g., Meng, 2002), or focus on “values education” to maintain essentialized Chinese qualities (e.g., Zhang & Lv, 2004; Zhao & Bi, 2004). Others seek to analyze, balance and apply pluralistic values assumptions, discuss values clarification approaches, and consider value shifts over time periods by contrasting China’s history with (and seeking to learn from) Western developments (e.g., S. G. Yang, 2004).

More literature reviews and research ideas have followed. Huang and Zheng (2005) proposed ten types/domains of values they consider salient to China’s youth, while Zhu and Chen (2006) focused on work values of employers and managers from China and abroad. Funded national key projects have also been secured. An example is the set of studies that used the “Questionnaire on Chinese Citizen’s Human Qualities (QCCHC)” (Chen, 2006a, 2006b; Deng, 2006; Li, 2006; Xu & Ding, 2006). This instrument follows the Allport legacy of locating values in six preferred behavioral categories: moral qualities, legal awareness, civic awareness, economic interest, aesthetic attributes, and environmental awareness (which under an atheist ideology replaces the religious with “one with the cosmos”). Chinese studies seem just as prone to conflate “values” with other psychological concepts (e. g., interest in marriage and love, Deng, 2006; affective attitudes toward beauty, Li, 2006; attitudes toward science and use of leisure time, Xu & Ding, 2006; Xu & Zhou, 2006). Furthermore, most of this work reports only basic, descriptive statistics.

Songqing Ye (2006) conducted a “Project on Adolescent Values” with a large sample of middle school students in eight cities and rural areas of Anhui Province supported by another national grant. Again, items in the survey conflated values with attitudes and morality issues, mixed and matched the terms values, ideologies, moralities, attitudes toward life, study, love (e.g., Ye, 2007a, 2007b), though for one section it did use a translation of the Rokeach Values Survey. However translation problems have been noted (“pleasure” as “hedonism,” Zhao et al., 2007), again illustrating the important issue of etic to emic equivalence of meaning. Dealing with, or clarifying these “thick culture” qualities (Geertz, 1973) continues to be a problematic area in Chinese value studies.

6.1.4 Launching Values Research – Xiting Huang & Jinfu Zhang (since 1989)

As Yiyin Yang (1998a) noted, the earliest empirical work was started by Xiting Huang (黄希庭) and his partnership with Jinfu Zhang (张进辅) or other associates. This line of research has produced a number of important studies and emic adaptations (e.g., Huang, Zhang, & Zhang's, 1989 five city youth study; Huang, Zhang, & Li's, 1994 contemporary youth values study; Huang & Zheng, 2005; Huang, Dou, & Zheng's discrete choice methods estimation of college student's values, in which they compare results from 1987-2005, in 2008).

6.1.4.1 Theoretical Developments – Extending Rokeach to Three Types

Zhang's 1998 study using the "Life Value Goals Scale" brought significant advancements to the study of values in China, both in indigenous scale development and theorizing. As best as I can determine, he was the first to postulate and operationalize an indigenized "three types of values" model. Perhaps Huang and Zhang's cooperative work predated this, but I have not been able to identify where (Chinese scholars are not generally good at citing each other's contributions). This could have also arisen out of Osgood's seminal classification of cultures (via semantic differentials, 1994), but that link has also not been confirmed (no citations located yet indicating so).

First, Zhang's model extends the theoretical conceptions of Rokeach using emic data, suggesting that in the Chinese context, there are not just the classic two types of instrumental and terminal values, but actually three: a more pragmatic terminal set (goal-oriented values), instrumental (functional-means values – how those goals can be realized) and the new dimension, regulatory (evaluative) values. Might this self-regulatory dimension have arisen out of or been identified due to the more interdependent, group-oriented context of a socialist or Confucian-heritage culture?

6.1.4.2 Jinfu Zhang's Indigenous Scale Development

In postulating these three domains of values (which has influenced Jin & Xin's and other later scholar's work), Zhang developed three 40-item scales to measure what he calls "life value goals", "life value means", and "life value evaluations" (J. Zhang, 1998). Some items on the scales are drawn from overseas, yet he added emic contents based on his own rationale. In their present state, these scales appear to have limited usefulness for cross-cultural comparisons, reflecting an insular trend in studies in the Mainland. On this, Zhang's mentor, Xiting Huang advocates "Chinanization" (中国化人格研究) of personality and psychological studies (Huang, 2007; a term he seems to prefer to K. S. Yang's "Sinicization", 1982).

Zhang Jinfu's new scales have very good internal consistency (all three with alphas over $r = .89$), and the findings (Zhang's 1998 study using the "life value goals scale") appear to correspond with those using Schwartz's approach in other research (e.g., Kulich, Zhang, & Zhu, 2006). The data show that among China's college students more individually-directed goals are on the increase (career success, pure love, good health, knowledge, good mood, sincere friendship) with fewer socially embedded goals (national prosperity, harmonious family, happy marriage, and world peace) (Zhang, 1998).

In an initial effort to test emic content, Jinfu Zhang and Zhaoyuan Zhang (2001) pre-selected 70 proverbs or common sayings and had 700 students from 13 colleges in different parts of China rate them on a Likert scale. Similar to Kulich's (1997) findings was the less positive response to the more traditional values and 21 of the proverbs were distinctly rejected. In his most recent book (Zhang, 2006), he provides a review of all his values work over the past decade, with summaries of key findings and illustrations from each of his scales.

Advancing methodologies is an increasing concern, and Zhang and Huang's team continues to test research approaches (e.g., Dou & Huang, 2006). Their adaptation of the Rokeach Values Survey and its ranking method was used to investigate a large sample ($N=3796$). With factor analysis and non-metric multidimensional scaling, they extracted six factors: a comfortable life, excitement, happiness, ambition, honesty, and self-respect. Concerned with the limitations of statistical methods developed for interval data, they then reanalyzed this same data set (Huang, Dou, & Zheng, 2008) using rank-ordered logit model estimation based on discrete choice methods, and found that the most important terminal values of college students were family security, happiness, pleasure, freedom, and self-respect; the most important instrumental value item preferences were honesty, ability, responsibility, and broad-mindedness. These results suggest the return of some traditional culture characteristics.

6.1.5 The Sociological Research Program of Xuwei Zhai (since 1993)

As a sociologist, Xuwei Zhai (翟学伟) undertook a more culturally-contexted, historical approach to Chinese values analysis (1999). Starting in 1993, he argued that only through understanding the unique historical and chronological (and interpersonal) processes that had affected Chinese values could we understand their significance in this culture. He suggested Western classifications of values will not be relevant here, and noted Chinese culture has promoted five general value orientations (stated above, reflecting the Allport "values and personality" association).

Of these, he felt “society-oriented” values have long been neglected in research, and strongly recommended that Chinese people should work toward filling this gap and understanding these dynamics (and his work has influenced quite a number of scholars on this point). By this, he meant that members of this society should pay more attention to how social communication is affected by the indigenous conceptualizations [values, or higher-order values/expectations] of human sentiments (*renqing*, *mianzi*, and *guanxi*). He suggested internal variables of change could be identified by historical and social changes.

Zhai and Yong Qu (屈勇) later applied these five classifications and sought to identify the effect of eight demographic variables (2001). They specifically addressed the questions: (1) what are the features of the changing group classification; (2) what is the relationship between the changed value orientation and traditional Chinese value orientations; (3) what is the relationship between the Chinese value orientations and people’s behaviors? They designed an emic questionnaire aiming at eight variables, i.e. region, gender, age, education, nature of workplace, occupation, residence, and monthly income. In this quantitative research, using Chi-Squares analysis, the statistical correlation was calculated to analyze the influence each variable had on the result. Their results showed that though many past dominant value orientations have generally vanished, the traditional core value orientations of *renqing*, *mianzi*, and *guanxi* still persist. Age and occupation were shown to be the strongest predictors of difference in emic values. However clear links between people’s values and their behaviors could not be confirmed. This suggested that whether value orientations are consistent or not in conflict, the best judgments should be made based on behaviors.

As a general overview of Zhai’s and his colleagues’ significant work, we note that:

(1) Zhai is strongly against dichotomies, especially against the idea that Chinese culture and Western culture are on the two ends of a continuum, opposing each other (Zhai, 2008a; Zhai, 2008b). In his opinion, there is no so-called “dichotomization” and Chinese culture and Western culture should be seen as coexisting with each other. Such dichotomies lead to misunderstandings. For example, the Western idea of progress assumes linearity (from traditional to modern), but advances in Chinese culture cannot be well understood on this line (Zhai, 2008b). It is when scholars try to put them as opposing each other that explanations for getting rid of Chinese tradition emerge. Thus, he argues that typological studies of Chinese culture are needed to balance this.

(2) He emphasizes the importance of in-depth explanations for enduring cultural phenomena, facts, and systems (Zhai, 2007, 2008a) and holds the idea that only after such extensive analysis can we depict a real “Chinese culture framework”. For example, after reviewing ancient Chinese literature and social phenomenon, he argued that “*bao*” (报) shouldn’t be understood under the Western theory of exchange, but rather as working in a closed social and cultural system, which has its own traits of stability, principles and levels (Zhai, 2008b). Contrary to Bond’s assertions (2007), he would argue that situated Chinese culture (e.g., that in the Mainland) is unique, and must be studied within its own context.

(3) Thus Zhai calls for the establishment of a unique framework for understanding and analyzing Chinese culture, and he pays great attention to the definition of Chinese terms (Zhai, 2007, 2008a, 2008b). In his study on Chinese interpersonal relations (Zhai, 1993, 2008a), he argued that “*guanxi*” should be defined as “personal relationship” and is not equal to the Western concept of “interpersonal relationship”. Thus, he argued we should never try to explain “*guanxi*” by adopting Western theories of interpersonal relationships. Using terms that I have put forward in this paper (Section 1.3.3 “meaning levels”), he argues that clarifying the specific nuanced meaning and interpretation of cultural concepts are very important for localized understandings. Thus he is not supportive of a universal psychology.

Primarily, Zhai has come to these conclusions mostly through textual analysis. He considers Chinese proverbs, ancient literature, and slang expressions as examples and raw materials to draw his own theoretical map. In one of his studies (Geng & Zhai, 2008), he made a statistical [critical content] analysis of articles published in the field of psychology in 2005 and 2006 to analyze the general status of psychological research in China. Such efforts show the importance of his work for ongoing emic studies.

6.1.6 Cooperating on Empirical Theoretical Research – Michael Bond (1997)

Though initiated from outside the Mainland, one of the first, rigorous empirical studies done cooperatively and under a Chinese agency was that of Bond and Chi (1997), supported by the CIER (Central Institute for Educational Research, Beijing). Using an emically-extended version of the Schwartz SVS (adding four items deemed important in China: achievement, patriotism, competitiveness, and interest in politics) and a Moral Education Survey (measuring pro-social and anti-social behaviors), data were collected from representative middle and high schools (ages 11-17 years) in 11 locations across China (N=1841). Responses were factor analyzed and the data best

fit a seven-factor solution (Social Harmony, Prosocial, Power, Stimulation, Achievement, Happiness, and Detachment).

Using Smallest Space Analysis (cf., Schwarz & Bilsky, 1987) results were re-analyzed by theoretically meaningful regions and the seven resulting factors could be labeled in accord with Schwartz's ten domains, though with some merging (e.g., Security, Hedonism, Power, Stimulation-Achievement, Self-Direction, Universalism-Benevolence-Conformity, and Tradition). "Such a merging has not been found with previous adult samples from China (Schwartz, 1992). So, its identification here probably arises from the lack of differentiation across such prosocial value domains in young adolescents" (Bond & Chi, 1997:261).

Though values accounted for only a portion of the variance in moral behaviors measured in that study (1997:263), linking values to social behavior, analyzing the meaning of shifts, and considering trends has become an increasing focus in the Mainland as new theoretically grounded quantitative work has emerged. A study like this is exemplary in applying international research, expanding it emically, and developing foundations for future applications – work that I seek to extend in Chapters 9-12.

6.1.7 Extending Research Projects – Shenghua Jin & Zhiyong Xin (since 2003)

Building on their comprehensive etic and emic Chinese review, Jin and Xin (2003) set a new standard toward developing empirical research. This has been applied in a series of well-designed studies through their Questionnaire of Value Orientations for Chinese (QVOC) program of research (中国民众价值取向问卷). This 40-item, 8-dimension survey (money and power, justice and truth, study and job, public services, law and regulations, family, love, and public interests) was generated *a priori* in a way similar to Schwartz's (1992). However, some conflation of values with attitudes, opinions and behaviors still exist, as operational definitions are not clarified. Yet this values study project has been awarded national funding multiple times and has influenced a number of important studies.

6.1.7.1 Studies on Educational and Student Values

Relevant to observing rapid change in the Mainland and being concerned about youth, an early interest of their values work was promoting "values education" (价值观教育) (see Xin & Jin, 2002a; Xin & Jin, 2002b; and Xin & Jin, 2005). They claimed that Chinese value education has long been included in moral education and thus should be established as an independent system in both theory and practice (harboring a polemic tone of political correctness). This is an interesting

and important point for this study, though what Western trainers mean by an open-ended, personally-reflective, citizen-building “values clarification” process is quite different from that which more collective, hierarchical educational planners and scholars mean by “values education.” The Chinese approach in effect becomes rote learning of recommended moral principles or model behaviors (“moral education,” *daode jiaoyu* 道德教育 or “good behavior education,” *zuoren jiaoyu* 做人教育).

To check on how young minds were being shaped, an early focus of their research was middle school students (Jin, Shi, Yu, & Luo, 2002; Jin, Sun, Ng, & Shi, 2003; Jin et al., 2003; Tian & Jin, 2005a; Tian & Jin, 2005b). A particular concern arose because (1) research results showed that students’ behaviors were not consistent with their beliefs in values, and thus they suggested that (2) colleges should work more to strengthen the “example education” (teaching by highlighting model citizens 榜样教育), since in present society there was much more focus on idols/stars than on good examples.

The related work of Jin, Sun, et al. (2003, N=958 middle students from Beijing, Hebei, Shanxi, Inner Mongolia, Shandong, Anhui, and Fujian) analyzed the QVOC’s eight domains of value priorities related to gender, grade, location, and family income. Fairly similar value priorities were identified (giving importance to self-study and working capability), though males emphasized money and power, social recognition, happy love, and family more, while female students emphasized laws and regulations most. Interestingly, those from low-income families paid less attention to money and power than those from high-income families (Jin, Sun, et al., 2003:34). The higher the year in school, the more justice and truth, individuality, and love values rose in importance.

6.1.7.2 Extending Values Research to Other Social Segments: Peasants and Workers

As researchers, however, Jin’s team has not been content to stay with student populations. With continued national funding, the QVOC has been used to analyze a wide range of samples from different provinces, ethnicity, gender, ages, marital status, occupations, and educational backgrounds (young professionals in Jin & Li, 2003; peasants in Jin, Wang et al., 2003; workers and peasants in Jin & Li, 2004; workers in Jin & Liu, 2005; adolescents in Jin & Li, 2007; and scientists, Zhang & Jin, 2007). In each case they have examined the basic values structures and the effect of the reforms and social changes on sub-populations.

The peasant-based study (Jin, Wang, et al., 2003, N=586) was conducted in the diverse geographic regions of Jiangsu, Fujian, Shandong, Liaoning, Inner Mongolia, and Shanxi provinces with

multidimensional analysis of the variables gender, age, educational level, province, and marital status. Some interesting differences were noted in almost all of the variables (e.g., age analysis of peasants over 60 rated money and power, public services, and love higher, while location analysis showed those in more developed provinces rated money and power high, but public services lower (see Jin et al., 2003:24).

The worker and peasant comparison (Jin & Li, 2004, Figure 6.1) used random sampling in the same provinces as above (N=1023). The data was analyzed along the same variables and showed that even though peasants and workers reported generally similar value orientations,

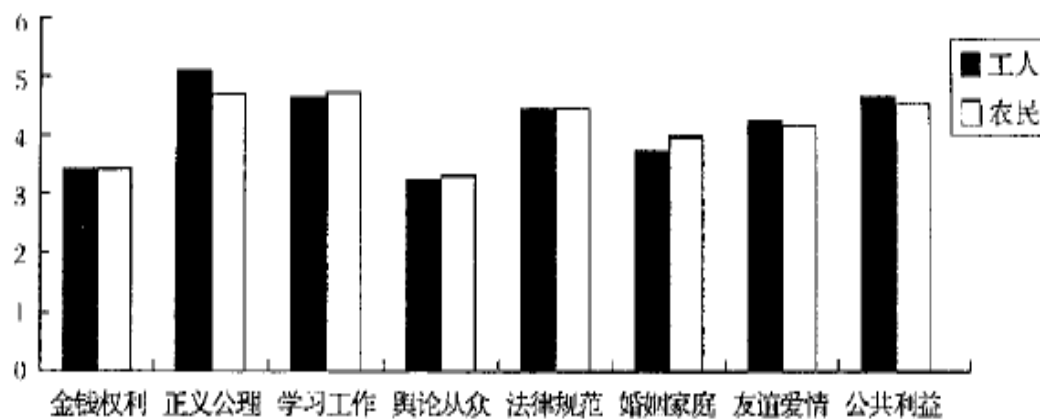


图1 工人、农民总体价值取向比较

Figure 6.1. Comparison of Workers and Peasants in 8 Values Domains

Source: Jin & Li (2007:29)

there were statistical differences in the value domains of justice (bar 2), marriage-family (bar 6), and public interests (bar 8 in Figure 6.1, from Jin & Li, 2007).

Jin's team concurrently were also interested in spiritual beliefs / values (*jingshen xinyang*, 精神信仰, which in the Chinese atheistic context is better translated "ideals", "human spirit", or "motivational beliefs"), and carried out a series of studies (Song & Jin, 2004; Song, Jin, & Li, 2004; Tian & Jin, 2005a; Tian & Jin, 2005b; the latter two on middle school students, as noted above). Results showed that "social belief ranked the first, pragmatic beliefs the second, and supernatural belief the last" among students, with some correlation to mental health.

6.1.7.3 Mapping Work Values

In 2005, Jin and Li extended work to investigate the structure of work values, and developed another new scale. This project reported their series of studies (through 25 interviews, 60 open questionnaires, then 813 survey responses) assessing college students' work values using separate exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis. The results confirmed a 4-factor Structural Equation Model (SEM) for *intentional* work values (family protection 家庭维护, status pursuit 地位追求, achievement realization 成就实现, and social promotion 社会促进), and a 6-factor *instrumental* work value SEM (ease and stability 轻松稳定, interest and personality 兴趣性格, norms and morals 规范道德, payment and reputation 薪酬声望, career and development 职业发展, and welfare and treatment 福利待遇). Hypothetical relations between the intentional and instrumental work values were confirmed.

One of the strengths of their research program is the use of varied methodologies to confirm and extend their work. Using lab experiments to study college students in 10 diverse locations, Xin and Jin (2005) updated the model (with a value system incorporating individual, social, and super-ordinate objectives, again the three-levels of personal values, value means, and rules/regulations). This study noted some inconsistencies between belief and behavior (Xin & Jin, 2005:22-27). They then used a case study (Jin & Song, 2006), interviews, sentence completion, and computer-based implicit association tests (Xin & Jin, 2006:85-92) to explain their emerging model.

6.1.7.4 Values Ordered Under Happiness and a Good Life

These techniques helped them graphically map a values hierarchy on how their participants conceived of values, both at conceptual and personal levels (consistent with their 2005 study). Two models emerged from students answering sentence completion exercises ("I think Value is ..."). The first mapped out value goals, with the highest aim of all values turning out to be "happiness and a good life" (快乐与幸福), under which are sub-ordered three main domains (personal goals, social goals, and super-ordinate goals). This locating of happiness and a good life as the ultimate ideals of Chinese students not only supports some of the universal philosophical postulations in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* or Jefferson's "pursuit of happiness," but supports Bauer's (1971/1976) assumption that happiness ("Gluck," 幸福) has always been a chief pursuit of Chinese society. This is also supported by more than 60 "studies" that have appeared in the Mainland since the late 1990s, discussed further below.

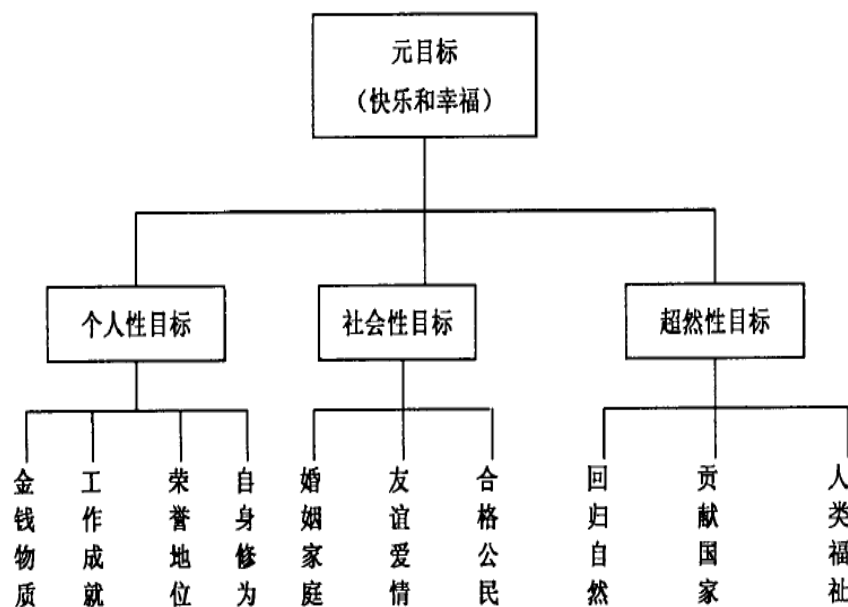


图2 大学生目标价值系统结构

Figure 6.2. The Structural System of Values Related to Happiness and a Good Life

Source: Xin & Jin (2006) (大学生目标价值系统)

Though distributed along the three axes (personal, social, and super-ordinate goals), an interesting comparison can be made to Aristotle's eight hypothesized happiness ideals. To do so, I have put these comparatively side-by-side in Table 6.3.

This shows an amazing comparison, and in fact, the "Western individualistic philosopher" is not so much more, or maybe not even as, individualistic as the picture emerging from these Chinese students. Several areas overlap, and in the end it seems we can conclude that this study by Xin and Jin contradicted to some degree the "cultural uniqueness" argument of Xuewei Zhai, at least at the level of ultimate goals and values – by 2006 there seems to be more of a universal values script in Chinese student's minds than one might have assumed.

Table 6.3. Philosophical or Practical Goals of Happiness (Aristotle vs. Chinese Students)

Aristotles <i>Nicomachean Ethics</i>	Today's Chinese Student's (2006)	Jin & Xin's Category
good family	婚姻家庭 (good marriage and family)	Social
good spouse and children	友谊爱情 (friendship and love)	Social
good friends		
	合格公民 (be a passable good citizen)	Social
good community		
good education		
good wealth, sufficient for one's station in life	金钱物质 (wealth and material substance)	Personal
	工作成就 (work/career achievements)	Personal
	荣誉地位 (honorable position/status)	Personal
	自身修为 (personal health/development/behavior)	Personal
	回归自然 (return to a natural state)	Higher Order
good service to one's country	贡献国家 (contribute to the nation)	Higher Order
	人类福祉 ([seek/hope for] the happiness of human beings)	Higher Order
dying gloriously on the battlefield for one's country, if needed		

6.1.7.5 A Structural Framework for Student Values

This 2006 study continues to follow the emic extension of Rokeach to three domains (as seen above). In the second model developed for the broader landscape of values, the three types of values again appear: a more pragmatic terminal set (goal-oriented values), instrumental domains (functional-means values – how those goals can be realized), and dimension added in China, regulatory (evaluative) values (see Zhang, 1998 above; cf., Wang & Zhang's 2006 study applying this to knowledge values). These are mapped out with specific value items in Figure 6.3 (Source: Xin & Jin, 2006).

The priorities given to the individual values items generated in that map are listed with the most-rated items listed first, and then the other items in decreasing order. To explain these, I start with the center of the diagram first, since it has an additional layer of content:

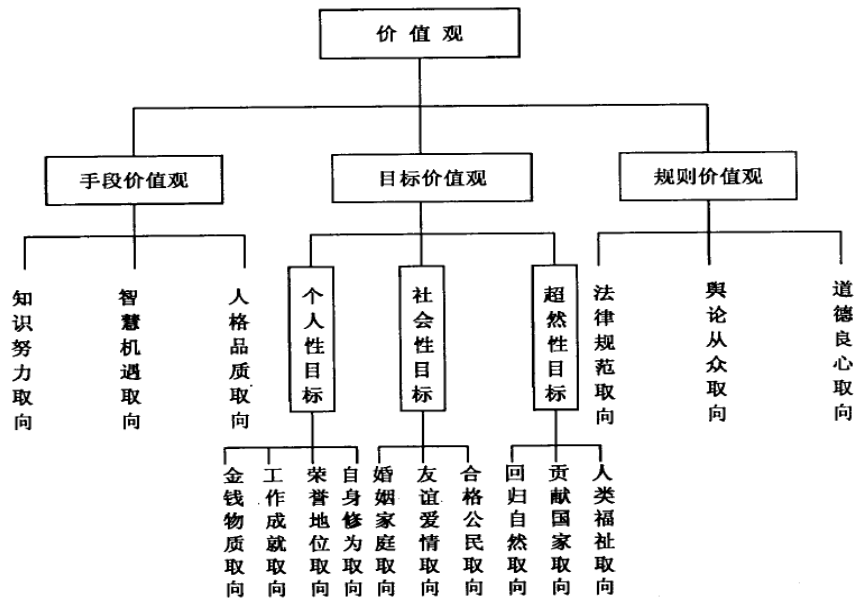


图3 大学生价值观结构

Figure 6.3. The Structural Value System Revealed by Chinese College Students (2006)

A) Under Goal-oriented Values there are three types (of relatively equal importance):

(1) Personal Motives (individual objectives):

- Self-accomplishment
- Professional achievement
- Fame and social position
- Money and materials

(2) Social Motives (relational objectives):

- Being a qualified citizen
- Having friendship and love
- Marriage and family

(3) Transcendent Motives (super-ordinate objectives)

- Returning to nature (Taoist ideals)
- Contributing to the state (Confucian/Communist ideals)
- The happiness of human beings

B) Functional-means Values (the more instrumental type)

- Hard study for building knowledge
- Character and personality
- Intelligence and opportunity

C) Regulatory Values (evaluative)

- Morality and conscience
- Laws
- Public opinion

Both this list and the order provide interesting insights (for example that the terminal values generated are not nearly as universalistic as Schwartz's, e.g., no measure tapping world at peace, world of beauty, etc.) in the current orientations of Chinese university students. Jin's team continues to test his theory at varied social and economic levels. However, the QVOC survey is as yet proprietary, and appears to have not yet been made available to other researchers for use, comparison, or critique. Further advances could be made if Jin and Xin's emic concepts could be correlated with Schwartz' or other universal theories. Some of these procedures will be adapted to that end in Chapters 9 to 12.

6.2 China Specific Issues and Applications

6.2.1 Indigenous Studies – Nationalization/Sinicization/Chinazation?

As this chapter has shown, a number of scholars have been active in careful, empirical, indigenous scale development. The work of Shenghua Jin and Zhiyong Xin has already been highlighted above, as has that of Jingfu Zhang (and associates). These and other emic scales are highlighted in Table 6.4. This serves as a comparison to Table 5.9 on similar work begun earlier in Taiwan. Future studies will hopefully procure and compare these survey items.

Table 6.4. Indigenous Psychological Values Scales Developed in the Chinese Mainland

Mainland Scale Author, Year	Indigenous Scale Name	Applications, Sample Size
Guo'en Yin et al. (2000)	Questionnaire of the Value Types of College Students	
Jin & Xin (2003) ; Xin & Jin (2005, 2006) [also used in Jin & Tian, 2003 and other studies]	Questionnaire for Value Orientations for Chinese (QVOC) 中国人价值观量表	Many studies (see the section on Shenghua Jin and Zhiyong Xin)
Li (2004); Li & Zhang (2001)	Interpersonal Values Scale of College Students (IVSCS)	N=923 in Chongqing, Chengdu and Nanchang
Wang & Zhang (2006)	Students knowledge values	N= 1843
Jin & Li (2007)	Student's work values scale	N = 813, 4-factor SEM intentional work value, 6-factor SEM instrumental work value structure

Indigenous scale development was furthered in the work of Rulin Li (2004). Beginning as a master's thesis under Jinfu Zhang's supervision, an open-ended questionnaire and interviews with teachers and students led to the development of the Interpersonal Values Scale of College Students (IVSCS) to investigate the status of university students' interpersonal values. In the analysis of the

factors considered important to college students when they communicate with others, the scale included three first-level dimensions (sub-scales): psychology factors, physical factors, and social factors, and ten second-level dimensions: character, ability, interest, sentiment, appearance, health, dress, experience, reputation, and help.

Initial tests of the scale (both in the 2004 MA thesis, and in the published version, Li & Zhang, 2001, reporting on responses from 923 college students in Chongqing, Chengdu, and Nanchang) showed that differences of appearance, health, dress, help, physical factors, and social factors had statistical significance in the domestic economy.

The study also analyzed specific interpersonal values of college students among different genders, grades, family backgrounds, etc. As a whole, Li concluded that the interpersonal values of university students are positive and presented a mixed characteristic of stability and fluctuation in the development of the interpersonal values among university students.

Wang and Zhang (2006) similarly sought to develop an indigenous scale to test knowledge values. They theoretically defined knowledge values and their basic components, namely knowledge values goals, knowledge values evaluation, and knowledge values functional means (following the three-domain structure now characteristic of Mainland studies). 1843 university students were investigated, and the results indicated differences of grade, gender, and major affected all three areas.

These indigenization efforts follow the spirit of the historical-political calls for developing socialism, economics, and modernization “with Chinese characteristics”. Historian John Fitzgerald (1999) provided an explanation for this continuing tendency (especially in the Mainland) to assert that there are special “Chinese characteristics” or a unique “Chinese context.” “These claims are founded on the old dictum that universal principles and historical processes always assume indigenous forms” (Fitzgerald, 1999:29).

[China] is neither fabricating an alternative universal history of science and civilization, nor dreaming up a national system of values to compete with other universals. Certainly there is some discussion about ‘Confucian’ values among neo-authoritarian theorists in Beijing but this constitutes only a small part of China’s claim against the West. The larger part questions whether the West has any special claim to the universal values of science, modernity and democracy at all, other than an accident of birth. Debates within the elite suggest that the present leadership...wants to reclaim modernity from the west by

questioning the assumption that ‘modern’ and ‘Western’ are interchangeable terms. It is a question of national dignity. (1999:29)

Admittedly, a concern for national dignity that failed to accommodate universal principles and values would appear to be unsustainable in the long term...The particular identity of the ‘Chinese people’ as they enter the 21st century is that of a national community holding deep-seated historical grudges against ‘the West’ while claiming for themselves many of the values that people in the West assume to be ‘Western’. If Chinese people now aspire to Small Comforts – embracing a pleasant lifestyle, personal freedoms, and political liberties – it is not because they want to ape the West but because they aspire to ‘universal’ human values. (Fitzgerald, 1999:30)

Xiting Huang (2007:193-195) argued that this focus was not just a nationalistic fad, but revealed an inherent difference from mainstream psychology’s focus on individuality. Chinese culture philosophically espouses the “person and nature as a unity”, harmony in interpersonal relations, and harmony between persons and nature. An increasing number of Mainland scholars seek empirical support for these arguments as they relate to values. These efforts of applying careful and standard methods to construct scales capturing values with Chinese characteristics, will surely not be short-lived, but will continue to thrive.

6.2.2 Enriching the Abstract Meaning of Some Chinese Values

As we see from the work highlighted above, to deal with the complexities of an ancient civilization confronting a technologically sophisticated and increasingly interdependent world, Chinese Mainland scholars seem to be finding ways to conceptually expand some of the “universal” items in Schwartz (1992) that in certain cultures may seem too abstract, “thin” or impoverished. For example, similar to the universal item that Schwartz has termed “family security”, Jinfu Zhang’s (1998) work suggested multiple items, like “family harmony (家庭和睦),” “satisfying marriage (美满婚姻),” “advancing family prosperity (发家致富),” “having blessed children and grandchildren (造福子孙), and “well-behaved and high-achieving children (子女有为).” These family-related idioms thus go beyond the singular family aspect of “security,” potentially serve different motivational goals, and seem worth differentiating in ongoing research. Universal frameworks such as that of Schwartz need not restrict situated research, but can provide impetus and an open frame for considering comparable operative and meaning-rich indigenous values terms/phrases (selected specifically to reflect distinctive goals) to clarify the possibly multiple motivational underpinnings that such values may contain (as Bond & Chi, 1997 sought to do).

It must be noted that scholars on the Mainland are also seeking to explicate specific and relevant value domains as their Chinese colleagues abroad have done. Mapping this out has proven to be a huge project, but from what we have identified so far through specifically focused literature searches and draft reviews, the following Table 6.5 provides an emic listing of studies done so far (similar to Table 5.7). For the sake of building either statistical or descriptive research traditions on such work, I have sought to identify the nature of the study and listed these in separate columns, as well as the primary disciplinary focus.

Table 6.5. Emic Chinese Values Studied Specifically in the Mainland

Chinese Core Cultural Value Orientation Studied (as a VALUE)	Empirical Studies from Social/ Indigenous Psychology (N=how many)	Explanatory Studies from Psychology, Intercultural Communication Studies
集体 <i>jiti</i> (collectivism & the interdependent self)	None specifically identified yet	Many general summaries, e.g., cf., Wan, 1994; Wu, 2003; Tang & Chen, 2007; related to self-construal, Yang, 1998b
面子 <i>mianzi</i> , 脸 <i>lian</i> (face, face-saving, face-giving)	Zhang, W. M. (2007) N = 180	
孝 <i>xiao</i> (filial piety)		Many summaries emphasizing tradition, or criticizing it
关系 <i>guanxi</i> (social networking, mutual obligations, interrelationships)	Park & Luo (2001) N = 128 Wang & Chen (2009) N = 161 (and focus group, pilot =51)	Su & Littlefield (2001) (Sociological)
儒家教育观 Confucian educational value orientation		Chen, M. (2005) (Philosophical) Peng & Hu (2001) (Philosophical) Wang, N. P. (2008) (Philosophical)
成就 Achievement/Reward	Fan (2003) N = 381	Li & Liu (2008) (Sociological) Hu (2006) (Sociological)
道德 <i>daode</i> (morality)		Many summaries emphasizing tradition, or criticizing it
仁 <i>ren</i> (human-heartedness)		Li, X. G. (1997) (Sociological)
和谐 <i>hexie</i> (harmony)		Huang, N. S. (2007) (Sociological) Wang, N. P. (2008) (Philosophical)
家(族主义) <i>jia</i> (<i>zu zhu yi</i>) (family, clan, familism, parenting)		Jia, X. Q. (2004) (Sociological)
忍 <i>ren</i> (endurance)		Zhang, J. Y. (2008).

风水 <i>fengshui</i> (the art of spatial arrangement, landscape geomancy)		Zhou, Y. M. (2004) (Philosophical) Jing (2007) (Philosophical) Wu (2007) (Philosophical)
愉快, 快乐 Happiness Subjective well-being	Guo (2005) N = 360 Li & Peng (2000) N = 676; Li & Zhao (2005) N= 593; Li & Zhang (2001) N = 676; Wang (2005) N=1103/N= 646; Zhou, Y. W. (2007) N = 1022 female students and 31 managers;	Fan (2008) (Sociological)
忠 Loyalty		Zhang, J. Y. (2008) (Psychological)

Table 6.5 shows clearly that there are few empirical studies on these topics. The notable exception is in the area of Subjective Well Being (SWB), where a Western tradition of related research exists, so these cannot be truly considered “emic” studies. SWB studies, like much work on imported concepts, are seeking to identify some emic applications of etic theory, just like Chinese personality theorists are seeking to demonstrate that Chinese culture extends personality theory from the “Big 5” to at least a “Big 7” or in newer versions, a “Big 9.”

Since there are overseas precedents for empirical work on “face” (as a type of self-others construal and self-esteem process) and “*guanxi*” (related to social networking studies), it is encouraging to see that Mainland work is advancing here. Though most work is not empirical, an interesting landscape emerges from the articles that have appeared on several traditional topics. The diversity of conclusions is obvious, especially on “filial piety” and “traditional Chinese morality.” One set of scholars fit more into the “cultural preservationist” school and decry the erosion of these enduring Chinese characteristics, and thinks more should be done in values and moral education to maintain them. Another group fit the “cultural advancement” and modernization persuasion more, and seek to show how ancient conceptions of “*xiao*” and “*daode*” were feudal, constraining, part of China’s past conservative problems that hindered development. They urge at least redefinition of these past conceptions for a more modern, enlightened values set. And a few scholars seek to point out the limitations and the advantages and argue for a mixed values set that maintains the best of the past but adopts more modern global perspectives. Most studies in the Mainland, whether positivist or interpretative, subscribe to an epistemology of constructive progress, adopting as one would expect a Marxist view of dialectically improving socialism and marching toward an eventual utopia.

My initial emic-to-etic work (Kulich et al., 2006) also advocated this process of more carefully identifying “core culture” conceptions. I agree with other researchers who suggest that there is perhaps an individualistic bias in the items generated in Western research frameworks (e.g., Huang, 2004) and that indigenous studies from collective cultures might help to culturally counter-balance values work, especially if the translation and correlation work can be done to more clearly link them to inclusive frameworks.

Bond and Chi found that the addition of four “values of indigenous concern joined with other values to form constructs that had been identified in previous research” (1997:261). For a large and diverse country, the “patriotism” measured in Bond and Chi would be considered important for binding citizens in a national identity, so their added patriotism item grouped with the Social Harmony factor and fell into the large Universal-Benevolence-Conformity domain (at the individual-level). The other indigenous inputs likewise merged with existing constructs, confirming that the Schwartz instrument appears to provide a comprehensive measure of the value universe, but can be enhanced for localized understanding by emic item integration. That study formed a model for some procedures adopted in Chapter 9.

6.2.3 Fledgling Comparative Approaches

Increasingly, some Mainland articles seek to compare value orientations cross-culturally (e.g., generally in Wan, 1994; specifically regarding Chinese and American values on success in Hu, 2006; on learning in Li & Cole, 2003; and on economic values in Zhou et al., 2005) or extend these ideas to inter-ethnic research (e.g., Hou & Zhang, 2006; Li & Jiang, 2007). As in the West, college students continue to be the most studied social group (cf., Ma, He, & Guo, 2008). However, most studies still tend to be descriptive and analytical and not of empirical design (a noteworthy exception through international cooperation is Bond & Mak, 1996).

Many studies relate or their findings to the general framework of collectivism-individualism (particularly Hofstede’s version of this dimension, 1980, 2001). Some studies where Ind/Col is noted as the main explanatory factor are Wan (1994), Wu (2003), Tang and Chen (2007) and only a few scholars so far seemed to considered self-construal (e.g., Yang, 1998b). Overall, more rigor is needed to not just generalize, but design specific theory-testing measurement studies.

But “culture” is increasingly construed as more than just national, but also as generational or regional, contextual. Jinfu Zhang and Yongping Zhao (2006) conducted a study on generational differences between parents and their children in Chongqing, and found that values differed according to ages and grades in school. Specifically there are parent-child gaps in values on self,

family, independence, privacy, equality, knowledge, and responsibility (Zhang & Zhao, 2006:1225, a trend also seen in the work of Xiting Huang, Shenghua Jin and others). Han, Wang, and Liu (1998) sought to examine some rural value changes during the period of social transition. They surveyed 141 peasants in Shanxi (1998:70-77) using 24 questions on six different value orientations that they created (feudal ethic beliefs, traditional Chinese social moral values, communist moral ideals, early socialist moral values, contemporary Western individualistic values, and individualistic self-pursuit). Though such categories seem to bear ideological loadings, their findings showed differences according to gender, age, educational background, as well as careers, and the results seem to reflect some of the unique economic, political, and historical contexts of Shanxi province, the war-time revolutionary base of Mao's communists. Studies such as these provide important underpinnings for applying intercultural perspectives to culture change research across generations, regions, rural and urban or other contexts.

6.3 Chinese Values in Change

6.3.1 Expanding Research to Consider Culture Shifts

One of the ongoing challenges of Chinese values studies is the dilemma of whether and how to carry out studies that are true to the context (emically sensitive) but that also mean something to global researchers (etically connected). But the goal is not just standardization, but seeking approaches that will truly measure cultural changes. In one of the few empirical studies on value changes (Xu, et al., 2004), the researchers chose to apply G. W. Allport's values inventory to analyze how the 2003 SARS outbreak affected values. Though the study suggested that even in the SARS crisis, there were some stable values (Chinese continuity), undergraduates were shown to have reduced their pre-SARS value-orientation of practicality and shifted more importance to values on health and society during and after the epidemic. This kind of situation-based "before and after" scenario for research could provide a good model for future work. What is disappointing is that the researchers chose to use a 1961 personality-based scale instead of Schwartz's more recent, theoretical, and comprehensive work. This actually underscored the need for the publication of a dissertation like this, in both English and Chinese – so that scholars are finally more aware of the full palette, purposes, and procedures of values research options available to them.

A related phenomenon is the "need for values clarification in confrontation or change" hypothesis (Kulich, 2009b), where the more that cultural participants are made aware of or are confronted by "Other," the more they initially need to reevaluate what their enduring cultural values and roots are (S. Yang, 2004) in order to begin embracing some levels of change from a more secure position.

While the checks and balances of defensiveness versus growth seem to be a universal theme (Pyszczynski, Greenberg, & Goldenberg, 2003), it becomes an important matter of social interest whenever a nation or people are thrust into a period of rapid change. The “values clarification in change” hypothesis we put forward suggests that environments of rapid social changes will likely bring about corresponding levels of discussion on the erosion or needed revival of traditional cultural values and mores.

Based on a citation analysis conducted on the topic of traditional Chinese values, we find this emerging discourse to be taking place (Wang, Yan, & Yu, 2008). Of 94 articles located in the Chinese Mainland’s CNKI citation database, all were expressly related to aspects of Chinese culture, traditions, or traditional values. Many of these are polemical discussions on what aspects of China’s great cultural heritage are worth maintaining, must be maintained, or will complementarily benefit modern realities. The trend of publications also corresponds to the proposed change hypothesis, with only 6 such articles being published before 1994, 14 from 1994-1999, 53 from 2000-2004, and another 23 just in the last 3 years. Maintaining tradition versus adopting Western values (e.g., Wei, 2006), and of co-opting traditionality in modernity (e.g., Tu & Huang, 2005) have become hot scholarly topics, advancing a long tradition of academic concern (Bond & King, 1985).

This pattern of course mirrors government and educational policies designed to revive a new form of Confucianism and “Chineseness” (Tu, 1995) to bring content to the value vacuum of an increasingly materialistic society. Zhai and Qu (2001) conducted one of the few empirically designed psychological studies examining tradition and modernization (N=694), and indeed found that, though there were (1) many new values’ perspectives, (2) the traditional core had not disappeared (e.g., Confucian ethics such as face, *guanxi*) and was still viewed positively, but (3) value orientations were currently obscure – many respondents had no clear idea about their value choices. Education and region were found to be not as influential to values development as age and professional identifications. As Li and Zhang (2001) suggested, there is increasing evidence of values conflicts – cultural convergence is *not* happening; instead, multiple modernities are appearing (Tu, 2000; R. Zhang, 2006).

6.3.2 Expanding Research to Enhance Modernization Theory

Newer versions of modernization theory (Inglehart, 1997b; Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Yang, 2003) argue that “modernization is not linear” (Inglehart, 1997b:5), and that traditionality and modernity may in fact be “two separate, independent, multidimensional psychological syndromes” (Yang, 2003:266). As such, they can coexist as “concurrent psychological traits appearing and functioning together in...time and space” (2003:236) specific to a person’s life domains (see also R. Zhang, 2006, J. Shen, 2007). As suggested earlier, Kluckhohn’s fifth assumption (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961:10; Kulich, 2009a) about value priorities being unclear in rapidly changing societies is increasingly manifested in a coexisting duality of value domains (a *yin-yang* type of values matrix). Individuals, or even cultural institutions, on one hand are seeking to ride the modern/postmodern wave, but at the same time feel uncertain and insecure, producing the counteracting need to fall back on familiar culture-as-we-have-known-it values for comfort or maintaining a preferred cultural stability.

Can the Chinese mainland be taken as a viable example of dynamic knowledge creation or expansion? Historically speaking, China has been put into such a position since the launch of the Open Door policy by Deng after 1978. Analysts would concur that the changes since the mid-1990s have been most noticeable and almost exponential. China has almost consistently maintained double-digit economic growth, massive rural and urban restructuring, along with increasing levels of social openness, specifically through the exposure that the Internet revolution has brought about. It thus seems evident that Mainland China is a fertile territory to carry forward the T/M research initiated by the indigenous psychologists in Taiwan.

In fact, partly encouraged by a review paper published in the Mainland (Y. Y. Yang, 2001), such research has already begun to take shape (e.g., Zhang, Zheng, & Wang, 2003). For example, Guo (2001) sought to examine moral value shifts among urban residents, assuming there are contradictory attitudes toward traditional Chinese values. He found that those holding less traditional values were less dissatisfied with contemporary reality (with age, income, and educational level also being influential). “From the outside looking in,” Bomhoff and Gu (2011) analyzed the latest wave of WVS data and found the *yin-yang* dynamics that this dissertation proposes; (1) that “self-expression values” are increasing, more so in industrialized coastal area than less developed inland regions, while (2) historical and cultural traditions have an enduring influence, interestingly, with those of a higher income level being more traditionally oriented. More work is needed to map out these types of modernization and globalization value shifts in the Mainland.

6.4 Domain Specific “Chinese Values”

6.4.1 Extensions into Applied Areas

Such studies show the trend, like that overseas, for values studies to move increasingly into applied areas. Jinfu Zhang’s team had examined fertility values (Zhang, Tong, & Bi, 2005). Based on open-ended interviews, overviews of former studies, counsel from experts and a small-sample test, they developed a theoretical hypothesis about fertility values and constructed an *a priori* questionnaire. Using structural equation modeling (N=692, roughly half male and half female), they showed that fertility values are a multi-level and multi-dimensional construct (nine factors, again under three general categories). For readers in the Mainland, their careful empirical methodologies are as instructive as their findings.

Other applied areas focus on studies of happiness, filial piety, work values, education values, and gender values. In line with the highly cited tome by German sinologist Wolfgang Bauer on “China and the search for happiness” (1971/1976), more than 60 studies have appeared in Chinese mainland publications regarding this concept, most since 2000 (the year China “arrived” internationally by entering the WTO, being granted their first ever Olympics, launching the *Shenzhou 1* rocket, getting their first men’s football team into the World Cup, and maintaining their economic boom). We submit that happiness, as a broad emotional state, should be considered the consequence of pursuing or achieving important values rather than a value per se (since it can be attained through the successful pursuit of many different values, cf., Schwartz, 1992, Footnote 2:60). Perhaps this is why Xin & Jin (2006) structurally located “happiness and the good life” as the ultimate value among students (see Section 6.1.7.4).

There are good reasons to include it (noting it appeared as a factor in the Bond & Chi, 1997 study), as there seems to be such a surge of interest granting “happiness” value status in the Mainland. The quality and focus of these “studies” is varied, with some: summarizing traditional Chinese views of happiness (4 identified); providing general comparisons of happiness in the West compared to China (7); outlining happiness in today’s society (5); discussing the happiness of specific groups. The majority of these studies deal specifically with college student’s views of happiness (18), some suggesting appropriate or “model views” of happiness (7) (polemic discussions).

As mentioned earlier, the study of values related to subjective well-being (SWB) is also an area of broad interest. Research like Li and Peng’s (2000) linking happiness to initiative, self-confidence and contentment, Li and Zhang’s (2001) analyzing seven factors influencing the happiness of

college students, or Li, Yang, and You's (2002) comparing females and males, or Zhang and You's (2000) comparing happiness levels between urban and rural students are breaking new ground. Weng's (2008) SVS-related extension of Kulich's (1997) analysis of values appearing in self-generated sayings suggests that such a conception might also be termed "optimism" (cf. Weng & Kulich, 2009).

Since filial piety was included in the 40 values of the Chinese Value Survey (Chinese Culture Connection, 1987), it has continued to be investigated as an indicator of traditional Chineseness. It is also a controversial domain, as it is considered to have influenced less-desired cultural expressions (the subservience of women, sons subject to fathers), as well as ever-lingering aspects such as respect/subservience for elders (see Ho, 1996; also Hwang & Han, 2010). A recent citation review conducted by Yuan and Qian (2008) identified 36 articles specifically on this topic in Mainland journals. The trend is from descriptive studies to more data-based ones. With increased modernization, there is also an exponential growth of interest in the topic, especially the discussion trend seen for many traditional value topics, where there is debate on how much is being lost to modernizing and global influences, and how much should be retained to maintain "Chineseness".

Conversely, the analysis of work values is promoting the rapid development of more international mindsets. Harkening to the early roots of values research (that of Perry and Spranger), Ling, Fang, and Bai (1999) as well as Yu et al. (2004) examined vocational values, which they argued guide vocational behavior and work results. Leading Western research by Super (1957, 1970), Herzberg (1966), Hofstede (1980), and Ros, Schwartz, and Sukis (1999) have been applied in early work by Huang, Zhang, and Li (1994), Ning (1996b), and in recent seminal reviews by Zheng and Yan (2005) and Z. Q. Jin and Z. S. Li (2007) and are in fact contributing to theoretical refinements, as the next section shows

6.4.2 Theoretical Advancements from Analysis of Work Values

Generalized values studies are sometimes critiqued, as it can be argued that specific contexts or situations elicit related but limited sets of values. To counter such broad value descriptions, scholars interested in organizational communication are working on projects aimed at developing situated theory (cf. Ling et al., 1999; Meng, 2006; Xu, 2005; Yu et al., 2004), specifically related to occupational and work values.

In an earlier emic study, Ling, Fang, and Bai (1999) sought to develop their own 22-item, "localized Holland" (1985) scale that led to their isolating three vocational factors of value, namely, health care, fame/power, and development (N=408 college students). Using a massive

database, Xu (2005, on data collected in 2002, N=3183) built on that research and carefully compared rural and urban, coastal and inland Chinese Mainland residents over age 18. Xu noted shifts in the rating of occupational prestige, job preferences, and acceptance of mobility. This study primarily found that: (1) differentiation of elite stratification sets in motion changes in Chinese social relations and the reorganization of social structure; (2) these changes accelerate social mobility which, in turn, leads to increasingly stronger market orientation (more respondents come to consider entrepreneurship as an indicator of success); and (3) all these factors bring about changes in Chinese cultural values (from a national character perspective). This study reinforces the notion again that China has moved from a period with limited or specific areas of economic activity into a period of immense social change, bringing psychological change in its wake. Related research on work values is also expanding exponentially (see Xin & Jin, 2006 below).

Yu et al. (2004) further tested Ling et al.'s (1999) work with a 23-item scale of vocational values (referring also to Super, Holland, and other international researchers), administered to postgraduate students (N=103). Emergent factors were again health care and fame/power (two of the three 1999 factors), but two new factors were found in this test group: (1) interpersonal relationships in the work place, and (2) self actualization, which had the highest rating, though males also rated fame/power high (Yu et al., 2004:40). The authors concluded that this factor structure was more in line with Maslow's hierarchy of human needs.

Meng (2006) extended Ling et al.'s (1999) localized "Career Interest Inventory" to test the structure of work values with Chinese youth. His resulting 43-item survey yielded 8 factors:

- Soft work environment and individual development and achievement (工作软环境与个人发展成就),
- Social prestige and status (社会声望与地位),
- Solid work environment and security (工作硬环境与职业安全),
- Internal value of work (工作内在价值),
- Promotion opportunity and contribution(成长机会与贡献),
- Position and power (有职有权),
- Welfare and insurance (福利与保障), and
- Freedom and economic rewards (自由与经济报酬).

These factors appear to have some correspondence to both Schwartz's ten, individual-level domains (2005b), and seven cultural-level domains (2006, 2008). If the degree of overlap could be analyzed with etic value surveys, such indigenous work may provide some useful theoretical enhancements, paralleling that provided by the Chinese Culture Connection's (1987) identification

of Confucian work dynamism which was later incorporated in the Hofstede dimensions (2001) (though that addition has had its detractors, cf. Fang, 2003a). Leung (2009), addressing cross-cultural management research specifically, expressed the similar idea that the integrative roads, though still less traveled by indigenous researchers, are necessary for generating “innovative and culture-general theories” (2009:125).

In related theoretical work, Xin & Jin (2006) generated a six-dimension structure of Chinese work values and conducted a careful, open-ended survey of college students for questionnaire development, analyzed survey results by exploratory factor analyses of college students and workers, and then checked external validation with different samples. Their work isolated:

- Self-development
- Safeguards and material benefits
- Family-orientation
- Sense of contribution and collectivism
- Esteem and reputation
- Social relationships

These show trends that would be typically reported in various analyses of values shifts, and concur with findings of other reports. Faure and Fang (2008) analyzed eight pairs of paradoxical values in business and social contexts:

- *Guanxi* vs. professionalism
- Importance of face vs. self-expression and directness
- Thrift vs. materialism and ostentations consumption
- Family and group orientation vs. individuation
- Aversion to law vs. respect for legal practices
- Respect for etiquette, age and hierarchy vs. respect for simplicity, creativity, and competence
- Long-term vs. short-term orientation
- Traditional creeds vs. modern approaches.

They concluded, as we have above, that the cultural changes contemporary China has undergone are not linear, but include the contradictory management of paradoxes and remain anchored in a classical *yin-yang* approach. More applications of models that can show this “field” or “matrix” approach across Chinese populations could significantly advance contextual extensions of universal theories (i.e., adaptations of Schwartz might map out concentration areas or highlight “thick value” clusters).

6.5 Zhang Jinfu's Model as a Summary of Mainland Contributions

As a summary it may help to categorize the values that seem to be salient in the Mainland. Since some instruments have not been easily accessed for comparison, we look at the work of Jinfu Zhang near the start of this century (1998) in what he conceptualized as “life values.” He argued that these life values dominate the individual values system, determine one’s overall value orientations, and capture the fundamental attitude by which people recognize and comment on their own social status, life purposes and significance, their relationships with others, and with the society as a whole (Zhang, 1998:26)⁷⁹.

Following the three dimensions/levels/types already mentioned in this chapter, life values consists of life value goals, life value means, and life value evaluations (1998:26). These three dimensions are used in studying the structures and characteristics of university students’ values. “Life value goals” provide the students with a psychological basis in guiding them to shape correct and reasonable life values, and provide the researchers a sense of the characteristics and core elements of their value orientations. Zhang maintained that “life values means” guide the university students in their social practices. And “life value evaluations” can help them understand how to control their attitudes and behaviors.

Though it is not strictly following the three-levels that Chinese values studies regularly promote, a similar model of putting values clarification exercises into research use will be proposed in Chapter 7 and put into practice in Chapters 8 to 11. Chinese scholars tend, however, to emphasize the “proper” and “correct” aspects, as values are often seen as a socially-contexted and influencable domain – something to be shaped and cultivated for good societal results (as we noted in the Mainland values education literature above)

⁷⁹ As Zhang states it in Chinese:

人生价值观是人们对自身的社会地位、人生目的和意义,以及个人与社会集体、人与人之间关系等进行认识和评价时所持的基本观念.

Table 6.6. Zhang's emic Listing of Chinese Life Value Goals (1998:27)

得分(顺序) 项目	被试 总体(639 人)	男(415 人)	女(224 人)
事业成功	637(1)	430(1)	207(1)
国家强盛	369(2)	283(2)	86(4)
纯真爱情	218(3)	156(3)	62(8)
身体健康	195(4)	124(5)	71(6)
知识渊博	189(5)	93(8)	96(2)
心情舒畅	186(6)	99(7)	87(3)
真诚友谊	184(7)	125(4)	59(9)
家庭和睦	177(8)	120(6)	57(10)
美满婚姻	153(9)	76(11)	77(5)
世界和平	122(10)	77(10)	45(13)
社会稳定	117(11)	79(9)	38(16)
多彩生活	113(12)	64(14)	49(12)
独立自主	110(13)	43(18)	67(7)
社会承认	109(14)	56(16)	53(11)
舒适生活	94(15)	65(12.5)	29(18)
奉献社会	89(16)	65(12.5)	24(19)
性格坚强	83(17)	42(19)	41(14)
品格高尚	74(18)	34(22)	40(15)
发家致富	66(19)	57(15)	9(25)
聪明能干	58(20)	29(24)	29(17)
人民幸福	51(21)	43(17)	8(26)
共同富裕	47(22.5)	38(20)	9(24)
民主自由	47(22.5)	37(21)	10(22)
团结祥和	36(24)	26(25)	10(22)
世人仰慕	34(25)	33(23)	1(38)
平等互利	32(26)	17(29)	15(20)
有权有势	31(27)	24(26)	7(27)
地位显赫	28(28)	18(28)	10(22)
安定太平	24(29)	19(27)	5(29)
成名成家	20(30)	15(30)	5(29)
流芳百世	19(31)	13(32)	6(28)
光宗耀祖	18(32)	14(31)	4(32)
创造发明	15(33)	10(33)	5(29)
服务他人	11(34)	8(34)	3(34)
容貌出众	10(35.5)	7(35.5)	3(34)
造福子孙	10(35.5)	7(35.5)	3(34)
延年益寿	6(37)	2(39)	4(33)
子女有为	5(38.5)	5(37.5)	0(39.5)
吃喝玩乐	5(38.5)	5(37.5)	0(39.5)
超度灵魂	3(40)	1(40)	2(37)
相关性 显著性检验		$r = 0.89$	$P < 0.01$

According to Table 6.6, the ten top value goals the students rate most highly are: success in career (事业成功), national prosperity (国家强盛), pure love (纯真爱情), health (身体健康), knowledgeableness (知识渊博), good mood (心情舒畅), sincere friendship (真诚友谊), harmonious family (家庭和睦), happy marriage (美满婚姻), and world peace (世界和平).

This shows that the university students are more concerned with personal issues and individual capabilities. Some values demanding self-sacrifice such as social contribution, common wealth and other-services are not stress.

Further, the collective value orientation is weak among university students. Their primary value orientations are non-religious, more practical and self-concerned. Female and male university students differ in such value goals as independence, wealth and fame.

Then from the analysis of “value means/approaches”, Table 6.7 shows that the ten most highly ranked items are:

activeness (拼搏进取),
honesty (诚实守信),
far-sighted (深谋远虑),
competitiveness (勇于竞争),
perseverance (百折不挠),
self-control (自我控制),
self-recognition (量力而行),
self-preservation (洁身自好),
hardworking (埋头苦干), and
worldliness (随机应变).

Overall, these “value means” of contemporary university students seem positive and active. Some traditional Chinese value means such as *weiqu qiuquan* (委曲求全, compromise for the sake of the general interest), *xungui daoju* (循规蹈矩, observe rules, conform to convention), and *qiangong shuncong* (谦恭顺从, modest, courteous, and obedient) are not popular among these students, reflecting apparent individualization or modernization influences.

Table 6.7. Zhang's Emic Listing of Chinese Life Value Means (Instrumental) (1998:28)

表 2 639 名大学生对人生价值手段的选择

得分(顺序) 项目	被试 总体(639 人)	男(415 人)	女(224 人)
拼搏进取	455(1)	307(1)	148(1)
诚实守信	351(2)	220(3)	131(2)
深谋远虑	311(3)	224(2)	87(7)
勇于竞争	302(4)	192(4)	110(5)
量力而行	284(5)	156(6)	128(3)
百折不挠	254(6)	180(5)	74(8)
自我控制	241(7)	142(8)	99(6)
洁身自好	213(8)	95(12)	118(4)
随机应变	212(9)	145(7)	67(9)
埋头苦干	164(10)	126(9)	38(13)
互利合作	148(11)	98(11)	50(10)
敢冒风险	145(12)	114(10)	31(14)
兢兢业业	131(13)	85(13)	46(12)
与世无争	101(14)	54(14)	47(11)
我行我素	55(15)	29(18)	26(15)
忍辱负重	50(16)	36(15)	14(18)
标新立异	47(17)	32(16)	15(17)
难得糊涂	41(18)	21(19)	20(16)
不择手段	33(19)	30(17)	3(30.5)
见好就收	32(20.5)	20(21)	12(19)
听天由命	32(20.5)	21(20)	11(20)
满足现状	26(22)	17(22.5)	9(22)
谨小慎微	23(23)	17(22.5)	6(23)
圆滑世故	19(24)	14(24)	5(25.5)
等待接受	16(25)	6(30)	10(21)
中庸调合	14(26)	9(28)	5(25.5)
投机取巧	13(27)	11(26)	2(33.5)
逢场作戏	12(28.5)	10(27)	2(33.5)
甘作人梯	12(28.5)	12(25)	0(38)
得过且过	10(30)	5(31)	5(25.5)
回避退让	8(31.5)	3(35)	5(25.5)
循规蹈矩	8(31.5)	8(29)	0(38)
委屈求全	6(33.5)	2(38)	4(28)
时冷时热	6(33.5)	3(35)	3(30.5)
无所适从	5(35.5)	2(38)	3(30.5)
坐享其成	5(35.5)	4(32.5)	1(35)
消极应付	4(37.5)	1(40)	3(30.5)
谦恭顺从	4(37.5)	4(32.5)	0(38)
犹豫徘徊	3(39)	3(35)	0(38)
卑躬屈膝	2(40)	2(38)	0(38)
相关显著性 检验		$r = 0.89$	$P < 0.005$

According to Table 6.8 (on the next page), the 10 top life value evaluations are: confidence and optimism (自信乐观), good mood (心平气和), contentment (自得其乐), open mindedness (开朗豁达), feel OK (感觉良好), emptiness (苦闷空虚), free from worries (轻松自在), anxiety (焦虑抑郁), worries (忧心忡忡), loneliness and helplessness (孤独无助). The authors concluded by

Table 6.8 that some students experience life positively, but many others experience life pessimistically.

These listings and findings help provide not only insights into the Chinese students Zhang sampled, but also the specific term content of values. The work of Zhang, Xin and Jin and the other scholars profiled in this chapter have inspired both the Chapter 8 qualitative and Chapters 9-11 quantitative studies on which this project are based. Indigenous listings like this will prove essential for ongoing comparative work, both at the specific-item level, as well as checking factored out dimensions and the associated content of emic surveys. The key is to bring convergence to the Western theoretical and strong empirical work with the growing body of Mainland studies. This is the task of the next six chapters appearing in Volume 2.

Table 6.8. Zhang's emic Listing of Chinese Life Value Evaluations

表 3 639 名大学生对人生价值的选择			
得分(顺序) 项目	被试 总体(639 人)	男(415 人)	女(224 人)
自信乐观	590(1)	422(1)	168(1)
心平气和	345(2)	200(2)	148(2)
自得其乐	272(3)	151(6)	121(4)
开朗达观	299(4)	174(5)	125(3)
感觉良好	276(5)	180(4)	96(5)
苦闷空虚	271(6)	186(3)	85(6)
轻松自在	177(7)	108(7)	69(7)
焦虑抑郁	142(8)	94(8)	48(9)
忧心忡忡	134(9)	88(9)	46(10)
孤独无助	128(10)	68(12)	60(8)
愉悦舒畅	119(11)	75(10)	44(11)
烦躁不安	114(12)	72(11)	42(12)
心安理得	82(13)	60(13)	22(15.5)
虚幻缥缈	73(14)	45(15)	28(13)
优哉游哉	60(15)	34(19)	26(14)
左右逢源	59(16)	46(14)	13(21)
自我满足	53(17)	39(16)	14(19.5)
孤芳自赏	49(18)	33(20.5)	16(18)
心灰意冷	48(19)	26(23)	22(15.5)
自惭形秽	47(20.5)	33(20.5)	14(19.5)
自命不凡	47(20.5)	36(27)	11(23.5)
悲观厌世	45(22)	32(22)	13(22)
兴奋激动	37(23)	34(18)	3(34)
懵懵懂懂	35(24)	16(28)	19(17)
无动于衷	33(25)	21(24)	11(23.5)
悲天悯人	28(26)	18(26)	10(25.5)
妄自尊大	27(27)	20(25)	7(29.5)
萎靡不振	24(28)	16(28)	8(28)
自怨自艾	21(29)	11(34)	10(25.5)
麻木不仁	20(30)	13(31.5)	7(29.5)
自我陶醉	19(31.5)	16(28)	3(34)
怨天尤人	19(31.5)	10(35)	9(27)
生不如死	17(34)	13(31.5)	4(32)
自暴自弃	17(34)	12(33)	5(31)
扬眉吐气	17(34)	15(30)	2(36)
走投无路	10(36.5)	9(36)	1(37)
妄自尊大	10(36.5)	7(37)	3(34)
沾沾自喜	6(38)	6(38)	0(39)
趾高气扬	5(39)	5(39)	0(39)
居功自傲	3(40)	3(40)	0(39)
相关显著性 检验	$r = 0.92$		$P < 0.005$

Source: Zhang (1998:29)

VOLUME Transition Explanation:

This concludes the discussion and extensive literary reviews, and is entitled

Volume 1: The Historical, Disciplinary, and Conceptual Landscape of Value Studies

(Chapters 1-6)

The discussion and reporting on data-based studies will now continue in

Volume 2: Mixed-method Approaches and Analysis of Chinese Values

(Chapters 7-12)

The next volume contains the following chapter titles:

Chapter 7: Methodological Issues in the Study of Values Related to Classroom
Clarification Exercises

Chapter 8: Exploratory Qualitative Studies

Chapter 9: Developing Exploratory Quantitative Procedures

Chapter 10: Quantitative Analysis of Culture and Individual Data

Chapter 11: Discussion of Methods and Integration of Findings

Chapter 12: Conclusions, Limitations, and Further Directions

In the following volume the reader will also find source material for both volumes:

References

Appendices

**Applying Cross-Cultural Values Research to “the Chinese”:
A Critical Integration of Etic and Emic Approaches**

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Präsident der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. Christoph Marksches

Dekan der Philosophischen Fakultät IV

Prof. Dr. phil. Ernst von Kardorff

Gutachter-Gutachterinnen

1. Prof. Dr. Jürgen Henze
2. Prof. Dr. Sigrid Blömeke
3. Prof. Dr. Michael Harris Bond

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Applying Cross-Cultural Values Research to “the Chinese”:

A Critical Integration of Etic and Emic Approaches

(A Doctoral Dissertation in Two Volumes)

Volume 1:

The Historical, Disciplinary, & Conceptual

Landscape of Value Studies

(Chapters 1-6)

Volume 2:

Mixed-method Approaches and Analysis of Chinese Values

(Chapters 7-12)

by

Steve J. Kulich

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

March 2010

Volume 2 Introduction

This volume is the continuation of the doctoral dissertation by Steve J. Kulich:

*Applying Cross-cultural Values Research to “the Chinese”:
A Critical Integration of Etic and Emic Approaches*

The preceding volume contained the primary critical literature reviews from multiple perspectives under the sub-title:

Volume 1: “The Historical, Disciplinary, & Conceptual Landscape of Value Studies”

And contained the chapters:

- Chapter 1: Introduction to Values Studies and
 Contrasting Conceptions of Culture
- Chapter 2: The History of Western Values Studies, Part 1:
 Sociology, Philosophy, and Cultural Anthropology
- Chapter 3: The History of Western Values Studies, Part 2:
 Psychology, Other Fields, and Intercultural Communication
- Chapter 4: Addressing Problematic Issues in the Conception, Collusion and Research
 Approaches of Values Studies
- Chapter 5: Historical Values Studies Related to “the Chinese”
- Chapter 6: Contemporary Chinese Values Studies in the Mainland

The discussion and reporting on data-based studies now continues in this

Volume 2: “Mixed-method Approaches and Analysis of Chinese Values,”
which contains the following chapter titles:

- Chapter 7: Methodological Issues in the Study of Values Related to Classroom
 Clarification Exercises
- Chapter 8: Exploratory Qualitative Studies
- Chapter 9: Developing Exploratory Quantitative Procedures
- Chapter 10: Quantitative Analysis of Culture and Individual Data
- Chapter 11: Discussion of Methods and Integration of Findings
- Chapter 12: Conclusions, Limitations, and Further Directions
- including: References
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Chapter 7: METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES IN THE STUDY OF VALUES RELATED TO CLASSROOM CLARIFICATION EXERCISES

Certainly, the manifestly different history, institutions, and other realizations of culture made the Chinese story different and endlessly fascinating. But, psychologically speaking, were its people different? The answer to this question relies upon the use of the scientific method to examine psychological processes and behavior in a comparative framework.

Social Psychologist, Michael Harris Bond (2007:236)

7.1 Introduction to Methods for Teaching and Studying Values

There are many ways to collect values-related data. The types of data collected and method used are as varied as the range of disciplinary and epistemological perspectives presented in this paper so far. Among the wide range of approaches are Robert Kohls' subjective linking of proverbs and values technique (Kohls, 1984/2001; Kohls & Knight, 1994), Michael Bond's and the Chinese Culture Connection's empirical design using the Chinese Values Survey (CVS) 40-item list (CCC, 1987), to Edward Stewart's content and critical analysis of "Cultural Heroes in Culture" approach (1998). Studies range from latitudinal (differences across and varieties of group characteristics), to longitudinal (variations across time samples), to focusing on the causality of values on other variables, or of controlling variables on values, with methods also including interviews or surveys, literary, discourse or media analysis, observational ethnographies, theoretical hypothesis testing with established psychological instruments, and to measurements of variables in control and test groups or laboratory experiments (e.g., Zhong, 2009:4).

Thus, one of the first sets of issues confronting the researcher of values are theoretical and practical questions of which style, approach, methodology, or combination of the above he or she believes capable of providing the most valid information or insights into the values of a particular group or people under study. Since the 1970's, cross-cultural values research has primarily been situated in the fields of social psychology and intercultural communication studies, both advocating a social science and empirical approach. The reviews provided in Chapters 3, 5, and 6 show that the values studies including or concerning the Chinese have generally referred to and built on the work of Morris, Hofstede, and Bond, all empirical survey-based studies, while the work of Schwartz has been mostly overlooked in mainstream literature so far. So the researcher must decide if one concurs with these widely cited approaches or seeks to modify or move beyond them?

Garrott (1995a) was perhaps the first scholar to extensively test current value orientations on the Chinese mainland and publish in a flagship English journal. Local Mainland scholars Xiting Huang et al. (Huang et al., 1989) and the study carried in the early 1990s out by the Institute of Sociology, Chinese Academy of Sciences both preceded her – but their reports were published in Chinese only and not made available to Western academic circles. Garrott administered the CCC's (1987) Chinese Value Survey (CVS) to 512 university or college students in Beijing, Shanghai, and nine other provinces, and compared her work to the generalized findings of Morris (1956b). Though her data was collected from a broadly representative sample of Chinese university students, the varied results and conclusions drawn contend that China is no more unique than “the human values found anywhere else” (Garrott, 1995a:220).

The critical reader might question aspects of her collection methods, data pooling, statistical procedures (e.g., not standardizing data sets with z-scores), and not differentiating regional or other variables very carefully. Yet Garrott's analysis and claims called into question assumptions about the existence of a truly distinct “Chinese” set of values (as per the CCC, 1987, also suggested in the work of Hofstede & Bond, 1988). Was the search for “Chinese values” or distinctives that might fit under the unique construct they labeled Confucian work dynamism (later renamed the long-term vs. short-term orientation) just wishful thinking, even though this dimension had statistically “factored out” and seemed logical to researchers. Are “Chinese values” just mixed points on a continuum of universal values as Garrott contends, or are they emergent from some distinct and ongoing sense of cultural heritage that Bond and the CCC initially put forward when they developed the CVS?

Michael Harris Bond should, however, not be misunderstood on this point. As noted in Chapter 5 and 6, though Bond sought to initially list the “Chinese values” script as an acknowledged emic set, he clearly counters this notion of overarching “Chinese distinctiveness”, showing that in multinational studies, “the Chinese” seldom show up as a unique entity, but their varied communities “invariably ally themselves more closely with other cultural-national groups when they are assessed using either ecological-social... or psychological...indices” (Bond, 2007:242). Further, we need to ask if these Chinese “national groups” are as homogeneous within as often assumed. What methods will help us sort out inter-nation, contextual variation such as we see increasingly occurring throughout diffusedly developing/transforming societies like China? Or in this time of reform, rapid modernization, and cultural transformation of traditional mindsets, are “Chinese values” some sort of modernizing amalgam of both, as Yang (1986, 1996, 2003) and Jinfu Zhang (2008, who proposes the concept of “integrated values”) suggest?

7.1.1 Personal Aim to Integrate CC Psychology into IC Education

In dealing with this set of issues, I need to first restate that my academic training did not arise out of social psychology, though as this dissertation shows, I have been increasingly reading, focusing on, and seeking to integrate the rigor of this discipline into my research approach. With an undergraduate background first in the sciences (chemistry and mathematics) and then in secondary/young adult education, my primary approach to most issues in my 30-year teaching, training, and public speaking career is first of all educational –

What will help people understand their context, make sense of their experiences, and assess their personal strengths, needs or options in order to be motivated to learn, grow, and develop more mature or appropriate approaches to face upcoming challenges?

Next, as Chapter 5 has shown, my graduate training was in Chinese studies, so an awareness of the specific philosophical, historical, institutional elements that have shaped or continue to shape this cultural context (as Michael Bond alluded to in the lead quote for this chapter) are ever present in my mind in seeking to adopt or adapt educational approaches. My evolving awareness of the orientations of the “Chinese learner” (or variations thereof) strongly influences the classroom approaches that I employ, since the primary objective is that my students gain something relevant to their learning and lives.

Concurrently, my training and focus in graduate school has also been in intercultural communication (IC), which I believe wonderfully marries these two approaches – the more universalist educational aims with more particularist Chinese cultural applications. Thus the merger of etic and emic perspectives that IC training seeks to bring together (culture-general and culture-specific approaches) has been a primary goal of my instructional approaches for nearly 20 years now. And because I am convinced that true “people development” only takes place when we move beyond the “teaching” of comparative information and the “training” of standard skill sets, I am committed to the integration of the principles of cross-cultural psychology and the inspiration of the humanities toward more holistic intercultural education and development. This is why I have taken pains to carefully cover the contribution of each of these fields of learning in this dissertation so far, as is fitting of a comparative education degree.

But now the following questions need to be addressed:

“How can these be applied in the classroom?”

And further, besides benefitting student’s awareness and development, can the classroom-generated data be useful in informing the researcher’s understanding of cultural values?

“What can be learned from the outputs (data) gathered from such exploratory classroom exercises?”

This chapter will address both questions and put forward the tentative research approaches used in this dissertation.

7.2 Rationale and Approaches for Classroom Values Clarification

A key feature of “subjective culture” (Triandis et al., 1972) is that it is imperceptibly subjective and, as Hall maintained (1998), is often unknown to the person that subjectively operates in it. Therefore, as mentioned earlier in this dissertation, values clarification has often been a starting point for intercultural and cross-cultural training in a wide range of settings, and has been an important setting and source for the collection of data in this study.

Values clarification theory has diverse roots, with varied strands arising from most of the humanistic disciplines covered in Chapters 2 and 3. Philosophically, John Dewey (1939:65) discussed “valuing” as the interdependent process of reasoning, emoting, and behaving: “Valuing occurs when the head and heart...unite in the direction of action” (bringing together many of the core culture components of Chapter 4). Early psychologists like Abraham Maslow (1959) and Carl Rogers (1961) recommended that responsible people should seek to discover their values through a process of honest, open-minded self-examination. Milton Rokeach (1973) and M. Brewster Smith (1977) considered values clarification as the process of examining one’s basic values and moral reasoning (cf. Kirschenbaum, 1977), and Shirley Steele’s (1979) often cited explanation suggests it is a process to understand oneself – to discover what is important and meaningful (in abridged notes from Turner & Chapman, 2008: on-line)⁸⁰.

One of the key strands came from the work of Gordon Allport on prejudice and his contact hypothesis (1954), which is one of the most cited works in the cross-cultural and intercultural fields. The social contact hypothesis deals with how situated groups of people perceive outsiders (Simmel’s strangers) and how contacts with distinct others can contribute to lessening our misperceptions or miscommunications. Thus it is a key building block for intercultural processes

⁸⁰ Retrieved May 8, 2009, from http://www.fiapac.org/e/Value_clarification.html (now not found)

and intercultural theory. Dan Landis and Jaqueline Wasilewski, in their review of 22-23 years of IC development, noted, “Much of the work coming from scholars of the communication process (e.g., Gudykunst) owes a debt to Hall while the work on in/out group interactions (e.g., Tajfel [1978, 1982], Gaertner [et al., 1996], and Brewer [1991, 1996]) derives from Allport and even Sherif” (Landis and Wasilewski, 1999:536). How well we understand the workings of our own ingroup or suspect or substantiate perceived differences in outgroups contributes directly to communication effectiveness or breakdowns. Therefore in order to help prevent intercultural discrimination or prejudice, and to facilitate effective communication attitudes and behavior, training in values awareness or values clarification is often considered a key and essential part of that process.

Another important stream has arisen out of the work education and development theories of Jean Piaget (1946/1954). This includes theories on intellectual and ethical development by William G. Perry, Jr. (1970) and the psychology and stages of moral development by Lawrence Kohlberg (1966, 1984). Allport also contributed to this stream with his classic text, *Pattern and Growth in Personality* (1961). Intercultural scholars and trainers adapted these and related ideas to question how life experiences, unexpected encounters (shocks/stresses as well as positive reinforcements), and social interaction affect the social and cognitive development of sojourners or intercultural interactants. Scholars like Peter Adler (1974/1977), Milton Bennett (1986), and Janet Bennett (1977/1998) expanded conceptions of “culture shock” to consider and evaluate the stages that one goes through in cultural change, not only emotionally, but also developmentally, and broadened the issues faced to a wider range of transitions as well.

When people face strangers (Georg Simmel, 1908/1950), strange cues, or strange situations, they face both challenges and opportunity for increased personal/other awareness and personal growth and development. Such a perspective links intercultural training to the broader goals of liberal humanities-oriented education – promoting exploration, inquiry, critical thinking, self-reflection, understanding, evaluation, awareness, sensitivity, and increased tolerance. “The clarified person will exhibit characteristics of Maslow’s ‘self-actualized person’ acting in a calmly confident and purposeful way” (Kinnier, 1995).

No matter how accommodating one desires to be, one of the big challenges in value clarification is whether the values imbedded in or elicited from one cultural system can be adequately understood in another (this issue will be taken up in the data analysis of Chapter 9). Edward Stewart pioneered the “Contrast-American” approach (based on his *American Cultural Patterns*, 1971) providing a

table with “cultural other” differences (in live performances, with someone representing “Mr. Kahn”) to illustrate divergent cultural systems and create expanded cultural awareness (Stewart et al., 1998; cf. Condon & Yousef’s extended values listing, 1975). But most items on these lists were conceivable opposites; that is, “If you don’t value my concept of materialism, you must value spiritualism,” and so on. The question is whether there might be shades of values, or a range, as Kluchkhohn & Strodbeck posited (1961), and can culturally-situated values be effectively translated, adequately expressed, or sufficiently made understandable enough to elicit affective responses in non-indigenous “Others”?

Further, on the question regarding the possibility of true linguistic translation, research suggests it is possible but very challenging. One of the best projects Wasilewski avowedly ever worked on (Landis & Wasilewski, 1999) was at Americans for Indian Opportunity in which an intertribal study group finally managed (after about 8 years work) to translate 4-6 core tribal values into English (Harris & Wasilewski, 1992). A computer-assisted collective problem-solving process was used (Broome & Christakis, 1988; Broome & Keever, 1989; Wasilewski, 1997) to hold some of these discussions, and the work on the core values is continuing.

Values clarification need not always be so slow or difficult – many trainers attempt to elicit and highlight key difference in one workshop session, though this may not always be advisable and might contribute to superficial and stereotypical understandings. But many fields now acknowledge its usefulness - values clarification sessions have become a standard part of teacher training (cf. Raths, Harmin & Simon, 1966, 1978; Raths, 2001), business management or leadership training (e.g., Sampaht, 2006), nurses training (e.g., Steele, 1979; Steele & Harmon, 1983, or related websites⁸¹), interns, counselors (e.g., Hart, 1978), pastoral training (e.g., Lipe, 2009 online⁸²) or multiple other professional development programs. And the process that Wasilewski illustrates above is that the more different values or their imbedded cultural belief/world view systems might be, the more challenging they might be to bring to the surface or bring about adequate awareness or articulation (e.g., IPAS values clarification for abortion attitude transformation⁸³). Many social misunderstandings or conflicts might be exacerbated because people may be responding emotionally or to preconceived perceptions instead of from a well-reasoned understanding of how values differences affect assumptions and behavior.

⁸¹ See for example sites like this one, retrieved October 19, 2009, from www.rhru.co.za/.../Values-Clarification-in-KwaZulu-Natal.aspx

⁸² Retrieved August 5, 2009, from www.apologeticspress.org/rr/.../Critical-Analysis-of-Values-Cla.pdf

⁸³ Katherine Turner & Kimberly Chapman, “Introduction to Values Clarification for Abortion Attitude Transformation”, Retrieved May 8, 2009, from http://www.fiapac.org/e/Value_clarification.html now available at www.ipas.org/Publications/asset_upload_file959_3999.pdf

We would say that these people – and they are legion in our increasingly affluent society – may well suffer from unclear sets of values. Such people do not seem to have clear purposes, to know what they are for and against, to know where they are going, and why. With unclear values, they lack direction for their lives, lack criteria for choosing what to do with their time, their energy, their very being (Raths, Harmin, and Simon, 1966, cited in Turner and Chapman Page online, see Footnote 4).

Based on comments made by intercultural communication scholars and educators in China (e.g., Wenzhong Hu, 2003), it seemed that this same set of issues were confronting Chinese citizens dealing with rapid social and economic changes, the effects of the one-child policy, the influx of western products, media and visitors, and heightened material well-being and global exposure on all fronts. Therefore a hallmark of my intercultural classes since 1994 in Shanghai focused on values clarification procedures, some of which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8. The question confronting me concurrently as I developed as a researcher was how this pool of data derived from such reflective clarification exercises could be used to map the elicited values or the changes that they might be illustrating. Since various methods were used to gather these data sets, the advantages and disadvantages of such methodologies will now be discussed.

7.3 Methodological Issues in the Study of Values Data

Value measurement probably is the core problem of value research.

Social Psychologist, Wolfgang Jagodzinski (2004:108)

In his chapter entitled, “Methodological Problems of Values Research,” Jagodzinski suggested, “As values are general preferences there are actually two dominant measurement strategies. One may confront the respondents with very general statements and hope that all the respondents will understand them in the same way. Or one may try to infer values from fairly specific attitudes or preferences” (2004:108). He suggested that Rokeach (1973) is a classic example of the first in asking respondents to rank general terminal and instrumental value concepts, whereas Triandis and Gelfand (1998) is an example of the second in measuring types of individualism by asking questions on dressing and hairstyle. In this chapter, I suggest that there is a third, which involves participants defining their own values concepts and terms, and then relating them to existing etic term lists as well as dimensions. It could be argued, however, that my approach is still a variation of the first (general conceptions of values) and not the second (specific application domains of values).

Jagodzinski noted a major objection to the first strategy, which is “that the general concepts will not be fully understood by many respondents and therefore produce an erratic response behavior of

those less familiar” with them. Peng et al. (1997:329) refer to this phenomenon as variance of “individual cognitive processes, generated from the survey methodology we are using.” Jagodzinski acknowledged that “measurement error” could be expected to decline “with the level of education” (2004:108-109). So eliciting responses from university students or well-educated graduates has been a standard practice worldwide for such item surveys.

He further noted that domain specific surveys, even if carried out by interviews, often do not control carefully enough for situational factors. In fact, even item surveys can be affected by a wide range of political, economic, status, or other conditions that influence how items are interpreted at a particular time or in a particular place (i.e., inflationary cycles). To address this and related problems, Fischer and Katz (2000) suggested that early control techniques could be helpful thorough adding statistical control, increasing response anonymity, and being sensitive to sample characteristics (in Kahle & Xie, 2008:579). But Peng et al. (1997:330) further point out that in some situations, “People often express stronger preferences for something they lack, or believe themselves deficient in, than they do for things they have” which can skew “value” results, such that Chinese might score higher on freedom than Americans do, or conversely, Americans higher on respect and care for parents/elders than Chinese. As some scholars point out, the perception of deprivation is relative (Crosby, 1976; Williams, 1975).

The typical overgeneralization of value items to get them into a workable sized list may also contribute to these interpretive problems. But Jagodzinski suggested these are problems we have to live with, noting, the ideal measurement instrument “which is neither affected by short-term period effects nor dependent on the cognitive competence of the respondent so far has not been developed” (2008:109) and probably cannot be.

He also argued for greater clarity among value items, dimensions and higher-order domains (which in my estimation, Schwartz seems to have taken more care to acknowledge than most other studies). Jagodzinski argues, “If a theoretical concept has a broader meaning than its operationalization, one also speaks of a surplus meaning” (2008:110). Broad concepts that have been labeled as value dimensions like the tradition vs. bureaucratic-rational dimension (Inglehart, 1997, Inglehart & Baker, 2000), materialism vs. post-materialism (Inglehart & Abramson, 1999), or individualism vs. collectivism (many scholars) are over-inflated in his estimation (and in the view of other scholars that he cites, 2008:111).

Jagodzinski suggested that individualism and collectivism might, first of all, not be two endpoints on one continuum, but actually two distinct and broad dimensions (as Triandis also maintains, 1993, 1995, 2004). Donald Munro (1969) investigated ancient Chinese culture and proposed that

there exists a set of values opposite to individualistic orientations, which are holistic ones based on Confucian and Taoist values. Secondly, Jagodzinski noted that the specific indicators of each of these higher order domains need to be better identified and substantiated empirically (as Triandis suggested, 1996, in suggestions for “the measurement of cultural syndromes”) and further, that more work needs to be done to finally locate “the specification of individualism and collectivism as second or higher order factors in a covariance structure model” (Jagodzinski, 2004:110 including footnote).

Such broad operationalizations with large sets of “heterogenous indicators from different domains” usually produces “fairly low factor loadings and reliability coefficients at the individual level,” though pooling samples and aggregating data often produces “fairly high factor loadings if we analyze mean scores at the macro level” (2008:110). And because more variance can be explained by “increasing the number of value orientations,” each scholar seems to come up with his own list of multiple factors, and as a result, “the dimensionality of value orientations are rarely definitely settled” (2008:111).

As noted in Chapter 3, an increasing number of sociologists, psychologists, and scholars from other fields have acknowledged and complimented the multi-level, multi-dimensional, careful theoretical, and confirmatory testing of the Schwartz model. His use of two independent instruments (the SVS and PVQ) also helps insure that it meets many of the critiques proposed by Jagodzinski and others (cf. Peng et al., 1997). Therefore, this dissertation will seek to heed these critiques and carefully proceed in using the Schwartz theoretical model, values dimensions, value types (domains), and his 46 specific culture-level and 58 possible individual-level items.

7.3.1 Types of Validity Criteria

Peng, Nesbitt, and Wong (1997) specifically address a number of concerns with value study design and responses. They note divergent emphases in values definitions as “that which is desirable” which they argue can lead to collusion with ideals, from that which provides “criteria or standards of preference,” arguing that a stronger causal relationships between values and behavior should be noted (1997:330). The list of sampling validity concerns includes the diverse influences of social desirability (viewed negatively, where respondents try to supply what they think is expected), social adaptation (Kahle’s theory, 1984, viewed positively by some, as values help people adapt to their environment), social cognition (discussed above), and social representativeness (whose values are we actually measuring in any given sample?).

Further, they bring up three of the main validity standards that empirical psychological work should seek to meet: criterion validity, convergent validity, and test-retest validity (replication validity). For each of these, they cite the American Psychological Association's *Standards for Educational and Psychological Tests* (1974). They define **criterion validity** as "an assessment of the degree to which interpretations, descriptions, and predictions on the basis of test scores or other measures can be supported by behavioral or empirical evidence such as participants' performances, diagnosis of behaviors, or experts' judgments (Peng et al., 1997:331, citing Messick, 1989). One of their arguments for criterion validity has been answered in this study with Chapter 5 – providing the informed opinions of experts on Chinese culture. But the behavior criterion is the hard-to-link point (which was also brought out in Chapter 4). They argue that, "More generally, social psychological studies have demonstrated that a person's behavior in a certain situation may not reflect the person's values, attitudes, or beliefs very much but rather may be a function of the details of the situation" (Peng et al., 1997:331).

In this respect, the values researcher needs to be sober, admit the likely limitations of his or her work, and acknowledge realistically what they have actually measured, or might be measuring (cf. Hofstede's critique of the GLOBE Project as "measuring researcher's minds" and social norms rather than the respondent's actual values, 2006b). The designs reported in the forthcoming chapters are thus acknowledged as an attempt to measure situated, time-sampled Chinese course participant's minds regarding what they conceive to be their or their culture's values. No claims to "national Chinese values" or "the values that guide their behavior" are stated or claimed. This study admittedly provides only the first exploratory steps of deciding on relevant and corresponding terminology. These can then be utilized in ongoing work toward mapping out broader motivational or causal domains.

This leads to the second validity standard – **convergent validity** – which is to "compare the results with those of other tests that are presumed to measure the same concepts or traits," "the convergence of different measurements for the same characteristics (Peng et al., 1997:332, citing Campbell & Fiske, 1959). This is a technique now popular in many meta-analysis studies, and could be best characterized by the rigorous work conducted by Oyserman et al. (2002) which spawned intense discussion on the convergence (or collusion) of conceptualizations of "individualism" and "collectivism" in many studies versus those which some consider to be more accurately "independent" and "interdependent" self-construals.

Replicating that type of meta-analysis, or even that of the comparative analysis conducted by Peng et al. (1997) is beyond the scope of this dissertation. But now that a large number of Mainland values studies have been identified and documented in Chapter 6, some of these might be found to have convergent aspects with those conducted in other “Chinese” communities (such as those discussed in the latter half of Chapter 5). Certainly a number of fruitful cross-analysis projects can be carried out in future research. As Peng and his colleagues point out, those who conduct such work need to keep standards and procedures of measurement clear, as sometimes the issue is not one of convergent validity, but one of statistical validity.

They find, for example, that there is “relatively high reliability of American value survey results” reported (1997:332) in contrast to “those for Chinese participants using Rokeach’s Value Survey” (1997:333). Though they check for convergent reliability among a number of published studies, the point that first stood out to me was that Peng’s group seems to have overlooked their own sub-cultural or contextual caution. Though all were student samples, the American studies reported had all been gathered within the USA, while the “Chinese” studies they compared included Chinese students from both China and in the US (and we don’t know if any of these were actually American-Chinese), and also from Singapore, Hong Kong, and Australia. No wonder that they note that, “not a single value among the top four and the bottom four were shared by all four groups of Chinese students” (1997:333). Their conclusion is that “ranking methods do not produce consistent results even for the most important and the least important values for Chinese people.” I can agree ranking methodologies have their limitations, but the question that seems to be overlooked here is “which Chinese?” Are the inconsistencies possibly also due to a cross-border essentialization of Chineseness? Would there have been more consistency if all the students measured in each of these studies were Chinese from the Chinese mainland, or more specifically from Beijing?

Peng et al. further conduct a procedure which at first glance seems reasonable: they have 2 Mainlanders, 1 Taiwanese and 14 American graduate students all majoring in Chinese serve as a panel of cultural experts to rate data generated by Singaporean Chinese and Michigan-based American students (1997:337). Their suggestion is that because Singaporean Chinese speak English, this should reduce meaning variations on rating the values. Recent scholarship on biculturalism would suggest that such a Singaporean sample most likely exhibits quite a different value structure than that of the Beijing students in their Study 1 (1997:335).

Thus the differentiated results may not only be due to methods, but to sample variation within what some may lump together as being under the rubric of “Chinese culture.” I suggest that to

assume that even “Chinese in the US” will rate values similarly also overlooks basic principles of careful demographics in noting the “cultural context of origin.” If we acknowledge that there are geo-political and historical variations among the various Chinese communities sampled, why would we expect there to be some kind of super-ordinate “Chinese” consistency – perhaps this is as conceptually inflationary as super-ordinate constructions of collectivism or individualism? Clearly, even scholars who argue for convergent validity also need to be careful about construct validity, sampling validity and a host of other pitfalls, which I attempted to clarify as a checklist in Chapter 4.

7.3.2 Rating vs. Ranking Concerns and Controversies

The controversies over values measurement and divergent approaches of ranking versus rating are long and complex. Hitlin and Piliavin (2004:365-367) covered them thoroughly (with seminal discussions also contained in Ng, 1982; Rankin & Grube, 1980). But their discussion focused on how participants respond to a list of *etic* measures presented to them (whether to discriminatively select out a set of top 10 or 20 i.e., Rokeach (1967, 1973), or whether to rate them comparatively on a 5-9 point Likert scale, i.e., Schwartz (1992 and following). What they did not mention (nor did Jagodzinski, 2004; or Peng et al., 1997) is the possibility of strictly *emic* or qualitative measures.

Seligman & Katz (1996:56) critique Rokeach and similar studies that work on general values, noting, “Rokeach measures values systems by asking subjects to rank order values as they are important to them as guiding principles in their lives. In other words, people are asked to answer abstractly about how values guide their general evaluations of behavior, without regard to any specific topic or purpose or social relationship.” Their main concern is that value lists generated this way may have no relationship to actual attitudes or political opinions elicited on specific issues. Peng and his colleagues agree, asking, “Do the value differences based on aggregated self-reported individual responses really reflect differences in behavior and preference” (Peng et al., 1997:329)?

Rating techniques may partially solve this problem. Of relevance to this project is Schwartz’s (1994) contention that rating “does not force respondents to discriminate among equally important values.” In his rating procedures along a -1 to 7 scale (where -1 represents “something I oppose,” 0 “something I do not value,” and then 1-7 from low value importance to highest value importance), participants are encouraged to first consider the items they value most and rate them accordingly, then those they value least, and work toward the middle. This way a number of items may share

the same value rating score (be considered of equal importance or of equal unimportance) and there is no forcing of a rating scheme. When Peng and his colleagues (1997) sought to replicate some of these studies, they primarily deferred to Schwartz's items and procedures. The Rokeach items they included were those that also appeared in Schwartz's survey, and for their ranking study, his -1 to 7 rating scale was adopted (1997:339).

Kahle (1996:142) noted, that while the RVS used ordinal analyses, the most notable methodological difference of value studies is the measurement of values on both a nominal level (e.g., "Which of these values is most important to you?") and an assumed interval level (i.e., "Rate the importance of each of these values on a scale from 1 to 9"). With the latter, one can conduct analyses with statistics that assume interval level data, such as constructing causal models (cf. Asher, 1976). The use of nominal scales can help classify people into values groups, which Kahle's group has frequently done, but they now feel that approach has limited utility.

Kahle (1996:142) then noted, "Our experiences have led us to believe that ranking does not generally produce superior results to rating. In some instances a "rank then rate" procedure produces ostensibly more careful consideration of the values by respondents. We believe, however, that use of an unbalanced scale (from *important* to *most important* rather than from *most unimportant* to *most important* [italics his]) maximizes respondent discrimination and provides optimal statistical power.

Kahle (1996:142, 143) also promoted the use of conjoint analysis (Green & Rao, 1971; Luce & Turkey, 1964) as a way "to differentiate among values and distinguish the ones that are most important" and "circumvent the ceiling-effect problem. In defense of such strategies, they noted, "the LOV often employs a measurement strategy that uses both rating and ranking, thus allowing for higher level interval statistical analysis" (Kahle & Xie, 2008:578,579). He noted that Rokeach tried to overcome the ceiling-effect problem asking subjects to rank values" (Kahle, 1996:143). "Conjoint measurement methodology requires that the respondent make trade-offs between levels of different values. In this way a respondent can not simply rate all values as important but must discriminate his or her preference for different values at different levels of desirability (1996:143)." Schwartz accomplishes this with his list "cutting" procedure – urging respondents to first pick out the top 5 and rate them, then cut off the bottom five, then the next five, and so on, which guarantees that the first scores are in the 5,6,7 top range and the cut ones in the -1,0,1 bottom range, before proceeding to the next set.

Though used to counter another argument, one critique of using ranges comes from Hansson who notes that “the usage of most predicates of the type, ‘excellent,’ ‘very good,’ ‘quite good,’ ‘fairly good,’ and so on, seems to be so vaguely delimited that they are resistant to solid logical reconstruction” (Hansson, 2001:126).

For the design of this project, I aimed for self-selection in the tradition of Bond and the CCC (1987) and Kohls (1984/2001). This is believed not to discriminate (no etic list is first presented), but to provide a possible mental map of the operative or cognizant values present. Following Kluckhohn’s (1951) and Schwartz’s (1992) definitions and as Peng, Nisbitt, and Wong note, we followed the standard practice in asking “citizens of a nation or members of a culture to rate the importance of a standard set of values as ‘guiding principles in their lives’” (Peng et al., 1997:329). But where my gathering of data deviated from this procedure was in NOT giving participants “the standard set” first. Before any teaching on values or any priming influences were possible, I sought to elicit as pure of an emic set as possible from the cultural conceptions in their minds. The equating to the “standard set” became part of my research task.

There is, however, as the critics maintain, no guarantee that these are *the values* that most influence behavior (though in some data sets collected, the design sought to aim for that by asking for the values “that guide your decisions and that you live by”). What they do seem to be are the ones most present psychologically at the moment of the survey. In each classroom exercise where data was collected, a general, non-specific perspective on the influence of values was presented to set the mental state for as relevant recall as possible. The specific verbal instructions and printed text used to elicit either culture-level or individual level responses is reported with the corresponding data sets in Chapter 9 (see Sections 9.2.2 and 10.3.1 respectively).

7.3.3 Pros and Cons of Self-Reports

Hitlin and Piliavin (2004:367) suggest that the “measurement of values typically is by self-report and thus is subject to the same biases as other self-report methods. To the argument that “in reality, people might not always know what their values are” (Hechter, 1993), psychologists like Rokeach (1973) and Schwartz (2005b) include the “conscious representation of needs” as part of their working definition of the values concept (Hitlin and Piliavin, 2004:367). I agree with this assumption that there should be some cognitive awareness of some of the main values for any population surveyed. Particularly, in cultures like China, a strong sense of such linking cultural values seems to be present. Whether they are part of a unifying cultural myth or actually present in

the day-to-day life-choice psyche of participants is another question. Appropriate methods will have to be employed to elicit the desired culture-level or individual-level set.

Naturally, the behavior critique card can also be trumped again. Peng et al. (1997:332) note, “In the field of cultural psychology, there is increasing evidence that what people say is important to them does not necessarily reflect their actual behaviors or preferences...This inconsistency between value reports and behavior can also occur among subcultures within a nation.” This has been duly noted in the discussion in Chapter 4 and above, but nevertheless needs to be at the forefront of the researchers mind – “what my respondents are telling me may only be their construal of one reality, but is surely not the whole picture.”

Hitlin and Piliavin (2004:364) cite Epstein (1989) as holding that there are actually two different values systems: one conscious (reflective and reportable) and one unconscious. In some situations or contexts, the unconscious set may have more influence on actions. This study has not sought to identify the unconscious system, though the use of moral dilemmas or other situation-based cases might be fruitful for future research (as Peng et al., 1997 suggest with their more highly statistically correlated value scenarios).

Schwartz’s (2005a:29) definition is noteworthy in suggesting that values can be articulated. “Values are the socially desirable concepts used to represent these goals mentally and the vocabulary used to express them in social interaction.” It may be that prior to the mid-20th century, people were not as able to articulate their values (as reviewers like Spates, 1983 suggest), but developments in popular psychology, communications, and media have schooled the general populace in these concepts so that they now seem to have become part of most people’s working vocabulary. Perhaps, as Jagodzinski suggests above, the more highly educated are more able to coherently process these values conceptions. This affirms that asking people to list their values becomes a task of possibility, potentially less obtuse and abstract than in previous generations.

7.3.4 Validity of Listing Values

Though I fundamentally agree with the subjective limits, cognitive complexity, and contextual constraints that might affect the endeavor to ask respondents to “list” their values, to derive emic samples, there seem to be few other methods that can generate a substantial sample for investigation. In the next chapter I will report on some interviews and explanatory procedures that were attempted in conjunction with this study, but the limits of sample size and complex coding procedures for sorting out such varied and voluminous content prohibited such an approach from being the main one undertaken in this paper. For deeper sociological, psychological, and

discourse-related research, I advocate such methods. But the primary focus of this dissertation is to locate methods that will contribute to classroom or training session values clarification, therefore I have found that utilizing listing had the most potential.

Most scholars agree that people carry some sense of a values hierarchy in their minds; so seeking to elicit such a list should be possible, especially for those in higher education contexts. Schwartz (2005a:22) suggests that “individuals and groups differ substantially in the relative importance they attribute to their values. That is, individuals and groups have different value “priorities” or “hierarchies.” Thus seeking to have them select out a set of “top 10” should be a justifiable procedure (in keeping with setting some guidelines as to whether we are eliciting a “cultural” or “individual” ordered set).

Seeking to use lists follows a long tradition by social science researchers and practitioners (from Allport through Rokeach up through Schwartz). Seeking to have participants self-generate lists is also an established procedure, one that Robert Kohls used regularly in training (cf., Kohls & Knight, 1994) and many others have followed suit since. Even in academic studies, this is the specific methodology followed by Michael Harris Bond in eliciting the input for constructing what became the Chinese Values Survey (CCC, 1987).

To this end a number of Chinese social scientists were approached and asked to prepare in Chinese a list of at least 10 “fundamental and basic values for Chinese people. This procedure yielded considerable overlap. The first author worked with a Chinese colleague to eliminate redundancy by creating synonym grouping. The 33 values so defined were supplemented by 7 others...that seemed from his reading of Chinese philosophers and social scientists...to be similarly important (Bond’s explanation in CCC, 1987:145-146).

This is the precise procedure that has been followed in this thesis – first to expand the cultural “reading” (which was done by providing Chapters 5 and 6), and then to generate such a list in various ways using varied methodologies (the qualitative approaches and results are reported in Chapter 8, quantitative approaches and results in Chapters 9 and 10, and attempts to integrate them in Chapters 11 and 12).

7.3.5 Emic-in-Etic Challenges

The (etic) approach is often regarded as an enterprise of comparing incomparables...Most of the classic values studies authors and most empirical works in cross-cultural values studies, however, take values as the concept with which etic analyses are possible” Henk Vinken (in press)

7.3.5.1 Developing a Correlation Method for Emic Data

One of the issues of relating emic inputs to etic measures is finding an appropriate way to transform qualitative data into quantitative measures. Without this transformation there seems to be no meaningful way to compare the local inputs with existing frameworks.

Regarding the self-generated listing of items, a set of non-parametric measures can be used. But how can the researcher best transform the generated items into quantitative scores? One way would be to treat them as rankings. Some research designs employ this approach, by asking participants to “list and rank your top items.” This unfortunately was not followed in the early stages of this research design. But perhaps not “unfortunately,” for it could be argued that such a design gives undue importance to those ranked items.

To illustrate this second claim, we can imagine that there exists an inventory of roughly 50 universal value items. This is what Schwartz postulated (1992) and since confirmed (with 45 or 46 items having cross-cultural equivalency of meaning). Added to that, we assume that there might be an additional 30 to 50 local value expressions, some which may be subsets, or even slightly, but significantly, shaded meaning variations of those broader values. So out of a mental pool of potentially 100 items (the potential universals and particulars), the research subject is asked to select 10 items. Ranking researchers would normally take such a list and assign these 10 items scores of 10, 9, 8 and so on in decreasing value to 1 for the last item listed. All non-listed items would be assigned a score of zero. We will treat the data we collect first in that way also to see the efficacy or limitations of such a method.

But for this approach, the argument could be leveled that it inflates the numeric significance and loading of items that are recalled. What if the subject happened to forget an equally important item, which if suggested or made available on a printed list as one of many possible selections, he or she would immediately rate highly? What if some of these important values just happened not to come to mind at that moment? Scoring the simple discriminate ordering might causes items to be distinguished by larger percentages of difference than they really represent. Is a 2 rating truly 100% more preferred than a 1, or a top rated 10 nearly a 100% stronger scaled estimation than a 1?

Further, compared to any items not recalled and thus not rated (all scored 0), the distribution of weights seems to be too arbitrary and great. Added to this limitation is the risk that once listed, respondents might on second thought re-order the priority rank of the list – an advisable step for future designs. Unfortunately this was not done with my early samples, and to keep procedures consistent, I did not institute this checking measure in the more recent comparable samples either.

7.3.5.2 Numeric Association to Emic Data with Reference to Etic Frames

For this emic to etic research project, I suggest a potentially more equitable way of rating self-generated items. The proposal is to follow convention and rate unrecorded items as 0. But then to tighten the discrimination of recalled items as shades of variation between 1 and 2. Thus earlier listed items can be assigned scores of 1.9, 1.8, 1.7, while those listed at the bottom can be given scores of 1.2, 1.1, and 1.0. Thus, there is only one point of variance between all those items recalled, and only one point of variance between this recorded set and those not recalled. This seems to be a more balanced and sensible approach to the distribution of scores, and keeps from overrating the ranking differential among this select list of items.

Some might argue that the limited sample sized of this study does not allow for any demarcation between items, and that all 10 of those recorded as “top 10” should be only given 1 point. Thus recalled items would be rated 1 and non-recalled items 0. There might be validity to this critique, but one could also argue that the items first recalled probably figure more significantly in the thinking of the participants than those added to the list after a period of thinking and recording (first recalled items being given the weight of 1.9, 1.8, 1.7, middle items of 1.6, 1.5, 1.4, 1.3, and last rated items 1.2, 1.1, 1.0). Naturally, some items of higher significance might be triggered later in the process of the reporting.

If I could propose an ideal design, participants should be asked to “rank” their list after they have “reported” it. We would then have more certainty in assigning numeric gradations. Then ideally, participants should be shown an etic list and asked to “re-report” their top 10 with this broader universal context in view, as well as finally be encouraged to provide a final “re-rank” of their top 10. This list would then be a true “emic in referent to etic” list and would both allow and justify the 0 and 1-2 scoring method suggested above. To evaluate this suggestion, this procedure will be carried out with one recent set of 2009 to see what exploratory conclusions can be drawn.

Each approach has its merits, but needs to be tested. In Chapter 9 I analyze one test case (a quasi-pilot study) to consider the results of each of these procedures, then apply them to time-referenced cross-sectional samples, four at the cultural level and four at the individual level. Firm conclusions

about “Chinese values” cannot be drawn from such classroom-elicited data, but conclusions about potential procedures for transforming emic qualitative data into statistically viable etic data can be evaluated and modified for future research. The primary goal of Chapter 9 is to consider ways to preserve the textually- and meaning-rich nature of such indigenous data, and yet find ways to statistically analyze and map it so that the association of items and corresponding emergence of potential factors/dimensions might be better seen and considered.

The contribution of the data chapters of this dissertation should be toward establishing careful and rigorous procedures for equivalent semantic coding, evaluation of fit for emic-to-etic item meaning correlations, generation of a limited set of new indigenous item criteria if needed, examination of the meaning/importance relation of specific sets of items (value set clusters), and the postulation of domains, factors, or dimensions that seem to explain the observed data relations. Such a set of procedures could then be adapted and applied to other types of qualitative content (textual, verbal, media) so that meaning-rich emic data can be more effectively evaluated with theoretically rich etic frameworks.

7.3.6 An Etic Corrective? From Kahle’s LOV to Schwartz’s SVS

Kahle (1996:145) suggested there is “a strong need for an accepted instrument for cross-national and cross-cultural comparison and contrast of values” and that this lack “has slowed progress on research on international values. To the extent that international research can focus on one instrument, multiple studies will become comparable and provide converging information about values.” Though he promoted his LOV as one candidate, obviously from 1984 until the mid-1990s and beyond, Hofstede’s 4 and then 5 dimensions of values were used as the standard. It is too early to tell if his either his upgraded 7 dimensional model in the VSM08 (with Jan Hofstede, Minkov, and Vinken) or his refined 6 dimensional model (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010) will be widely adopted in new research. But Hofstede’s end-points on binary dimensions do not lend themselves well to all studies because of the generalized abstractions of labels, which are subject to multiple interpretations. If people in different countries are unsure what the dimensional titles mean, or disagree that “they” are categorized under one of those titles (e.g., as “collectivists”), then the research endeavor might be fraught with unclarity and difficulties.

Sensing some of these problems, Kahle early offered a list of list of correctives for future studies (Kahle, 1996:147), which he later updated (2008). I cite it in full here because it reflects and reiterates many of the critiques and concerns that scholars express about the methodological issues of values studies:

A number of challenges exist with cross-geographic and cross-cultural surveys. Researchers must convey the meaning of questions accurately and in a way respondents can grasp. They must correctly incorporate subtleties and nuances of language, and select the most effective method of communication. Traditional mail surveys have been criticized for limited response rate and lack of depth, which could be threats in areas where the subtlety of value expressions is not adequately captured in the questionnaires. Thus, a combination of multiple approaches should be applied, such as interviews and formal surveys, depending on the economical, political, and cultural differences across regions.

Further, construction of a representative sample is potentially far more complex for researchers in some countries than in others, because sources similar to the ones used to describe populations in some countries may not be available in others. Previous research primarily investigated regions where it was easier to access to a large number of respondents, such as major cities in North America, Europe, and East Asian. Researchers ought to carefully evaluate the representativeness of samples and penetrate to deeper levels of the subgroups. To understand the full complexity of values it is helpful to use samples that maximize the heterogeneity of variance in values. Finally, it is very important for researchers to be aware that certain questions to which some cultures are willing to respond may be considered sensitive or inappropriate by others (Kahle & Xie, 2008:580).

Kahle's first version of these ideas was presented in Ottawa in 1993 (printed in 1996), and understandably seemed unaware of the design of the Schwartz Values Survey (which, though under development with Bilsky since 1987, had just been confirmed in 1992). But both presented their research in Ottawa, and Schwartz's strong *a priori* theoretical development, instrument refinement, collection procedures, and evaluation successfully and preemptively met all of Kahle's concerns. From the beginning of Schwartz's work in the 1980s and through his careful supervision of and guidelines for his collaborators over the years, each of these methodological concerns has continued to be carefully attended to. Yet Kahle and his associates are still calling for the same set of correctives and recommending the LOV as a standard 15 years later, still not having acknowledged or incorporated, what is in my and most researcher's opinion, the more defensible and established framework of Schwartz (my reasons for this explained in Chapter 3). Therefore, I have chosen to use the Schwartz SVS as the backbone of the specific studies carried out in the following chapters.

7.3.7 Restated Purpose of the Following Studies

The purpose of this research is to extend Bond's work by using a theoretically based and truly etic values framework, the Schwartz Values Survey (SVS, 1992, 1994, 2002). I have been gathering emic data by written self-report in Chinese in the People's Republic of China (PRC) since 1995 in order to identify "indigenous themes and concerns of Chinese culture" (CCC, 1987:145). In this project, the emic responses are related first to Schwartz' 58 etic value items, his 7 cultural domains, and then his 10 universal value types to examine the fit and salience of such a universal model.

7.4 Introducing Exploratory Procedures for Classroom Values Exercises

7.4.1 The Shanghai Values Studies Project (SCVP) (1995-present)

7.4.1.1 Rationale for the SCVP

Triandis' and other cross-cultural psychologists' (1972) conceptions and methodologies regarding "subjective culture" seemed to be the most helpful foundation for this project at the outset. In addition, Bond's (1991:40) call that "we desperately need more usable data on values from the Chinese in the People's Republic of China" and Yang's (1986:119) recommendation that "more representative samples should be tested in typical Chinese societies" motivated the author to begin studying Chinese values and identity in Shanghai in 1993. Shanghai admittedly does not represent a complete picture of China, but as the vanguard of modernization or westernization in the 1990s, it might reflect how values may be changing. Further, students at Shanghai International Studies University (SISU) come from every province and area of the People's Republic, so more traditional and conservative trends should be evident among some. Further, research subjects were also taken from the adult education program of the SISU language training department – non-traditional "students" who are primarily in their mid-20s to early 40s with low English levels and who mostly work for very typical Chinese work units. These groups were deemed to provide a fairly broad and representative sample for initial research projects.

Research approaches were sought that would initially avoid the imposition of foreign-derived theoretical frameworks and methodology. To discover the values operative in the People's Republic of China at this time in history, the SCVP research program began with several theoretical/methodological orientations, primarily the collection of:

- * Open-ended emic data (to not guide participants to pre-determined responses)
- * Self-generated (self-selected) data with pen and pencil responses (avoiding interviewer influence)
- * Value word (perhaps idealized/culturally loaded) and phrase responses (perhaps more accurate)
- * Culturally embedded information (transmitted culture, such as proverbs and sayings) with the goal to then compare the each of these collected responses to etic instruments/frameworks/theories for analysis and expansion.

The following chapters focus on those aspects of the project specifically related to the collection, generation, and organization of self-generated lists. Chapter 8 reports on the qualitative approaches toward eliciting an emic and descriptive mapping of the values Chinese find important, either through direct values list conceptualization or cultural products like proverbs and sayings. Chapter 9 reports on some approaches taken to quantify values list data from self-reported lists, specifically the “10 values” participants considered to be held by most Chinese (culture-level) or by themselves as they seek to make choices (individual-level). Other papers and publications that focus on the reporting of proverbs, heroes, or other methods used in the SCVP are described in more detail elsewhere (Kulich, 2004, 2008).

Whatever the approach, the main goal of the SCVP launched in earnest in 1995 was first to build on the work Bond (1988) and the CCC (1987) to identify a broad working set of values presently operative on the Chinese mainland (in contrast to Hong Kong or other Chinese societies), and to expand their Chinese Values Survey (CVS), as well as see how they related to etic measures like that of Schwartz SVS. The hope is that this broader set of value terms/definitions can then to be used as a framework and tool to be applied to various other Chinese and international contexts for further cross-cultural theorizing, research, training, and education. This dissertation reports on the procedures, findings, and proposed modifications of the value listing and etic association approach.

7.4.1.2 Methods Adopted for the SCVP in the Upcoming Chapters

In addressing the stated goals, I believe both qualitative studies and qualitative studies need to be linked within the context of an etic framework. Only by using some statistical measures can we have a better understanding of what different positions on the dimensions represent, be the inputs related to Hofstede, GLOBE, or Schwartz dimensions. What do such frameworks and dimensions mean in practice? What do they mean in lay terms that people commonly use and recognize, beyond the meta-language of scholars?

As this dissertation shows (particularly Chapters 9 to 11), I am aiming for some degree of conceptual convergence, and will check both the qualitative and quantitative results ascertained from this emic to Schwartz-etic study against the results of other quantitative cross-country studies (e.g., Hofstede, 2001:503–520), since Schwartz and GLOBE so far have presented few quantitative and qualitative validations (Hofstede & Fink, 2007:19⁸⁴). In Chapter 8 I begin this process of attempting to elicit qualitative data through a variety of approaches (1 preliminary and 3 main studies) to make sure that an indigenous perspective is adequately represented, and then in Chapters 9 to 11, these indigenous findings are equated to the Schwartz SVS framework. The exploratory work of linking the emic to an etic now begins.

⁸⁴ The Hofstede interview is available on-line, Retrieved June 12, 2009, from http://www.wu.ac.at/io/vsp/articles/articles/hofstede_fink

Chapter 8: EXPLORATORY QUALITATIVE STUDIES

Cross-cultural studies require that those who import instruments or who make comparisons establish that the same concepts are being measured in the different cultural groups concerned.... It is simply not enough to assume that linguistically equivalent terms (words, statements, scenarios and the like) are tapping the same constructs. Instead, it must be demonstrated that items presumed to group together do so in the same ways in all cultural groups being compared...

Social Psychologist, Michael Harris Bond (1996:210)

8.1 Qualitative Value Probes via Intercultural Teaching Exercises

8.1.1 Developing a Curriculum Design for the Chinese Mainland

As a fresh MA graduate starting teaching in China in 1993, my initial concern was to find relevant intercultural exercises that would increase the cross-cultural competence of students in the English language classroom. My course design was influenced by the graduate intercultural communication courses that I had taken under Prof. Nobleza Asuncion-Lande at the University of Kansas. Based on her training design, I likewise sought to include the cultural awareness approaches of L. Robert Kohls (1979, 1984, 1996; with Knight, 1994), Donald Klopff (1987a, 1991), Theodore Gochenour (1993), Michael Paige (1993) Richard Brislin (with Dan Landis, 1983; with William Weeks and Paul Peterson, 1985; with Tomoko Yoshida, 1994) in my courses.

In keeping with the focus of this project, a primary aim of this instruction was values clarification exercises, as noted in Chapter 7. Kohls “proverbs listing” technique (1984; Kohls & Knight, 1994) seemed to be similar to the approach used by Bond and his colleagues for “listing values” (CCC, 1987), so from the first intercultural orientation course that I taught in 1994, I sought to apply both of these techniques. From 1995 on I collected data from these exercises. But it became obvious early on that analyzing them would prove to be a challenging task. Michael H. Bond had only collected this type of emic responses from five well-informed scholarly colleagues, but I was getting potential data sets of about 20 students in each course, and was initially unsure of the best way to process these large piles of raw data, and had virtually no resources for the time-laborious procedures needed for this kind of analysis at that time.

8.1.2 Attempting to Study Classroom Data using Klopf

Exploring potential ways to standardize such procedures, suggestions from visiting intercultural communication colleague Barbara Blackstone of Slippery Rock College, Pennsylvania, in 1995 introduced me to the “Personal Orientation System/Values” printed in Donald Klopf’s *Intercultural Encounters Workbook* (1987a, 1991b:67). Hoping that this would prove to be a good anchor by which to the free-form emic data could be compared, I had course groups in 1996 fill out their “Exercise 10” (1991b:67) and rate the items as suggested, 1 for primary importance values (most important, worth guarding at all costs even to death), 2 for secondary importance values (significant, but not enough to die for), 3 for tertiary importance values (good to have, but not worth being bothered about), and 0 for values of NO importance to you.

To test the fruitfulness of this exercise and the findings it might generate, the resulting list of values identified/rated by that group of adult learning students (ages 20-35) from nearly every province in China (N=68) was compared to an American group of adult learners (N=11, ages 25-50) undergoing cultural orientation to Chinese culture in Taiwan, for which I used the same training design. Of the 42 items on the Klopf-Iishi values scale (1989), the scores shown in Table 8.1 were obtained. For each group the top 20 items are reported.

This list is reported to highlight several challenges that became initially apparent in doing such values list rating. First, the Chinese and American lists seemed strangely indistinguishable (in the top 5 values we find “human dignity, “education” and “loyalty” for both samples). Granted, the American sample was too small and perhaps too diverse to draw any strong conclusions from. Yet in ways reflecting the lead quote of Bond, how these items are structurally grouped together is not at all clear, and what meanings are being assigned to them are even less so. “Independence” as the highest value for the Chinese and “loyalty” for these Americans seemed to be an inversion of cultural expectations.

In debriefing the exercise, the Chinese group mentioned that they rated some items more highly because they wished they had more of that; in other words, some of their responses were tapping into ideals (like “individualism”, “peace,” “self-reliance”). The age range across both groups might have further made this collective listing even more opaque, as both suggested there were likely some generational values from the period in which they grew up, as well as age-maturity values reflecting the stage of life they found themselves in (e.g., “motherhood” and “private property” in the American sample, with most representing families with children and home owners).

Table 8.1. Initial Explorations Comparing Values: Chinese and American Orientations

Chinese Item	Ch. Rating	American Item	US Rating
Independence	1.35	Loyalty	1.27
Human Dignity	1.48	Human Dignity	1.73
Education	1.53	Religion	1.91
Peace	1.56	Sincerity	1.91
Loyalty	1.59	Education	2.00
Equality	1.62	Independence	2.09
Self-Reliance	1.62	Cooperation	2.09
Doing	1.62	Hospitality to Guests	2.09
Efficiency	1.69	Peace	2.18
Patriotism	1.69	Doing	2.18
Fair Play	1.73	Respect for Elders	2.18
Progress	1.76	Efficiency	2.36
Obligation	1.78	Fair Play	2.36
Democracy	1.82	Private Property	2.36
Sincerity	1.87	Motherhood	2.36
Punctuality	1.87	Punctuality	2.45
Individuality	1.90	Progress	2.55
Frankness	1.93	Individuality	2.55
Money	1.94	Need to be Liked	2.55
Cooperation	2.00	Modesty	2.55

Scores reported are group means (where the 0 = not valued rating was turned into a 4)

What discussions over this exercise alerted me to is the need to better differentiate across the levels of values: which are being emphasized as past qualities that need to be maintained (traditional continuities); which were representing present emphases (guides to decision-making or judgments), and which reflected hoped-for future possibilities (desirable ideals)? The debrief also suggested that instructions also needed to be clear regarding which level of culture was being tapped: did such ratings reflect collective national aspirations, or group/community situated and shared values, or personal values? And likely more demographic data was needed to sort out what some of the mitigating variables might be on which values might be influenced by which social or personal factors (e.g. urban/rural or geographical influences, education or economic levels, social standing or roles, or gender and age factors). It seemed that instead of trying to gather broadly “representative” samples, it might be good to first collect and compare more demographically similar samples (minimizing variables) before looking for broader trends.

Concurrent to doing this initial trial study analysis, June Garrott (1995) published her pioneering Chinese mainland values study in the IJIR Special Issue edited by Alvino Fantini (1995). Using measures from Bond's CVS (CCC, 1987) and Rokeach (1973), her findings and personal conclusions suggested that across cultures, students were increasingly similar in their orientations and that not much distinguished Americans from Chinese. Was this similarity or inability to distinguish cultural trends in both the Garrott study and the trial listed above due to values being truly less obvious and more merged among college age youth, or in each study did the selected instruments not go through adequate pilot testing and modifications to get truly culturally meaningful interpretations, as Bond cautioned in the lead quote above (1996:210).

Or was this due to the other problem inherent in much values research: the use of terms. On this point, Steven Chaffee, Zhongdang Pan, and Godwin Chu and Yan'an Ju (1994) in their follow-up US comparative work on the earlier Godwin Chu and Yan'an Ju Shanghai study (1993) suggested, "...any attempt to reduce Chinese culture to a small set o abstract terms runs the risk of losing historical perspective and of covering up great diversity. It is fair to say that even though we often use singular nouns to refer to American or Chinese culture, each is more aptly characterized as a collection of diverse cultures (Chaffee et al., 1994: 11).

Though items and meanings may have been somewhat unclear in the samples gathered above, the exercise did serve its purpose in exposing students to a wide range of value possibilities, some of which were not in their normal cultural repertoire, and motivated them to think about their own value priorities, which served as a point of reference as the course went on and provided opportunity for more self-awareness and development. However, from a "classroom-based research" perspective (classroom action research – CAR: e.g., Angelo & Cross, 1993; Chamot et al., 1998) doing this initial cross-cultural pilot revealed a number of issues that I decided to address with more rigorous emic work before seeking to make any further etic comparisons.

In addition, I found little substantial research that applied or built on the Klopff-Iishi values list (no factorial, dimensional or other statistical procedures were located in any of the literature that seemed to justify its being labeled a "scale"). Though it did reflect an interesting blend of East-West sourced items as an educational exercise, there were no assurances of its comprehensiveness, and these had not been tested for item or meaning validity across cultures outside of intuitive classroom use.

The more substantial work of Schwartz (1992) that was just emerging at that time seemed potentially promising as the desired anchor to which to compare emic studies. In discussing this research design and agenda with Michael Bond (personal conversation, 1997), he encouraged this.

Therefore I now report the studies developed that sought to incorporate the work of Bond and Schwartz.

8.2 Multimethod Qualitative Probes for Triangulation Using Schwartz

Before discussing the various qualitative steps carried out in this chapter, it may first be helpful to note what I expected to find. Based on the Schwartz values maps (at either the individual or cultural level), I expected that Chinese students would elicit more Security-Tradition/Conformity-Benevolence (Embeddedness) and some Power-Achievement (Hierarchy) values in the mid-1990s. Under the modernization and reform policies, these would likely become less concentrated in those more traditional-hierarchical relational Embeddedness sectors and move toward more Achievement→Hedonism-Stimulation→Self-Direction (Mastery, Egalitarianism, and increasing Autonomy) as well as some increased Benevolence-Universalism (Universal Harmony) in the other direction. If ways could be found to plot Chinese value lists as mapped areas of concentration or coverage, the expectation was that this would look something like Figure 8.1, a slide that I have used in each of my courses in recent years as part of the value exercises debrief.

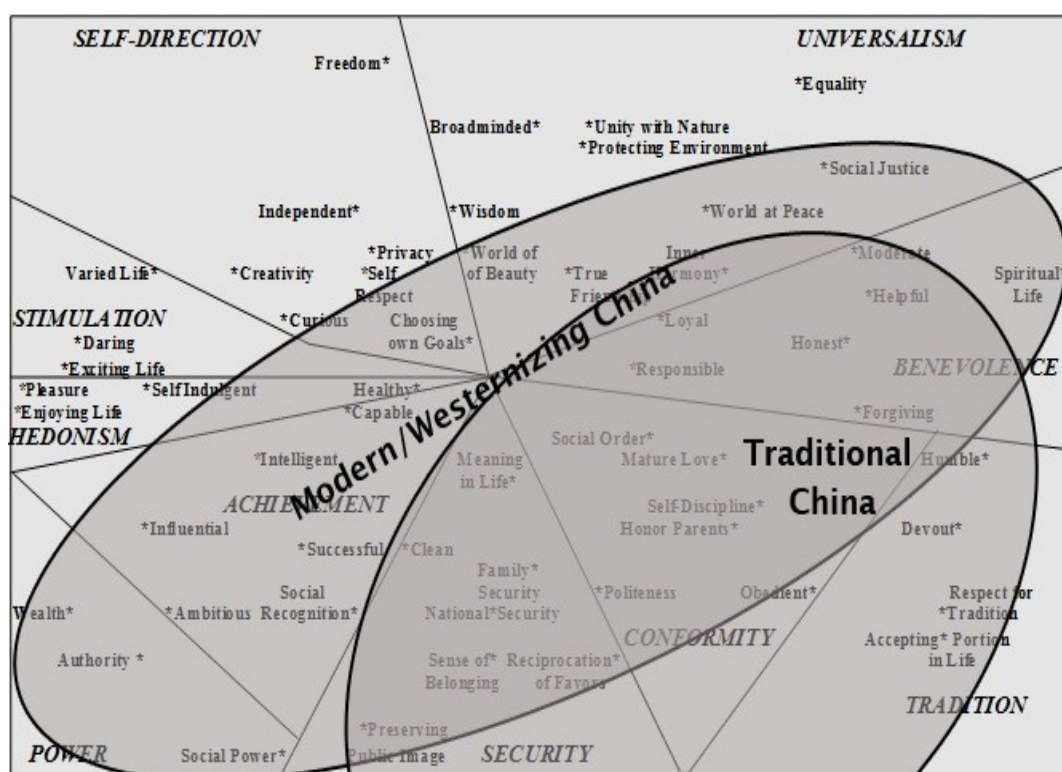


Figure 8.1. Expected SVS Values domains – Hypothetical concentration of Chinese values:

The heading used for that slide also captured the basic research objective: “Can contextualized Chinese values be effectively or meaningfully categorized in the 57 (or now 58) SVS item list?”

To move toward this eventual emic-in-etic matching process, it was deemed necessary to find ways to qualitatively elicit what Chinese respondents considered to be their core set or general map of values. This chapter will report on the varied approaches used to derive a sense of that values picture.

8.3 Study 1 – Group-Generated Values Lists

As part of the SCVP, this first step of the research began by eliciting emic data sets and tried to find ways to analyze and summarize their indigenous contents. The exploratory studies moved from indigenous design toward ways to relate them to a global theoretical framework (Schwartz's SVS), both to better understand and interpret the local data, as well as to consider the relevance and completeness of an established, universal etic structure (Hwang, 2004).

8.3.1 Study 1a – Discussion-Generated “Chinese Value” Lists

As summarized in Chapter 7, values were an important segment of the instruction in teaching intercultural communication orientation courses in the mid- to late-1990s. In each class, students were asked to produce their list of Chinese values through various techniques. The author kept a running list of these key conceptions, and in 1999, drafted a “top 10” type of list summarizing the key words and linked concepts. From the “My Cultural Story” assignments generated by the students as part of their coursework, several combined case studies were also written up that embedded these values and described what could be considered “a typical Chinese” life story, sense of identity, values and beliefs. A working draft of this list and such a case was initially presented in 1999 at the Shenzhen International Symposium for Chinese Intercultural Communication (Kulich, 1999) with good feedback.

Based on the principles and processes of grounded theory building (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998), this was later drafted into a working document initially called “Mainland Mindsets,” and later revised, updated and called “Being Chinese,” which subsequent groups of students have read and commented on in detail as part of their coursework. As much of that document deals with identity domains and only in part with values, this dissertation will not focus directly on it beyond putting forward the list of values/beliefs generated and confirmed.

Once the initial list (8 items in 1998, 9 items in 1999) was drafted, several groups of students (Spring 1999, 4 x 20, N=80) were presented this term list, including the content-rich explanations of each item (developed from the previous group discussions) and asked to directly rate each item/statement for agreement on a 5 point Likert Scale. They were also encouraged to add any further explanations and modify or adapt any wording of the terms or expressions that they felt inadequate in expressing their value orientations (in English, due to this exercise being conducted in an English learning course). These groups gave this set of statements an average of 4.6 approval rating. As this was at that time more of a classroom exercise and not yet specifically developed as a research process, precise statistics for the set were not calculated, partially because the level of acceptance was amazingly high and uniform.

The few suggested changes were incorporated into the document, and have been read and commented on by each successive group of intercultural communication students, again with consistent comments like, “this is a very perceptive and complete list of values,” or “this really captures our basic orientations.” By admission, my awareness of the need to differentiate levels of culture and to clarify values from beliefs was not as developed at that stage (in a way similar to the conflated way that Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck’s work includes values and beliefs, 1961). In the way the exercise was carried out, the general reading and rating was certainly one at the “culture-level” – e.g. “these are the values that we Chinese affirm.”

Likewise, the two composite cases generated from the reflective “my cultural story” assignment (one of a rural boy in Northwest China and one of a young working couple in Beijing) continued to receive affirmation from and resonance with students. Though arising from individual level inputs, they reflect values embedded in specific cultural stories. They are however limited by the contexts that they describe. It was my intention to continue to weave together the qualitative story input to develop such cases so that a wider and more representative collection of “types” could be presented. But rapid national developments and changes seemed to make writing such prototypes even more challenging, as the content that they captured quickly appeared dated, and the diversity of types arising proved challenging.

The edited term-description list is presented for later reference in this project. It should be mentioned that it was written in English with “foreign” readers as the intended target for the purpose of use in cultural-awareness training seminars. Student participants edited the list with the goal of how to help foreigners better understand important Chinese values.

Chinese Cultural Orientations (reprinted from Kulich, 1999)

To understand how Chinese view the world, process life, and make daily value judgments and decisions, it helps to understand the context from which they arise. Chinese logic arises out of an integrated belief and value system. Some foundational orientations of most Chinese are:

1. **“We Chinese”** are a people with a history and culture **worthy of respect**.
2. **Life is arbitrary**, circumstances uncontrollable, resources limited, difficulty inevitable. But God is irrelevant, though some people think that Fate somehow rewards and punishes (We have a *yin-yang* perspective on life [later added]).
3. The goal of life is to **avoid as much trouble** and **secure as much benefit** as possible.
4. **Human nature is basically good** and can be developed, perfected, or corrupted. Strive for **perfection**, but live **pragmatically, realistically** (a *maodun* = contradicting paradox).
5. **Self is completed in Other**. We group to survive and assist. Family and proven sets of friends define us and need to be carefully cared for.
6. **Hard, self-sacrificing effort** makes one worthy of face and demonstrates good “feelings” toward others. Work hard and **believe in yourself**.
7. Proper **behavior in relationships** is the highest morality. **Loyalty and harmony** in ones closest relationships overrides all other ethics.
8. **Hierarchy** is a reality and helps keep order. In most relationships, someone is of a **higher** position, so be aware of your place and **show respect** to those above you.
9. **The past** is often a reliable reference for how to live out today toward an uncertain future.

A later version (based on the process described below) extended this list, rearranged it, and added items. Specifically:

- Item 9 was moved up right after the first item.
- Item 3 was split into two (**avoid trouble/pursue path of least resistance** vs. **seize good opportunities to gain benefits**)
- A new item was added: We have a rich heritage of **artistic beauty** and we are shaping new realities through **arts and entertainment**.
- Item 5 was reworded: Self is integrally **related to Other**. **Relationships** define a person’s significance.
- Item 7 was moved up after 5 and reworded: **Loyalty to** and **harmony in one’s relationships** takes precedence over all other ethics.
- A new item was added after item 8 hierarchy: We **give face** and **avoid shame**.
- A new item was added at the end: We believe a **person’s behavior** and allow **flexibility with words** [each further explained in Kulich, 2008:140-141]

In retrospect, the assumptions that guided the list development (cultural homogeneity in the mid-90s and the possibility of capturing the essence of the culture in verbal formulations) reflect entativity and essentialized proscriptions of “Chinese culture” and collusion of values, beliefs, attitudes, and social norms. These procedures were, however, carried out before the extensive literature review process began in earnest in 2003 or the development of the “critique list” now developed in Chapter 4.

Despite the weaknesses of some of that early “cultural scripting,” as part of a “cultural clarification” process, students reported in course evaluations that they were immensely helped and found these processes worth going through. Some students seemed to gain more insight from the lists, others from the explanations, and still others from the contextualized stories. This working list formed the basis for ongoing steps of values clarification and ongoing subjective culture data collection and summaries, which are explained in the next section.

8.3.2 Study 1b – Integrated Content Toward a “Prototype List”

8.3.2.1 Procedures for Improving the Values Lists

Beyond the same procedures followed before, the values clarification process became more standardized and was carried out through several intensive reflection and discussion sessions. These then followed the emerging general standardized procedure of:

- (1) Personal, open-ended, cultural values listing,
- (2) Instructor-led etic “range of values” explanation (using Kohl’s 1984 diagram of Kluckhohn & Stodtbeck’s framework, 1961),
- (3) Personal writing out of one’s “personal culture story,” followed by
- (4) Further values clarification discussion on “Chinese in a global context” (which eventually became the “Being Chinese” exercise and working paper).

Because of the dynamically changing Chinese context they were grappling with, students noted that they found this values clarification component one of the most significant learning opportunities they had experienced, so it became almost a third of the course content. As a result, a wide diversity of inputs was gathered, recorded, and observed, helping to simulate this ongoing research process.

Concurrently I had the opportunity in 1998 to meet marketing professor Dr. William Rhey and leadership development consultant Ralph Ennis, later a graduate of the joint Intercultural Relations MA program through Antioch University and the Intercultural Communication Institute (ICI) of

Portland, Oregon directed by Milton and Janet Bennett. Rhey and Ennis were working with advertizing research specialist Michael Sack using a visual discrimination technique (e.g., Rhey & Rustoggi, 1999) to identify decision-making values, motives and goals, and were at that time applying it to Chinese respondents.

Based on similar data from five countries (Russia, Bulgaria, the US, Jamaica, and India), Ennis had developed a cross-cultural decision-making model strongly rooted in values orientations which was still being tested (presented in a joint-paper: Kulich et al., 1998; later updated and published: Ennis, 2004). We agreed to jointly investigate whether some of the trends that Sack noted (1998) could be confirmed and written up as a type of cultural assimilator in training for or with Chinese. Ennis and Rhey developed an open-ended survey, which they used to gather data in several locations in China (Xi'an and Shanghai), and integrated this during their participation in the values clarification component of my intercultural courses (Spring, 1999). This cooperation resulted in several draft papers and projects (Kulich, 1999 and Kulich et al., 2001 conference papers, and a 2001 training booklet) that have formed indigenous knowledge foundations of this project. It was used to revise the earlier listing.

8.3.2.2 Values Statement Lists Developed

Based on student feedback to the grounded-theory composite stories and the list and descriptor content above, a later version of that list was reworded for use in training seminars (Kulich et al., 2001; Lead Consulting, 2001). This list is presented here as a qualitative benchmark for the later discussions to enhance emic-to-etic comparisons.

Table 8.2. Qualitative Chinese Value Statements

Accept unpredictability	Strive for the common good of the in-group	Demonstrate hard work and sacrifice
Pursue the path of least resistance	Give face and avoid shame	Defer to authority and show respect
Seize good opportunities to gain benefit	Believe behavior and allow flexibility with words	Be practical and gain material security

Source: Lead Consulting (2001:35-40)

Based on the “China studies” content of Chapter 5 and my personal experiences, observations, and classroom discussions about these items, each of these values conceptualizations was explained. The explanations were submitted to a group of graduate (N=45) and adult students (N=40) in 2001 and similarly rated, again receiving ratings in the over 80% affirmation range, with minor modifications. This list of potentially “core Chinese” mindsets was formulated in 2001 as:

1. Accept Unpredictability

Historically in China, life is arbitrary, uncontrollable and one of difficulty. With such a large population, scarce resources and a difficult history, people have learned to accept the vicissitudes of existence. Most Chinese hope that science, technology and stable government can help control nature and promote economic progress. But everyone is keenly aware that disasters still happen, policies change, circumstances are tough and one's family or best friends might prove unable to help.

Mainland Chinese sometimes see the world as an uncertain, sometimes unfair place where suffering is inevitable. So, they are ready to “eat bitterness” to scrape through and persevere. They believe that with resilience and sacrifice, they might be able to create a better life for themselves. They are also usually not bitter about unfairness, but will try to find a way to improve their own lot in life.

2. Pursue the Path of Least Resistance

Whatever social mindedness may have been present, the betrayals of Mao's 1956 Anti-Rightist Movement after the “Hundred Flower's Campaign” and the excesses of the '66-'76 Cultural Revolution taught people to be wary of trusting others. In such an arbitrary and difficult context, it is best to avoid as much trouble and inconvenience as possible. In general, Chinese are not crusaders for causes, but middle-of-the-roaders. They avoid sticking out in a crowd knowing that “the wind blows down the big tree.”

Most Chinese protect themselves by being passive, uninvolved, or busy with their own affairs. Most try to quietly stay out of harm's way to eke out personal gains for themselves or their family. This is the advantage of modesty – if people don't know you have or are good at something, they won't bother you. Therefore, most Chinese avoid attention, pursue the middle, the “Doctrine of the Golden Mean.” When pressed to do something, many Chinese will acquiesce in order to avoid confrontation. There is often “no other way around it” but to submit to the system to maintain harmony.

3. Seize Good Opportunities to Gain Benefit

When there is not enough to go around, each person tries to get what he can for himself and his network. Often there is no other way to get what one needs except by calling on previous connections (*guanxi*) to provide it indirectly, “going through the back door”. Since most people in the Chinese mainland have few luxuries, they must find subtle and practical ways to best use their time, energy, and connections.

Everyone desires to honor his or her family by building a good reputation, gaining a good education, or earning a good living. But, the chances of doing so are very limited and must be grasped quickly and used wisely. Every opportunity costs something, so one must be willing to bear the risks as well as the potential gains. Some freedoms may have to be given up now to have more freedom later. Gaining a higher position of power or prosperity usually brings more fringe benefits to one's circles of relationships and is assumed to be good for everybody.

4. Strive for the Common Good of the In-group

Relationships define a person's significance. Though some Chinese acts may seem self-motivated, there is often a collective logic. People are integrally connected and committed to a complex network of family, old schoolmates, and other instrumental contacts. Without this web of proven relationships, it is simply not possible to survive or thrive in society. As one grows up, he or she willingly, and often eagerly, responds to obligations and becomes indebted at varying levels to a limited group of people.

Since one has limited capacity to help others, Chinese invest their attention on that in-group. These obligations provide a safety net of tried and true relationships that can be relied on in a crisis. Thus "self" and "privacy" are generally viewed as negative and harmful to the collective "we." You are who you know and how well you know them. This promotes a hierarchy of relationships, where each action will often be correlated to how important this relationship is compared to other relationships.

5. Give Face and Avoid Shame

Chinese tend to focus on what looks good or is good for others. In this social ethic it is usually important to be seen as a selfless person who brings harmony and stability to relationships. Most Chinese fear shame and loss of honor, and desire to gain face.

Face is a kind of honor and self-respect that is publicly affirmed. Treating other people right gives them face. Losing self- or emotional control brings disharmony and loss of face to all the parties involved and brings shame, not only to oneself, but also to one's family. Schools use the threat of shame to promote good behavior. Parents use fear of shame as a tool to help their children obey and perform well at school. Children are conditioned to fit in and perform as expected in order to preserve face. Thus, it may be uncomfortably difficult for Chinese to admit when they are wrong. Instead, a face-saving justification or other cause is often sought and accepted. Direct confrontation is generally avoided.

6. Believe Behavior and Allow Flexibility with Words.

Chinese place much emphasis on demonstrating proper behavior. “Listen to words, but observe actions.” In a system of practically motivated, trust relationships, what one does is the most accurate indicator of true intentions. Most Chinese respond more to what is shown than told, and stories that illustrate behavior strike the heart more than conceptual statements. Verbal interaction is best done subtly, indirectly, descriptively. If the communication is potentially face-threatening, then it is best handled by a third-party, an intermediary trusted by both sides. What is said or printed does not have to be perfectly accurate so long as it portrays or elicits the desired image or response. In business, a written contract is primarily construed as making a relationship official, not as a legal stipulation of specific terms to be followed.

Deciding how to act in any given situation is often subconsciously evaluated on the basis of how one’s family or in-group will respond. The western definition of “moral integrity” is not as important as relational approval, so a situational ethic prevails. Morality is judged by how people control their personal actions and rightly treat their important relationships. One chooses to act in a way that best satisfies the person or persons at hand.

7. Demonstrate Hard Work and Sacrifice

Personal inconvenience and dutiful sacrifice reflect love and support. Silently working hard and suffering for others shows that one cares, is worthy of trust, and wants to bring some benefit to the in-group. Personal feelings have little public value, so Chinese try not to indulge in how they feel. Sentiments should be swallowed and controlled in the interest of group harmony. Open appreciation is seldom shown, and criticism is instead used as a motivator, appealing to one’s social sense of avoiding shame or bringing dishonor to the group.

But acts of love are remembered with deep, unexpressed emotion. The mother who was seldom home in order to earn more money for her child’s extra tutorial or a father who sternly scolded his child to prod him on to pass the entrance examination are often recalled as touching memories. And some parents are becoming emotionally more expressive with their children, especially fathers with daughters, which is both longed for and greatly appreciated .

8. Defer to Authority and Show Respect

Hierarchy and authority are assumed necessary to keep order. In most relationships, someone has a higher rank, so it is important to know how to properly respond to superiors. Chinese seem to accept that the flow of history has allowed hierarchy and bureaucracy in order to allocate the limited supply of resources. Their hope is that those in power will not abuse authority and be benevolent. Everyone has to know their place in the system to properly

respect and honor those above them. However, each discretely considers how to advance their personal position. They try to do so without appearing overt or selfish in order not to arouse jealousy in others who might find ways to block them.

9. **Be Practical and Gain Material Security**

In this climate of having to fit in, play by the rules, and keep others happy, many feel that wealth provides the only true freedom. Some say that in Beijing, what's important is having access to power, but in Shanghai, you need money. But whether in the North or the South, most Chinese feel a need to be very pragmatic and do what is required to acquire both status and wealth. Each situation is weighed on its merits and potential impact. Most people now believe that money is the primary way to open doors to a better future.

Though these derived value/belief orientations seem to have salience in explaining part of the “core cultural” dynamic, they do not catch all that a foreign observer needs to understand, if a comprehensive list is even possible (which I increasingly doubt). As a result of the discussion process, a number of “cultural attitudes/orientations” that arise out of the context in which China is situated geographically, climatically, agriculturally/economically were clarified. Table 8.3 captures some of those main historical and situated aspects.

Table 8.3. *Qualitative Chinese Culture and Context Orientations. China is...*

A resilient culture	An insider culture	Putting hope in its children
An authoritarian culture	A relational culture (personal <i>guanxi</i> networks)	(Has been) a male-dominated culture
A mass culture	A communal, extended-family culture (relationship circles)	A power (filial piety) and submission-oriented culture

Source: Lead Consulting (2001:12-25)

In the training booklet developed (with an adapted “Being Chinese” classroom version now reprinted in workbook form in Kulich, 2008:112-152), I also sought to bring out the future orientation of the Chinese and their readiness for change and modernizing improvements. These were summarized in part by four longings, each situated in the China of the late 1990's:

1. A longing for national restoration
2. A longing for family harmony and prosperity
3. A longing for improved chances and personal success
4. A longing for satisfaction and peace (poetic ideals of beauty and spaciousness).

Though descriptive and admittedly subjective in approach, it is hoped that these earlier mid- to late-90s attempts at clarifying key Chinese value/belief conceptions can help in analyzing updated data toward identifying the “thicker/core conceptual themes” of Chinese culture.

One initial response of reading such a list is that it may seem to conform to stereotypical norms of the Chinese. In other words, when we work to explicate only cultural level norms of a culture, do respondents revert to their programmed responses? If that is indeed the cultural software that all participants in the culture are being given, then this explication is important. Or does this represent a reflexive process, where because the interviewer/instructor is a foreigner, respondents are reporting what they consider to be “expected responses?” This seemed to be a danger in the interactive process of drawing out these values.

In evaluating the hours of interaction, formulation, and response that had gone into this process, the author came to the conclusion that the best way to overcome some of these potentially “orientalizing” responses was to return to the more objective pen and paper process of having respondents report in an emic, unguided fashion their own lists of Chinese values. A decision had to be made about whether to do this directly (“provide a list of values”) as had been done so far (and will be further investigated in Chapter 9) or indirectly (“provide cultural elements that reflect values”). The next section discusses this indirect approach to get at values embedded in language.

8.4 Study 2 – Values in Proverbs Using the CVS and SVS

Social-linguistic researchers have long agreed that there are important relationships between language and culture. Sapir (1951) and Whorf (1956) suggested linguistic relativity, Hymes (1974) discussed the sociocultural context of language, and Scherzer (1987) argued that discourse analysis can best embody culture and reveal the relationship between language and culture. Whether arguing for linguistic relativity or linguistic determinism, researchers all seem to agree that there are clear relationships between the elements of a language and the culture in which it is found, particularly in pass-on-able cultural elements such as folk tales or proverbs.

8.4.1 Study 2a – Indirectly Assessing Values by Generating Proverbs

The culture-level values that characterize a society cannot be observed directly. Rather they must be inferred from various cultural products (e.g., folktales). Presumably, these cultural products reflect assumptions about the desirable that are built into the institutions of the society and are passed on through intentional and unintentional socialization.

Schwartz (1994:92)

Intercultural practitioners have further put this culture-language relationship to work by conducting training exercises whereby participants identify common proverbs in their language (Kohls, 1984; Kohls & Knight, 1994; Zormeier & Samovar, 1997), then equate them to the cultural values implied. Literature by these authors notes such proverbs-values relationships for the American and Mexican cultures, but no data to this end was identified for the Chinese until the later work of Zhang and Zhang (2001). Leung, Bond et al. (2002) had also followed this approach as one part of generating empirically relevant beliefs. Specifically for Chinese contexts, Ho & Chiu (1994) did an analysis of a large collection of proverbs to place them on the individualism and collectivism values continuum, but selected these proverbs from a dictionary corpus. Though a substantial body of literature is developing that locates the Chinese within the collectivist orientation, little work had appeared in the Chinese mainland to identify if such value orientations are present in the language or, more specifically, in the proverbs that are regularly used or cited by contemporary Chinese.

This gap in the literature indicated a need for work that systematically collects participant-generated proverbs and then analyzes them to determine the operative value and belief set for any given socio-cultural group. Identifying such a set of value-laden proverbial statements would be an asset for researchers and trainers alike. As has been noted above, value terms in themselves are sometimes abstract, vague, subject to varied interpretations, might reflect non-realized ideals and at times can be indistinguishable from each other. If proverbs are pithy or pictorial representations of transmitted cultural folk wisdom, identifying sets of salient proverbs might help clarify distinctions between the values of different cultures to cast more light on current culture-level theorizing on values (Bond, 1996, Schwartz, 1994). I was motivated by this technique both as a language learner and as an educator/trainer – such a collection could provide a set of sayings that add illustrative color and linguistic depth to training sessions.

Taking proverbs to be a functional element in the cultural discourse of a people group (Kulich, 1997; Scollon, 1997; Zormeier & Samovar, 1997), this step of the SCVP project sought to identify an operative set of proverbs for 20-40 year-olds in Shanghai. Initially the exercise was conducted as an in-class interaction process, where participants took a few minutes to write down about 10 proverbs that readily came to mind, then come up to write up those that seemed to have the most values content on the blackboard. Common proverbs were sought out from the output provided by about 20 participants in each class. Kohls (1984:28) maintains that eliciting and examining the proverbs of a language is one way to “get at the concrete yet evasive values which guide our lives” and has widely and successfully used this technique (Kohls, 1994:53).

Kohls suggested that in an average-sized training group (about 10), at least 20 common proverbs would likely be generated which could be equated to some of the dominant values of the group in training. However 20 Chinese participants, even when writing about 10 items on the board only seemed to be generating about 5 common proverbs (an unexpectedly low rate of commonality)! Was this an issue of training design (not guiding selection carefully enough), the availability of too large an inventory to choose from, or other factors? A more systematic method was needed to gather useful data and find ways to analyze it.

8.4.2 Study 2b – Analyzing Proverbs for Value Content with the CVS

8.4.2.1 Rationale for the Proverbs and CVS study

Since implementing the Kohls proverbs training exercise proved to be problematic with Chinese proverbs in the intercultural training classroom, clearer classroom and research procedures were devised. To narrow the focus and maximize the research potential of the procedure, a form was devised clearly asking for value-related proverbs or sayings only. Instructions were given stating, “list the 10 proverbs or sayings (*chengyu*, *suyu*, *yanyu*, *xiehouyu*) that first come to mind regarding the values that have been imparted to you.” They were further asked to translate each idiom into English and Chinese and note the value(s) that each reflects.

8.4.2.2 Proverbs Generation and Confirmation Methodology (1997)

In an effort to avoid the “double imposed etic” that Yang (1986) warns against, I collected unfiltered samples of proverbs (raw classroom data), analyzed them for value content, and then correlated them to the CVS (CCC, 1987). To avoid imposing researcher biases or “observer paradox” (Jones et al., 1997), this study aimed to empower subjects to express *their* perceptions of their culture. Self-generated lists were seen as a way to preserve this “voice” of cultural discourse (Kulich, 1997; Scollon, 1997). I again asked subjects to generate their initial lists of 10 proverbs. *They* then rated and compared the short-list of the most frequently cited sayings on a 7-point Likert scale. They further gave the sayings *their* own definitions and determination of value content. My role as researcher was mainly as a synthesizer of the body of generated data, so as to maintain the subject’s voice.

Participants in courses from 1995-1997 in the adult English training courses of Shanghai International Studies University generated lists of value-laden proverbs or sayings (N=150). 875 different idioms were produced (625 mentioned only once!). Of the desired duplicate entries, those mentioned by more than 5 participants (45 total) accounted for 25% of the total responses.

These 45 more-frequently selected sayings were then randomly put in questionnaire form and tested for validity with 57 subjects using a top-10 ranking method and Likert scales. This procedure helped to produce a frequency-ranked listing of sayings according to their importance to the sample. Each saying was then meaning-correlated with the Chinese Value Survey (CVS) that Michael Harris Bond drafted for the Chinese Culture Connection (1987).

8.4.2.3 Findings from SCVP Proverbs Related to the CVS

This meaning-to-item correlation procedure revealed that 22 items on Bond's CVS appeared to be traditional values that did not currently appear in any of the multiple-time self-generated sayings – almost all of them were traditional Confucian conceptions (Table 8.4).

Table 8.4. The Traditional Confucian CVS Items NOT Elicited by Self-Reported Proverbs

CV1 孝 Filial piety	CV 8 礼尚往来 Reciprocation of greetings, favors and gifts	CV15 正义感 Sense of righteousness	CV20 爱国 Patriotism	CV 27 文化优越感 A sense of cultural superiority
CV4 随和 Harmony with others	CV 12 中庸之道 Moderation	CV16 恩威并施 Benevolent authority	CV21 诚恳 Sincerity	CV 30 信用 Trustworthiness
CV6 忠于上司 Loyalty to superiors	CV 13 修养 Self cultivation	CV17 不重竞争 Non-competitiveness	CV22 清高 Keeping oneself disinterested	CV 31 知耻 Having a sense of shame
CV 7 礼仪 Observation of rites and social rituals	CV 14 尊卑有序 Ordering relationships by status	CV19 廉洁 Resistance to corruption	CV 23 俭 Thriftiness	CV32 有礼貌 Courtesy
		CV 37 贞洁 Chastity in women		CV39 尊敬传统 Respect for tradition

The postulated reasons why over half of the CVS items did not appear were that either (1) the CVS was developed in Hong Kong where the traditional Confucian heritage was more strongly preserved (societies abroad sometimes emphasize cultural preservation more), (2) the political campaigns of the Cultural Revolution had succeeded in erasing some of that Confucian heritage on the Chinese mainland, (3) an exercise asking for “proverbs” or “sayings” might not tap the more philosophical or classical quotations that are rooted in Confucian tradition – or even if those were present in the mind bank of participants, they were not effectively elicited, (4) that these items are more abstract and viewed as ideals, not values, or (5) that with such a large repository of sayings, any “top 10” technique might do a good job in highlighting some of the more predominant cultural

orientations, but likely miss others, especially if those other values are currently considered to be less practical, not as influential, or secondary. Further research should seek to compose a list of philosophical sayings corresponding to the CVS that are well-enough known, such that, if presented with the other more current items, some students might still rate or rank them.

This process further identified 20 new value orientations that could be tested further. A New 60-item Chinese Value Survey (NCVS) was put forward for further research (see Table 8.5, where NC means New Chinese item).

Table 8.5. New Items Emerging from the SCVP Values-in-Proverbs Sample (1997)

NC41 Family	NC46 Gain, value, trust experience	NC51 Use time well, treasure time	NC56 Hope for recovery
NC42 Well-prepared (Seek a good start)	NC47 Group intelligence, team power	NC52 Accept the yin/yang balance of contradictions	NC57 Ambition
NC43 Non-exhibitionist (don't show off)	NC48 Take risks, entrepreneurial spirit	NC53 Accept environmental determinism	NC58 Friendship, lend aid to one's close friends
NC44 Non-expression of emotions	NC49 Action, do something	NC54 Seek a suitable environment	NC59 Be practical, pragmatic
NC45 Gracious hospitality	NC50 Seek perfection, but accept imperfection	NC55 Be precautionous, avoid trouble early	NC60 Be objective (an uninvolved observer)

In reviewing this list, Michael Bond (personal conversation, November 19, 1997) noted that though elicited as “values in proverbs,” some of the items fit under the “beliefs” category (e.g., each of the “accept” statements: NC52, NC53, NC54), showing how difficult it is in research designs to keep from conflating constructs. He also noted that some items might be defined too finely (e.g., NC44 might be an expression of CV12 “moderation”). But as he noted previously (Bond, 1988), the CVS was not intended to be a comprehensive list, and other items would likely emerge, especially as societies developed or became aware of more universal values. This step of the study supported such ideas. Though there is still a distinctly “Chinese feel,” terms like NC48, “take entrepreneurial risks” and NC49 which could be termed “just do it” do seem to reflect the emergence of competitive economic values. Some might argue that these were always present in Chinese culture, but others might suggest that China’s movement into WTO and global economic influences were encouraging their stronger emergence in the Chinese mainland.

8.4.3 Study 2c – Analyzing Proverbs for Value Content with the SVS

8.4.3.1 Rationale for the Proverbs and SVS study

Bond's other comment (personal conversation, November 19, 1997) was that the CVS was not ultimately the best anchor for such a study (except for comparing the emic domains), but that a more universal framework was needed. Just as he had done in his "Chinese values" chapter (1996) and own cooperative study (Bond & Chi, 1997), he urged utilization of the SVS. Thus, that became the next step of the research – to both add a comparable international sample and link the generated proverbs items to the SVS, specifically at the cultural level. This extension study sought specifically to address three research questions:

- R1** – Does the proverb sampling method (self-generated lists, either oral or written) used in training and orientation seminars provide useful input for cultural comparison?
- R2** – Do the values embedded in a set of self-generated proverbs gathered from a training group reflect most, if not all, of the main, operative cultural values of the culture they represent? Or, are there characteristics of proverbs (linguistic or otherwise) that cause some significant aspects of the culture to remain uncovered?
- R3** – Do proverbs that are personally generated successfully correlate with broader culture-level values? Can studying proverbs provide a fruitful approach in finding psychological and social links between personal-level and culture-level value orientations?

The basic question was to what extent proverbs can reflect a social-linguistic encoding of cultural values (complete, partial, fragmented?). Based on Kohls work (Kohls, 1984; Kohls & Knight, 1994), the initial classroom response of Chinese students, and the comparatively more visual, fast-paced, and generally less literary (less culturally encoded?) US culture, I **hypothesized** that these Americans would generate a much smaller group of proverbs than these Chinese, and that the Chinese set would be more a part of its educational or literary heritage (given the extensive inventory found in proverb collections, e.g., Sun, 1981; Chen, 1984; Chen & Li, 1986).

The next question was: once corresponding value items/domains have been identified, how would these correlate with current intercultural theory? What is the corresponding linkage between a set of personally generated proverbs and broader culture-level values or universal value dimensions, as proposed by Schwartz? Would the answer to these questions be the same for a Chinese sample as for that of another culture?

8.4.3.2 Proverbs and SVS Methodology (1998)

The method for gathering data was primarily the same to elicit “the 10 values that have most influenced me,” and the original data set was used for this second phase of the study and extended to 170 Chinese participants (about 85% of the Chinese sample was the same data set as the CVS-linked study above). A corresponding US American sample was sought. 175 students from two American universities participated in the study. The student body of both samples had similar age ranges and included a fairly balanced mix of men and women.

Table 8.6. Demographics and Output of the Comparative Proverb Samples

	CHINESE	US AMERICANS	Total Sample
Total Participants	170	175	345
Female Participants	98	73	171
Male Participants	72	102	174
# Sayings Generated	1823	1250	3073
# Unique Proverbs	1008	531	1539
% Completed Lists (9 or 10)	96.0 %	60.0 %	
5 or less Submissions	0.0 %	26.85%	

The Chinese student group again came from my convenience sample of SISU’s adult intermediate level, language-training program whose make-up was roughly 50% from Shanghai, 30% from coastal cities and 20% from inland parts of China. This was deemed to represent a broad cross-section of young Chinese from different geographic, economic, and educational backgrounds. Roughly 30% of these students were terminal high school graduates preparing for the job market, nearly 50% had 3-5 years working experience, and the remaining 20% completed higher educational degrees.

Similar efforts were made to gather a US sample that would overcome regional or population segment biases. 80 samples were gathered from graduate and undergraduate participants at a mid-tier western university (Brigham Young University, Salt Lake City, Utah) and 75 samples from an eastern (Slippery Rock University, Pennsylvania) American university. At both locations, a range of ages and backgrounds was sought by collecting the data from students and “non-traditional students” (continuing education adults) in general education courses. The average age of respondents also fell in the basic 18-40 range, though the US average was slightly younger (careful demographics not collected by one collaborator).

Colleagues collected the US sample as an optional class exercise, also in intercultural communication courses. The average length of list generated from the U.S. was 7.14. Only sixty percent of the American participants handed in completed lists (a list was considered complete if the subject generated 9 or 10 proverbs), while less than 4% of the Chinese sample hand in incomplete survey forms! *No* Chinese student handed in a form with fewer than 5 contributions, whereas 26.85% of the American group provided 5 or fewer proverbs. On many of these forms were written comments like, “sorry, I can’t think of any” or “that’s all I can come up with.”

8.4.3.3 Proverbs and SVS Findings

The 175 American students generated 1250 individual entries, with 531 different or distinct proverbial sayings (sayings with a great deal of similarity in vocabulary *and* content were combined as one entry). The 170 Chinese students generated 1823 individual entries, with 1008 different proverbial sayings. The Chinese group generated 1.46 times more total entries and 1.90 times more proverbs than the American group! This near 2:1 ratio was close my expected hypothesis, though I thought the ratio might actually be higher.

With over 500 distinct English and 1000 distinct Chinese phrases in the database, a quasi-cultural-training methodology was emulated to select the peak of each sample for further analysis. In most training seminars a group of participants generate a list of 20 to 50 sayings, which can then be analyzed together for value content. A cut-off point was sought that would limit each sample to a similarly sized grouping of the most frequently generated sayings. This data was arranged by the number of participants who submitted each entry (frequency of selection) and how many sayings were selected by that number of people (number of sayings), which allowed a comparable cut-off point to be found.

A cut off point of 8 or more participants submitting the same saying would have produced a sample of 25 English sayings and 27 Chinese, but this accounted for only about one third (33.0%) of the total English data base and a little more than one sixth (18.3%) of the Chinese. Cutting the sample off at those sayings selected by 6 or more respondents provided a more workable set and resulted in nearly equivalent sets from each culture – 42 English sayings and 43 Chinese which respectively represent roughly two fifths (41.5 %) of all the English entries and more than one fifth (23.8 %) of all Chinese entries. Yet, the most rated Chinese sayings were generated only half as often (more balanced distribution) than those of the Americans. For the US sample, the top sayings like *Do unto others...*” was submitted by 60 respondents, “*The early bird gets the worm*” by 35, and “*A Penny saved...*” by 32 – a total of 127 submissions from the Americans before even the

first Chinese term, which was “*Time is as precious as gold; don’t waste it*” (一寸光阴一寸金) at 24.

This set was otherwise similar not only in size (number of proverbs), but constituted 520 total English entries and 433 Chinese entries (83.3% as large as the English sample). Thus, the “40 plus” sayings in each language became the target for further analysis.

A basic meaning was written out for each proverb and then assigned to value descriptions. The same were used for the Chinese sample as before equating them to the Chinese Values Survey (CCC, 1987), as well as those used the English sample, to Kohls’ (1991), Rokeach’s (1973) and Schwartz’s individual-level items (1984:89). With each proverb categorized, each saying could then be also associated with Schwartz’s culture-level dimensions (using his SSA map in Schwartz, 1994:102). Though linking individual-level items provides one important window of analysis, because proverbs are assumed to be part of the collective/shared script of a people, it seemed more reasonable to check the data with culture-level comparisons.

The challenge, as with most cross-cultural qualitative data, was that some proverbs could be interpreted to correlate with more than one term or dimensional area. A familiar example would be the saying, “A penny saved is a penny earned,” which implies both a value on wealth/money as well as individual initiative/ambition to improve one’s position in life by savings. These two meanings fall into two different value dimensions on Schwartz’s scale – “wealth” is in the Hierarchy area and “capability/ambition” in the Mastery area. But the strength of the Schwartz model is that his domains are part of a contiguous circumplex, so even items assigned to two different areas are not in linear opposition to each other.

In such cases, the saying was assigned a half score for each. 10 Chinese proverbs and 16 English proverbs in the sample fell into this dual-value assignment. But the vast majority of sayings correlated well with one main value dimension, were fully located in that area, and given a full score. We calculated scores for both (1) the number of proverbs correlated to each dimensional quadrant (plus those that half-correlated), and (2) the number of respondents that selected each saying in that quadrant. Both sets of these scores were adjusted to be able to plot and compare them with the data scores offered by Schwartz specifically for China and the US (1994:112-115) as shown in Figures 8.2 and 8.3, respectively.

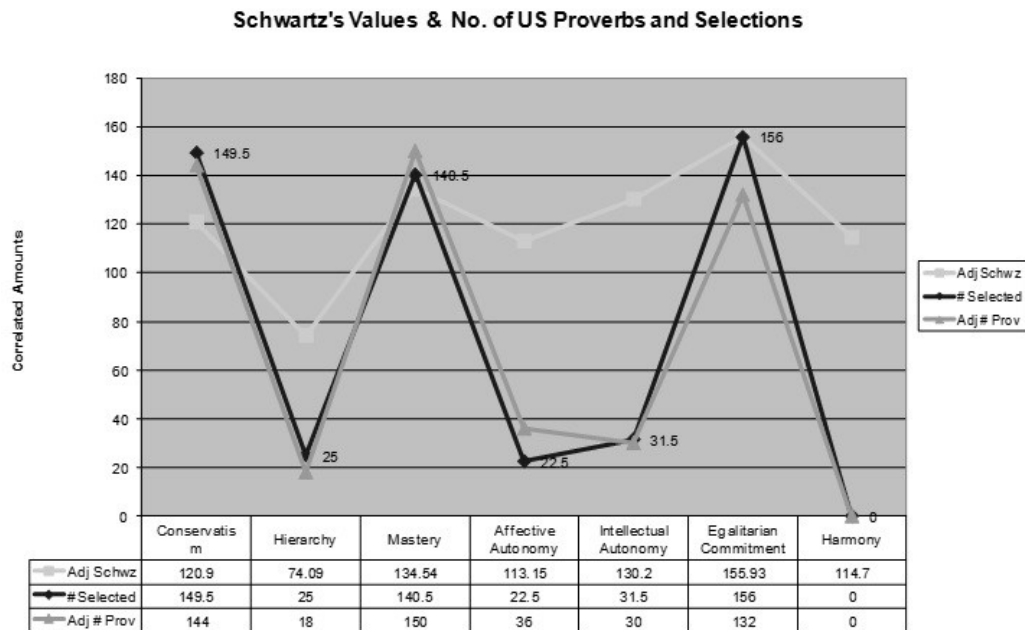


Figure 8.2. American Proverbs and Selection Frequencies Correlated to Schwartz Dimensions

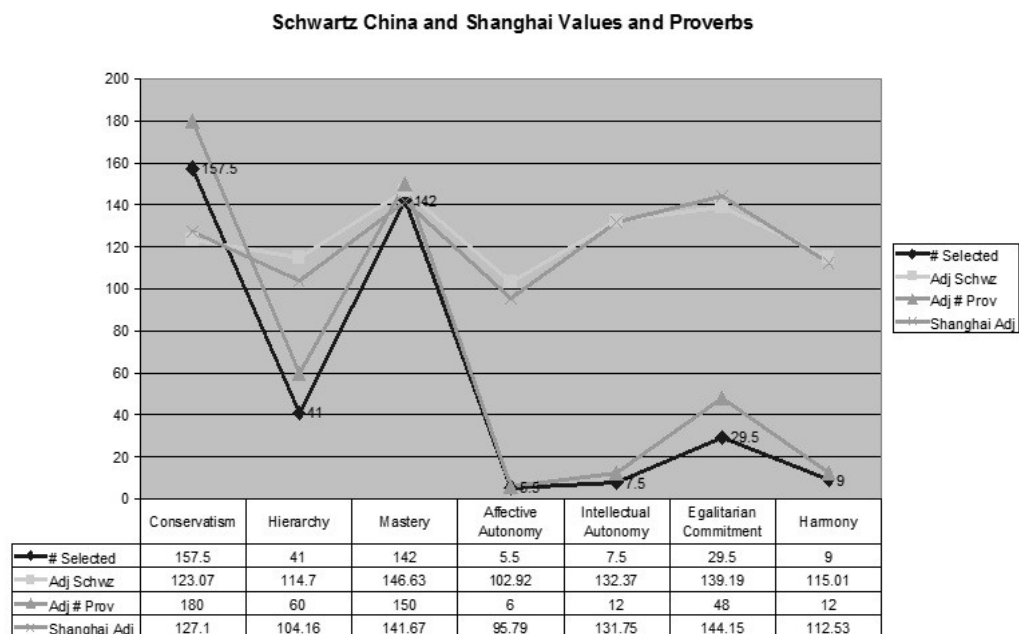


Figure 8.3. Chinese Proverbs and Selection Frequencies Correlated to Schwartz Dimensions

Examination of the statistics and graphs shows that both American and Chinese data sets have some interesting equivalence with Schwartz's data. For the American data, the graph patterns are nearly equivalent on three culture-level domains, Egalitarian Commitment, Mastery, and Conservatism (later called Embeddedness). But for the other four value domains, the proverbs selection technique yields little comparison. Apparently the self-selective nature of doing a

proverbs exercise, viz. the sayings inventory of a culture, highlights certain more prominent aspects and neglects other less obvious domains (though this underrating of those could also be partially due to the selecting out of just the “top 40 plus” sayings for comparative equivalence).

Further work is needed to determine if the low-rated domains would increase to Schwartz’s levels by correlating a whole sample (and not just a selection). The evidence seems to point to a negative answer to R1 – that such a procedure does *not* give a complete view of a cultural value system, but emphasizes certain aspects that linguistically are more readily expressible in proverbial sayings. Trainers could use such an exercise as a starting point, but would need to fill in gaps to give a broader, more comprehensive view of cultural value trends.

Though the Chinese data reflects a similar trend, either (1) so many of its proverbs fall primarily into the Conservatism (Embeddedness) and secondly into the Mastery categories, or (2) the doubly large sample moderates the peak effect, distributing items among other categories, that the other cultural emphases are less obvious. Further work should be done to see if doubling the sample to the top 80 or top 100 brings more conformity to the Schwartz graph pattern. If used as a training technique, however, the linguistic verification of strong Conservatism/Embeddedness, Mastery, and Egalitarian Commitment could be illustrated (though one needs to note that the Hierarchy “trough” is actually higher than the last domain).

Relational Conservatism (Embeddedness) and Hierarchy are both part of the traditional values set that seems to still be operative in the linguistic code of this Chinese group sampled in Shanghai, even though some “individualized” Mastery and Egalitarianism may now be visible. Michael Bond (in personal correspondence) asked whether “the accessible proverbs those learned early from one’s parents, and hence represent parental concerns for their child [children]?” The imprinting of language in an increasingly market-driven economy may be one explanation for this potential shift.

What this part of the study shows is that the use of sayings seems to be an improvement on the use of terms. When the original Schwartz US and China domain means (1994) are plotted out next to each other in similar fashion to that done above (Figure 8.4), we observe little obvious differences between the two cultures. Results gained from measuring abstract terms may *not* help adequately differentiate some cultural qualities, which in fact might explain why Garrott (1995) suggested there her work showed very little cultural difference in values across cultures, especially in youth culture: students are students.

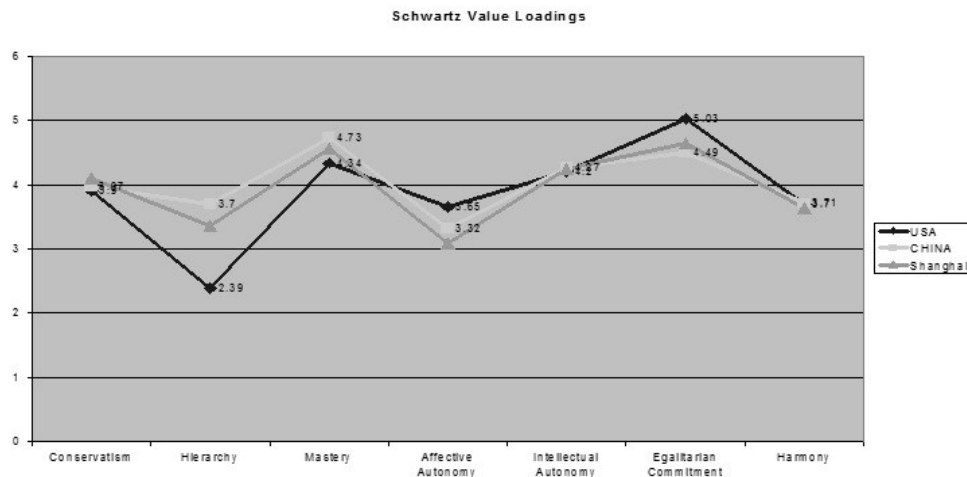


Figure 8.4. Comparison of US and Chinese (National and Shanghai) Data (1994)

Thus the answer to **R2** suggests that eliciting a set of about forty sayings can identify some dominant cultural characteristics, but may miss or underemphasize other cultural trends. Despite the conceptual limitations to self-reported linguistic data like proverbs, these may provide richer content and meaning differentiation than when value items are expressed only as terms.

To rectify this problem, terms used in survey instruments may need some explanations (which most versions of the SVS actually provide). But even those definitional phrases may not be enough. If researchers ask respondents if they value harmony, then they may need to further delineate that term at its varied levels of understanding: into harmony between friends (more individualistic), harmony in the family (more collective), harmony in the society or the world. Using the multiple levels for determining a group's most meaningful level of focus might be a good corrective for such research. And, supplementing terms with several equivalent proverbs might help provide more concrete expressions, clarifying affective responses to value conceptions (a step that we tried to carry out in Study 3 reported below).

Though these considerations suggest improvements for further research, **R3** has been answered affirmatively – it *is* possible to find ways to correlate descriptive emic data to etic frameworks with some plausible findings. Proverbs provide one snapshot of cultural emphases that can be helpful both in training and research. It may take other snapshots like better ways of analyzing terms suggested in Chapter 9 to get a fuller “values picture” of any given culture. But, there may be ways to gain further insights even from proverbs, which the cooperative follow-up studies below suggest.

8.5 Study 3 – Values from Sayings and Schwartz to Sayings

The mid- and late-1990s values work had helped launch a program of research, but proved very tedious to continue, especially in the years when I had to focus more on curriculum and program development than research projects due to our having to address mandates for national educational expansion (from 2000 to 2006). Nevertheless, as I began directing graduate students in research, I hoped that at least one would join me in this ongoing values study quest. Liping Weng decided to focus his research on reviewing, critiquing, and helping me extend the earlier proverbs research, and this section reports his efforts under my supervision to do so. And it appears that other post-graduate advisors had an interest in these linguistic expressions of values related to their overall study of Chinese values. Closely related is the following study by Zhang and Zhang (2001).

8.5.1 The Comparable Zhang and Zhang Study (2001)

Guided by the belief that social values reflect both the contemporary and traditional aspects of culture and society, Jinfu Zhang and Z. Y. Zhang attempted to look at how traditional Chinese values influence the value endorsement of contemporary college students in China.

Traditional Chinese values are understood as an ideological structure constructed primarily on the basis of Confucian classics and completed by Mo Zi, Legalism, Buddhism, Taoism and Li (propriety), a set of social values that has dominated the feudal Chinese society for centuries. This is similar to the work that I commissioned Qunying Yuan in 2004 to start for her thesis, though she focused mainly on summarizing and listing the value terms/expressions each of these ideologies had put forward. Zhang and Zhang similarly sought to assemble a set of sayings that would reflect the full pallet of Chinese cultural influences, and not just the more Confucian orientation that the earlier study by Bond and the Chinese Culture Connection's (1987) had captured.

8.5.1.1 Zhang and Zhang's Methodology

Based on the assumption that proverbs and folk adages are one of the important carriers and transmitters of traditional values, the authors developed a list (their own selection from multiple sources) of 70, commonly used Chinese proverbial phrases. These reflected a wide range of end-values and means-values (Rokeach, 1973) as well as how life values are evaluated (applying the now common 3-types of values that most Chinese studies use: cf. Section 6.1.4.1 and 6.1.7.5).

Specifically, sayings were sought out that embed outlooks on the following aspects of life: dreams, talents, achievement, human nature, ethics, knowledge, livelihood, love and marriage, interpersonal relationships, righteousness and interests, public and private, pride and humiliation, affliction and happiness, life and death, self-esteem, wealth, good and evil, success and failure. A fairly complete range of values-in-proverbs was collected, both those that reflected positive ideals as well as those that suggested negative precautions.

These 70 sayings were then arranged in a Likert format with 5 scales (5=agree, 4=somewhat agree, 3=not certain, 2=somewhat disagree, and 1=disagree). Seven hundred students from 13 universities and colleges across the country were asked to rate these randomly arranged sayings. The sayings were then clustered according to respondents' preferences.

8.5.1.2 Zhang and Zhang's Results and Findings

The 70 proverbs and sayings were ordered according to their ranking. Fifty out of 70 were agreed or somewhat agreed upon. The positive and practical aspects of the values, such as aspirations, social responsibility, social harmony (3 end-values), entrepreneurship (means-value), and society-foremost (a criterion for life value evaluation) were generally embraced by the students.

However, the respondents generally disfavored the negative aspects of traditional life values, such as excessive individual-orientation (end-value), fatalism, accepting one's portion of life, having no desire, hedonism (means-values), and pessimism/illusiveness (value evaluation). More controversial issues were met with disagreement among students. For instance, in choosing between righteousness and interests, most students favored the idea of righteousness overruling interests, but concurrently disfavored the idea of being content with lack of wealth. Over a half of students in fact believed "money can make a devil push a grindstone for you," implying the high importance of wealth (see Bond, 1996).

More than a half of students agreed with the observation that, "human-heartedness is as thin as paper" and "a person's heart is capricious." Most students agreed with the traditional ethical values like, "filial piety and righteousness first," "different role expectations across sexes," and women's chastity. Ideas that show discrimination against women were generally discarded.

Based on previous factor analysis on traditional Chinese value items (Zhang, 1998), five scales had been identified. But these five scales were spread across all the 70 items, indicating the diversity of college students' traditional life value preferences.

A Chi square test showed that 21 out of 70 sayings showed significant in gender differences. These 21 items, of a largely negative and conservative nature, were more preferred by women than men. Women students were more quietness- and stability-oriented, while men were somewhat more radical.

8.5.1.3 Zhang and Zhang's Summary and Top Items

Results showed that the majority of respondents favored the positive aspects of the traditional values and disfavored most of the negative aspects; there were gender differences in the respondents' traditional value characteristics; and the respondents' traditional value endorsement is characterized by diversity, divergence, and contradiction.

The "top ten" sayings rated in Zhang and Zhang's study (2001)

1. 路不行不到，事不为不成 You won't get anywhere unless you start out; you won't achieve anything unless you do it.
2. 少壮不努力，老大徒伤悲 If one does not exert oneself in youth, one will regret it in old age.
3. 酒逢知己千杯少，话不投机半句多 When drinking with a bosom friend, even a thousand cups are still too little; One word is more than enough if you don't fit in with each other.
4. 小不忍则乱大谋 A little impatience spoils great plans.
5. 天下兴亡，匹夫有责 Every man has a share of responsibility for the fate of his country.
6. 当官不为民做主，不如回家卖红薯 An official should pursue justice on behalf of ordinary people instead of personal interest.
7. 天生我材必有用 All things in their being are good for something.
8. 书山有路勤为径，学海无涯苦作舟 Diligence is the path to the mountain of knowledge; hard-work is the boat to the endless sea of learning.
9. 人往高处走，水往低处流 Man struggles upwards; water flows downwards.
10. 世上无难事，只怕有心人 Where there is a will, there is a way.

Having these sayings and this methodology as a resource proved instrumental for the research considerations in the next phase.

8.5.2 Study 3a – Upgrading “Values in Sayings” with Weng (2009)

8.5.2.1 Modifications of Research Focus to Sayings

To address some of the limitations noted in the studies above and bring out the potential of the proverb method more, two modifications in the research focus were implemented. One was pertaining to the scope of proverbs and sayings. To do justice to the exceeding complexity and vastness of the Chinese corpus of idiomatic expressions, a broader category of *shuyu* was introduced (Cui, 1997), which moved beyond my earlier (Kulich, 1997) limitation of including only *chengyu* (historical sayings), *yanyu* (proverbs), *suyu* (folk adages) and *xiehouyu* (witty sayings). This allows for the incorporation of pop cultural sayings (*liuxingyu*) and literary sayings, as they reflect the pervasive influence of print and visual media on the socialization and enculturation processes. This step was partially adopted as the US sample had already incorporated advertising slogans, memorable lines from movies and other pop culture elements, while the definitions put forward to the Chinese sample limited their inclusion.

A second modification concerns the employment of the 45, near-universal values representing Schwartz’s (1992, 1994) seven, culture-level dimensions for the value-saying match (see Table 8.7). Focusing on his 45 cross-culturally validated items seemed preferable to more general domain correspondence (the seven dimensions, as done earlier), mixed-scale item associations (Rokeach, Bond, and Schwartz), or the full complement of values (the 57 or 58 items used in the complete SVS). The research questions we sought to address were:

- Q1.** How complete, or what are the limitations of emically-derived self-generated value-laden, proverbial phrases both in oral and written form in reflecting a comprehensive value set like the 45 widely tested values in the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS)?
- Q2.** What are some of the most significant operative values held by college women studying English in Shanghai today as manifested in their saying preferences?

8.5.2.2 Research Method Modifications for Sayings

A sample of college women majoring in English (N=140) and aged 17-28 (the average being 19.5 years) were asked to come up with 8 proverbial phrases (*shuyu*) that guided their lives, and then clarify each with one- or two-word value summaries. This written clarification was introduced to keep us as researchers from imposing our own assumptions on the item, but to rather be guided by the respondent’s ideas. The data were then sorted according to frequency of selection. Schwartz’s 45 values were then matched with sayings from the pool according to value interpretations suggested by both participants and Weng. The top 41 sayings were then content analyzed.

8.5.2.3 General Results and Findings for Sayings

The respondents generated a total of 961 cultural sayings, 87.4% of which were accompanied by one or two value items reflecting the corresponding value content. The total number of sayings increased to 985 after some reported compound sayings were broken down into single phrases. By integrating items and organizing them by selection frequency, 520 sayings were found to be distinct. A cut-point of frequency at five choices was sought, yielding the top 41 selections.

Based on the respondents' value summaries, the "top eight" values were identified (frequency of selection indicated in parentheses): hardworking/diligence (24+16), optimism (30), time-treasuring (29), perseverance (22), self-confidence (17), ambition (17), hope (15), and humbleness (12).

Based on the value interpretations of both participants and Weng, 42 out of Schwartz's 45 near-universal values were found to have corresponding proverbs and sayings, with varied equivalency of meaning. The remaining three items, namely, *unity with nature*, *a world of beauty*, and *curious*, were remotely related to only a few sayings. These so-called "universal values" might actually reflect Western culture more than has been acknowledged in previous research.

The saying-value match showed that an overwhelming majority of Schwartz's near-universal values are operative in the daily lives of a group of well-educated, young, Chinese cultural members as is manifested in their saying preferences. This conclusion suggests the viability of this etic instrument in the indigenous context. However, the varying equivalence and number of matches also indicated that these universal values apparently differ in richness or thickness when expressed locally. For instance, Schwartz's value "ambition" seems inadequate in capturing the salient emphasis on entrepreneurship and other achievement orientations encouraged in different ways in this Chinese cultural context. The "top 8" values extracted from the saying pool suggest that this emphasis may be better reflected by a combination of three similar and yet differentiated values: hardworking/diligence, perseverance, and ambition.

8.5.2.4 Content Analysis of the Top Sayings

The top 41 sayings consisted of 17 proverbs (*yanyu*), 14 literary sayings (11 from Chinese classics and 3 Western), 8 pop sayings (*liuxingyu*), and 2 historical idioms (*chengyu*). Values of the 41 sayings were interpreted in SVS terms (Schwartz, 1992), resulting in 81 value units due to the double value nature of some sayings. Of the 81 units, 15 were not SVS terms but 9 of them, represented by kindness, loving children, integrity, simple living, self-improvement, and mutual respect, could be related to SVS terms. Nevertheless, 6 units, represented by the concept of

optimism, were non-transferable into any SVS term. *Optimism* as an expression of a positive life orientation may need to be added to the Schwartz list.

Table 8.7 provides the detailed value units distribution. In any case of one saying containing more than one value, each value was calculated as a corresponding fraction of one value unit. What is interesting to note is that for these young Chinese women, the more individuated values of self-enhancement (42.3%) and openness to change (20%) strongly out-rank what might be considered the more collective-type values of conversation (10.3%) or more philosophical values of self-transcendence (24%). And for this latter “category,” based on some of the results, one wonders if universalist self-transcendence is not more of a Western individuated conceptualization based on assumptions of equality (8.1%) while benevolent self-transcendence might to capture the more Confucian or Asian orientation of group- or hierarchy-oriented social acts (16%). In any case, these young women certainly report an apparent shift in the culture in terms of their preferences for language related to values.

Table 8.7. Value Unit Distribution among Schwartz’s Individual-Level Value Dimensions Based on Frequency of Saying Selection

Value Dimension	Value type	Number of Value Units	Total Number of Value Units	Percentage of Total
Self-transcendence	Universalism	24.8	74.0	24.2 %
	Benevolence	49.2		
Conservation	Conformity/Tradition	6.25/25.5	31.8	10.4 %
	Security	0		
Self-enhancement	Power	2	129.4	42.3 %
	Achievement	127.4		
	Hedonism	9.5	9.5	3.1 %
Openness to Change	Stimulation	21	61.2	20.0 %
	Self-direction	40.2		

In investigating what key operative values were represented in the saying list, the following basic themes were identified based on Schwartz's individual-level value analysis:

- In terms of Schwartz's value dimensions, there is a juxtaposition of sayings that reflect *self-transcendence* and sayings that reflect *self-enhancement*, with the latter weighing considerably more than the former. Likewise, *Openness to change* outweighs *conservation* considerably in saying strength.
- In terms of the 10 universal value types, *achievement* is of supreme importance to the respondents, but the neighboring areas of *security*, *power*, *conformity* and *hedonism* appear to be of least significance.
- In terms of the 45 specific SVS values, *ambitious*, *capable* and *choosing own goal* are of supreme importance to the respondents.
- The concept of *optimism* seems to be important to the respondents.

Overall, the salience of the value type, *success*, represented by value items *ambitious* and *capable* and reflected in a considerable number of quotes from Chinese classics, and the supreme importance of the value *choosing own goals* as reflected in the top saying "Follow your own course, and let others say what they want," offers an excellent example of how traditional Chinese values coexist with the Western individualism. Among the least important value types, *security* may have been taken for granted, given the strong tradition that underpins the younger generation's heavy financial and emotional reliance on their parents; *power* and *hedonism* tend to be associated more with masculinity, at least on the surface level; and low *conformity* appears to be another manifestation of the individualistic value orientation. However, the limitation of this study among women (there was an inadequate corresponding sample of men available) and a full determination of whether today's college students are becoming (or desiring to be) more and more optimistic needs further empirical confirmation.

8.5.3 Study 3b – Generating a SVS 45 Corresponding Proverb List (2009)

8.5.3.1 Embedded/Master Proverbs List Research Goals

The follow-on study with Weng attempted to move toward developing a master list of emically-derived cultural sayings that reflect and enrich a set of near-universal values. Looking into cultural members' saying preferences should help understand not only their value structure. But the question remains as to how values are actually expressed, organized, and activated. Our modified definition of sayings was the same broader term (*shuyu*) mentioned above and allowed for older *chengyu* (historical sayings), *yanyu* (proverbs), *suayu* (folk adages), as well as allowing for pop cultural sayings (*liuxingyu*) and literary sayings. Two research questions were addressed:

RQ1 – How much do Schwartz’s 45 near-universal values reflect the ideas embedded in cultural sayings operative within a group of well-educated young cultural members?

RQ2 – In what ways can local values from the self-selected saying pool complement Schwartz’s 45 near-universal values for an indigenous view of “Chinese values”?

8.5.3.2 Research Procedures for **RQ1**

To find two corresponding sayings of the highest possible equivalence, preferably of Chinese origin, for each of Schwartz’ 45 near-universal values, we started from the self-selected saying pool and then scanned some of the key dictionaries and monographs (e.g., Cui, 1997; Wen, 2004; Wu & Ma, 1998) for possible saying candidates. We also screened online information and benefited from colleagues’ suggestions and experts’ guidance.

8.5.3.3 **RQ1** Results and Findings

Each of Schwartz’s 45 near-universal values was matched with at least two Chinese cultural sayings of relatively high and yet varied equivalence. Some values were easier to translate than others. Culturally, the way that Schwartz presents and differentiates values seems to be “culture-bound”. For instance, “social power,” “authority,” and “influential” being treated as three independent values appears to be foreign to a Chinese mind. Perhaps due to Chinese holistic, integrative thinking, power, and influence tend to be considered together because what matters more is their outcome.

Further, the value “family security” appears to be inadequate in unraveling the complex concept of *family* in the relationship- and familism-oriented Chinese society. Proverbial statements that highlight other aspects of the concept abound in the corpus of Chinese sayings (e.g., family harmony, satisfying marriage, advancing family prosperity, having blessed children and grandchildren, well-behaved and successful children, etc).

Linguistically, it proved challenging to make sense of the wording of some of Schwartz’s values. For instance, the Chinese version of “family security” – 家庭安全 (provided by Schwartz’s associates) – and the explanation 保护自己亲属的安全 (safety for loved ones), seemed difficult to understand. What we could imagine is 幸福安康 (happiness, fortune, peace, and good health), which obviously has a much broader scope of meaning.

In line with Geertz's (1973) conception of "thick description" of ethnography, it appears that deep concepts like values can be meaningfully and fruitfully investigated only when they are contextualized and the thickness of their expression acknowledged and addressed. Ignoring many aspects of the concept *family* other than "family security" will inevitably lead to a superficial understanding of the Chinese family.

The "culture-bound" designation and differentiation of values is no new phenomenon given the widely acknowledged interrelatedness between language and culture (Sapir, 1949; Whorf, 1956). The challenge in making distinctions of "social power", "authority," and "influential" here will most likely provide the same challenge in a quantitative study. It seems that no etic research is immune to such deficiencies. Therefore, emic insights are needed in values studies.

8.5.3.4 Research Procedures for **RQ2**

To overcome possible limitations of Schwartz's near-universals in reflecting the Chinese cultural core and ensure a thicker indigenous description of "Chinese values," important local concepts endorsed by cultural members need to be examined side by side. This effort exemplifies a dual etic-emic approach (Pike, 1967) to values.

Fifteen values were isolated on the basis of the respondents' saying preferences generated in the previous study (Weng, 2008) (primarily the top 8 values and the top 41 sayings determined based on selection frequencies). Among them, 13 values can be located in the SVS (Schwartz Value Survey), Bond's (1988) and the CCC's (1987) CVS (Chinese Value Survey), and my (Kulich, 1997) NCVS (New Chinese Value Survey).

8.5.3.5 **RQ2** Results and Discussion

Schwartz's three non-universal values. Though eleven or twelve values used in Schwartz's (1992) individual level analysis have not been confirmed across cultures, three, namely, "inner harmony," "true friendship," and "healthy," appear to be salient in the Chinese context.

Ten values derived from the CVS and the NCVS. Eight values from the CVS were found to be of significance in the respondents' saying priorities. More traditional Chinese values such as "knowledge," "self-cultivation," and "perseverance" continue to influence college students' daily lives. Meanwhile, values such as "harmony with others," "resistance to corruption," and "patriotism" may have wider implications in today's society. "Harmony," for example, is now deemed a central theoretical construct in Chinese communication (Jia & He, 2007). The CVS term "having few desires" is in parallel with the value "inner harmony." Another CVS value,

“kindness,” which Bond (1988) conceptualizes as forgiveness and compassion, was meant to complement Schwartz’s narrower term of “forgiving.”

To do justice to the unique thickness of the concepts of family and using time well in Chinese society, two values derived from my NCVS (Kulich, 1997) and supported by the present research findings, namely, “family” and “time treasuring,” were also included in the list.

Two other “values:” optimism and self-confidence. Though not included in the SVS or the CVS or the NCVS, 30 and 17 distinct sayings from the pool respectively represented these two values. The heavy weight placed on them elicits the question of whether today’s college students are becoming more and more optimistic and self-confident. How we answer this may contribute to the understanding of possible value shifts.

Table 8.8. Fifteen Local Values Surfacing from a Self-Selected Saying Pool

Value	Corresponding Saying	English Translation
INNER HARMONY (at peace with myself)	宁静致远；淡泊明志	Accomplish something lasting by leading a quiet life; show high ideal by simple living
TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close, supportive friends)	有朋自远方来，不亦乐乎； 君子之交淡如水	What a pleasure to have a friend come from afar; the friendship between gentlemen appears indifferent but is pure like water
HEALTHY (not being sick physically or mentally)	身体是革命的本钱；无病一身轻	The body is the capital of a revolution; Good health is a blessing
KNOWLEDGE (education)	知识就是力量；书中自有黄金屋	Knowledge is power; you will find gold in books
SELF-CULTIVATION	自强不息；严于律己，宽以待人	Make unremitting efforts to improve oneself; be strict with oneself and lenient toward others
PERSEVERANCE (persistence)	只要功夫深，铁杵磨成针； 水滴石穿	Constant grinding can turn an iron rod into a needle; dripping water wears through a stone
HARMONY WITH OTHERS	和为贵；共建和谐社会	Harmony is a blessing; build a harmonious society together
RESISTENCE TO CORRUPTION	反腐倡廉；出污泥而不染	Fight corruption and build a clean government; come out of the dirty mud Unsoiled
PATRIOTISM	天下兴亡，匹夫有责； 精忠报国	The country's prosperity, the citizen's responsibility; repay the country with supreme loyalty
HAVING FEW DESIRES	知足常乐；无欲则刚	happiness is contentment; one can be austere if he has no selfish desires

KINDNESS	勿以恶小而为之，勿以善小而不为；己所勿欲，勿施于人	Do not do evil deeds though they may be insignificant; do not give up good deeds though they may seem minor; don't do to others what you do not want others to do to you
FAMILY	金窝银窝不如自家的草窝；家和万事兴	Gold or silver houses don't compare with one's own hut; if the family lives in harmony, all affairs will prosper
TIME TREASURING (using time well, effectiveness)	一寸光阴一寸金；一日之计在于晨	An inch of time is worth an inch of gold; morning hours is the best time of the day to work
OPTIMISM	阳光总在风雨后；船到桥头自然直	Sunshine always comes after storm; when the boat passes under the bridge, it'll go straight through the arch of the bridge
SELF-CONFIDENCE	天生我材必有用；你行我也行	Heaven has endowed me with talents for eventual use; I know I can

Source: Weng & Kulich (2009:80)

This value list is by no means comprehensive in content (as perhaps no listing can be). Nevertheless, it offers a good example of how a cross-section of operative “Chinese values” may be captured by integrating indigenous insights with an established universal framework, by relating values to context, and by viewing values within a specific local frame of reference.

8.6 Conclusions from the Qualitative Studies

These qualitative explorations have helped elicit indigenous terms and phrases that are imbued with meaning and rich cultural content. Each study has generally sought to identify and protect the integrity of emic data. Only at the level of statistical analysis has it sought to link it to etic structures, correcting a common critique of research that is not sensitive to local conceptualizations or interpretations. The terms and proverbs generated hopefully comprise some of the “thick cultural” content that can help better interpret the quantitative studies to be presented in the next chapters.

Chapter 9: DEVELOPING EXPLORATORY QUANTITATIVE PROCEDURES

We believe, as do many others, that psychology can mature into a valid and global discipline only to the extent that it incorporates paradigms, perspectives, and data from an ever-widening circle of both cultures and ethnic groups...[This will] contribute to the development of a much more inclusive psychology and will lead to the formation of interesting, testable hypotheses about the complex relationships between culture and behavior.

Cross-cultural Psychologists Walter Lonner and John Berry (in their Series Editor's Introduction to van de Vijver & Leung, 1997:ix)

9.1 Hypothesizing about Indigenous Item Analysis Methods

While qualitative explanations like those covered in the previous chapter are interesting and elicit some insights, they provide little basis for reliable comparison to universal frameworks. They were however useful for conceptualizing the design of the main set of studies to be presented in this chapter. The qualitative analysis of those data sets revealed an obvious need to find ways to anchor such work through a clearer emic-to-etic research design. Therefore it was deemed important to continue with attempts at linking the collection and analysis of listed data to an established framework like that of Schwartz, so that eventually more substantiated comparisons within and across cultures could be made. This chapter will discuss those indigenous data collection and etic analysis attempts, as well as the procedures that were needed and developed to carry them out to a satisfactory degree.

As a clarification of focus based on the “five levels of culture” proposed in Sec. 1.5.3, it should be noted that this set of exploratory studies is seeking to link the investigation of values at **three** main levels. Taking Schwartz's etic to be the best attempt so far at a comprehensive *meta* cultural perspective, we want to see what its relevance is at the *macro* level (peoples' understanding of their shared cultural script) as well at the *medio/micro* level (the related-individual level).

I purposely combine these latter two level terms, because, though my design seeks to tap an “individual-level” of values, some critics will point out that I have not asked for an expressly “personal” listing of values (“what guides YOU in YOUR personal, private decisions”) as Western research normally would do. Instead, being sensitive to and incorporating the cultural orientations that were highlighted in Chapters 5 and 6, I have sought to draw out a more “situated-self” (“what guides YOU and YOUR inner circle of friends”) – hoping to elicit a more interdependently-construed “self.” This decision also arose from the qualitative studies of Chapter

8 and the interaction with students in the clarification exercises who continually made comments like, “we just don’t see values as personally as you Westerners seem to.” I believe this adjusted level focus will get us closer to a real picture of how values operate in Chinese minds; but for pure “individual-level” comparisons across cultures, it is an acknowledged limitation.

It is important to note that this is likewise not a pure *medio* level, as that would be more situationally constructed, and would be best investigated with real-world scenarios, social choices and conflicts (“how do we mediate or negotiate contexts through a values frame?”). Further, as will be noted in Chapter 12, I have purposely left the *meso* (sub-cultural) level aside as an area for future research, largely due to being situated in Shanghai. It is also my persuasion that understanding how the etic *meta-level* is evidenced in the emic sandwich of *macro – micro/medio* (“culture” at its operational top-down and bottom-up vantage points) needs to first be well-explicated before useful contextual *medio* and *meso* studies can be carried out meaningfully.

The working hypotheses undergirding the next three chapters (9, 10, 11) are that:

(H1) It is possible to find a reliable methodological approach to code and convert free-form indigenous emic input with an acceptable level of meaning-fit to items of the Schwartz etic framework, and that,

(H2) Meaning-correlated emic-to-etic data can then be analyzed with multidimensional scaling (MDS) to determine (a) the structural association between items as well as (b) the structural relation of value domains, and

(H3) The emerging structure will generally reflect (a) the theoretical structure confirmed by Schwartz across cultures (his culture-level dimensions) with (b) some “contextually-understandable” slight structural modifications as well as some “culturally-logical” indigenous adding/redefining/relocating of items.

To be able to test these hypotheses, it was decided that multi-sample probes would be needed to clearly reflect the trends and conclusiveness of both the procedures and the emerging structure of values relations in and across these samples. Therefore time-referenced data was included in the study from four cross-sectional groups at each level (4 at a targeted “culture-level” and 4 at a targeted “individual level” = 8 in total). As a preview, Table 9.1 lists the demographics of the eight cross-sectional groups reported in this and the next chapter.

Table 9.1. Demographic Information for All Eight Sample Groups

Demographics Year – Samples (level)	Sample Size	Average Age at Sampling	Male (N, percentage)	Female (N, percentage)
1995-1997 adults (cultural)	41	25.3	14 (34.1%)	27 (65.9%)
2000 undergrad (individual)	64	26.4	14 (21.9%)	50 (78.1%)
2003 adults (cultural)	41	35.1	23 (56.1%)	18 (43.9%)
2007 undergrad (individual)	55	21.8	9 (16.4%)	46 (83.6%)
2009 undergrad (cultural)	61	21.5	22 (36.1%)	39 (63.9%)
2009 undergrad (individual)	61	21.5	22 (36.1%)	39 (63.9%)
2009 graduate (cultural)	86	22.84	14 (16.3%)	72 (83.7%)
2009 graduate (individual)	86	22.84	14 (16.3%)	72 (83.7%)
Total Cultural Samples	229		73 (39.4%)	156 (68.1%)
Total Individual Samples	266		59 (22.2%)	207 (77.8%)
TOTAL SURVEYED	495		132 (26.6%)	363 (73.3%)

In order to present the actual progression, problems encountered, decisions made, and development of this research project, this chapter reports only on the first of these, Study 4. It considers workable procedures for transforming qualitative data into quantitative scores for MDS analysis (Section 9.2), then re-tests, adjusts (Sec. 9.3), and finally standardizes them toward developing usable methods, including procedures for determining a select set of indigenous items (Sec. 9.4).

Once these procedures are established, the next chapters continue to report on the findings from each of these multi-step studies (Studies 5, 6, and 7 in Chapter 10, Study 8 in Chapter 11). Chapter 11 highlights limitations, analyzes contrasting collection methods, considers statistical stress fit reliabilities, and summarizes results.

9.2 Study 4 – Establishing Procedures with the Pilot Study (1995-97)

Toward the eventual goals of (1) establishing a methodological way of translating self-generated in-class values clarification inputs into analyzable data, (2) keying these inputs to the etic value items of Schwartz, (3) using this indigenous input in evaluating and updating the Schwartz SVS for potentially greater relevance in the Chinese context, and (4) using the SVS as a framework for examining what shifts might have occurred (or are occurring) over this period of economic and social development, an initial sample was carefully chosen. The selected group was one that reflected what most considered to have been a more homogeneous, conservative, unexposed Chinese context in the mid 1990s before the more diverse, open, and internationally aware influences of the 21st century were introduced. Later in this chapter, comparable and contrasting

samples will be collected and analyzed. But before such comparisons could have any salience, the proposed methodology had to first be tested and modified to achieve the desired emic-to-etic aims.

9.2.1 Setting up the Methodological Trial – Baseline Participants

With the intent to draw on both a much broader sample than Bond's seminal set (five informed scholars) and from a wider range of diverse Chinese mainland subjects, the 1995-1997 participants were selected from classes in the Overseas Training Center (OTC) of Shanghai International Studies University (SISU). The intensive English programs of the OTC drew a broad sample of adult, white collar, middle class, urban participants (both from larger cities and smaller towns) from all parts of China and were accessible in my introductory course on Intercultural Communications (IC), providing a fairly representative convenience sample.

Initial participants had typically distributed levels of education (mostly from 3-year colleges, some 3-year technical schools and a few with degrees in varied professional subjects, e.g. medicine, engineering, business, Chinese), intermediate English skills (non-English majors with minimal foreign exposure), and two thirds had some working experience in Chinese companies (limited foreign experience, if any). Participants came from a wide distribution of cities and provinces (over half from coastal regions, about a quarter from inland areas and the other quarter from Shanghai). The age range included recent high school graduates (ages 17 to 21) to working adults with a few years of experience (22-29) to a handful of experienced scholars and teachers (in their 30s and 40s). With this wide distribution of backgrounds, geographies and ages, four classes of about 20 each were selected as the "baseline group" for this pilot study (a pool of 85 participants). As noted in Chapter 8, roughly half did the values list exercise in Chinese and the other half in English. Further work will need to consider linguistic influences on the generation of such lists, in consideration of Sylvia Chen's research on how normative cultural expectations are based on language priming effects (2007, 2010).

This section includes the Chinese data from 41 random samples from the "base group," which will later be compared to one older educationally comparable group of 41 samples collected in 2003 (from a pool of 70). Demographics appear in Table 9.1 above and later in Table 9.4, which is followed by a detailed discussion of the comparative study. In this section the methodological procedures established are first discussed.

9.2.2 Collecting Baseline Data Procedures

Following the tradition of self-generated lists (Kohls, 1984; Chinese Culture Connection, 1987 [with Bond]; Kohls & Knight, 1994), participants were asked to take about 15 minutes during a guided class session to write down the most important 10 values that come to mind. Respondents reported with pen and paper their own conceptions of Chinese values expressed in their own lexical items.

For the initial “baseline group” of students from 1995-1997, responses were written on the student’s own pieces of paper in response to oral instructions. However, this elicited some inconsistencies in content and style of reporting so that some data sheets had to be rejected (about 5%). To correct this problem, later groups were given a standardized form with instructions printed to help prime a “culture-level” perspective to aid later comparison with Schwartz’s culture-level model. Though “individually” generated, the design was intended to determine what differences would emerge if “culture” were primed or if one’s personal level preferences were primed (see Section 10.3 for modifications for individual-level rankings).

Further, Michael Bond had noted in personal comments on the proverbs study discussed in Chapter 8 that some participants seem to confuse values and beliefs constructs. Therefore, a separate section and explanation was included on “beliefs” to provide an awareness prime toward more differentiated reporting. Thus, the sheet was worded as:

To understand who we are, it is important to understand our cultural context. Think about your parents and your friends. First try to make a list of the things they value, the things they appreciate, the ideals they hold dear. What are the values in life that most Chinese affirm?”

In General, the Chinese VALUE...

- 1.
- 2.
3. and so on to 10.

And then the priming, conceptual filter to separate out beliefs was stated as:

Every culture/people also has some set of beliefs. These are the principles by which we think the world operates. For example, everyone now believes the world is round. Most people believe that life has value, so murder is wrong. Some people believe that there is a

god who rewards good behavior or punishes bad behavior. What do you think are the basic operating beliefs of most Chinese?”

In general, most Chinese BELIEVE...

1. 2. 3. 4. and 5.

Though the “belief” data might be fruitful for further work, it has not been analyzed to date. It was primarily introduced as a control measure to elicit more carefully considered values-oriented responses. That priming generally worked, as there were virtually no conflated items in the data once the form was introduced (after 1998).

9.2.3 Establishing Coding Procedures

Though a free-form emic approach was initially attempted to categorize the data, with over 40 subjects per data set (compared to Bond’s group of five), variance in phrasing, ambiguous overlap, multiple synonyms or value-meaning inferences made the compilation difficult and the resulting lengthy list difficult to work with. The task was made easier by employing the most recent version of the SVS with 58 items as the main organizing principle. This version was chosen as it had already sought to incorporate important conceptions of Chinese face (*mianzi*) dynamics and thus seemed appropriate for such an emic study here. Littrell and Schwartz (2007:3) noted that the:

SVS-58 Chinese version expands SVS-57 item 46, using items 46 and 58:

- 46 _____ 保持自我公众形象(在大众面前保持自己美好的一面) “PRESERVING MY PUBLIC IMAGE (protecting my "face")
- 58 _____ 遵守社会规范 (维护面子) “OBSERVING SOCIAL NORMS (to maintain face)”

Some researchers are adding item 58 to other language versions. If the smallest space analysis indicates item 58 is a Power item, it would be also included where item 46 is included below.

Facilitating this task, a translated Chinese version (with term explanations) was also readily available (via Romie Littrell⁸⁵) making it easier to consider emic-to-etic associations (see Appendix 1 for the SVS Chinese Instrument and Appendix 4 for the SVS Item Code Key).

⁸⁵ Available from Prof. Littrell on request from crossculturalcentre@yahoo.com, or directly from Prof. Schwartz.

9.2.3.1 Linguistic Equivalence Assignment Procedures

Adapting the Littrell and Schwartz (2007:1) “cleaning” procedures, self-reported data sheets were considered “valid” and included only if they provided at least 7 values items [no more than “30% missing” or else “drop the subject”]. In later sets, I increased this requirement to 8 to minimize the number of “missing items”. A rater who had also completed the values research course and understood what might be considered “typical Chinese values” was trained in the meaning and implications of each of the Schwartz universal SVS items.⁸⁶ Using an Excel file with all 58 SVS items (and their proposed Chinese translations), the rater input each participant’s “top 10” items next to the semantically-most-comparable SVS item. Non-equivalent items (those beyond Schwartz’ structure) were entered initially at the bottom of the list as category labeled “hard to equate items,” and then after review, separately as new, specifically Chinese categories. These items and the challenges of meaning-equivalency are noted in the later discussion (Sec. 9.2.3.1 and following).

A specific challenge in this research design was that some respondents recorded what might be considered lexically-synonymous terms (those that seem to equate to only one SVS item) as distinct values. In some cases these suggest more nuanced variations of meaning or sub-categories of that item in Chinese minds; in others, they suggest that some broader value items may actually be construed of as similar but different value conceptions in this cultural context. Implications of these noteworthy synonyms, the possible Chinese mindset that distinguishes them, and the limits of Schwartz’s framework to differentiate them will be analyzed in the discussion following (see Sec. 9.2.3.2 and 9.4).

Acknowledging the subjectivity of this data-to-Schwartz-item assignment process, input associations were carefully checked for errors of inference. For this I needed native speakers. The second rater,⁸⁷ who helped with preliminary reports on a early version of this data set related to identity (Zhang, S. T. & Kulich, 2006; Kulich, Zhang, S. T., & Zhu, 2006), and the third rater,⁸⁸ skilled in the SVS (Zhang, R. & Ding, 2006; Kulich & Zhang, R., 2010), were asked to review and classify each self-report item in relation to Schwartz’s 58 items⁸⁹ for consistency in internal

⁸⁶ The first data-input rater was SISU MA graduate (2003) Min Zhu, a skilled Chinese-English (E-C, C-E) translator and teacher of Chinese as a foreign language (CEFL) and now doctoral candidate in the Communication Department at the University of Minnesota.

⁸⁷ Shutian Zhang, SISU MA (2005, Honors) graduate in Intercultural Communication, currently a certified Chinese-English (C-E, E-C) simultaneous interpreter.

⁸⁸ Rui Zhang, SISU MA (2006, Honors) graduate in Intercultural Communication, currently a doctoral candidate in Psychology at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada.

⁸⁹ I carried out these procedures with these raters in February 2006.

meaning. This process was later repeated for every data set with other raters, and eventually upgraded to insure consistency across samples (see Sec. 9.2.3.3).

In an earlier attempt at data treatment (work done in 2004 and 2006) descriptive statistics like the frequency of reported items was analyzed. The percentages of individual items falling under Schwartz's 10 value domains (based on Schwartz's item-domain assignments, 2005b) were first summed to note general trends. Individual item frequencies were then compared to note which SVS values seem to be stable for both groups over a seven-year period, and which reflected shifts. Pearson's chi-square was used to analyze the significance of frequency differences between the two groups. Those statistics are not reported here as two issues arose in that analysis: (1) with what certainty did the item associations reflect the best fit possible, and might some indigenous items need to be added to enhance the SVS? And (2) on what basis could these items be summed together in Schwartz item-domain associations without checking if the Chinese were construing those terms in the same way? As recommended by Littrell and Schwartz (2007), Smallest Space Analysis or some form of structural analysis was needed to confirm item relations in these samples first, and will be explained in Sec. 9.2.4.

9.2.3.2 "Duplicate" SVS Item Rating With Multiple Emic Item Listing Procedures

The challenge of self-reported open-ended indigenous data is that it is not tidy (an understatement!), or perhaps admittedly necessarily *untidy*. Therefore, what follows represents concerted attempts to develop and improve standardization procedures toward making valid conclusions about complicated indigenous data when seeking to relate it to an established framework like that of Schwartz. These exploratory treatments hopefully contribute to fairly reliable ways of "correlating" open-ended emic responses to etic lists so that better psychological measurement procedures might be later developed.

The first issue was when collecting respondent's free-range values lists each may generate several local terms or expressions that perhaps reflect only one SVS item. For example, a student who highly values family might detail nuances he or she considers important and write down distinct terms that include "family financial advancement," "good/harmonious family relations," "sacrificial family support" and "warm family feelings." All of these in some way needed to be related to SVS item 22 "family security" but raters had to wrestle with whether we would create new items (e.g., an SVS 22A for "family financial prosperity," SVS 22B for "good family communication" and so on), and if so, how we would score or map them. As data sets were

collected over the years, we detected a continual increase in specific items like 子女成才, 聪明的孩子 (sons and daughters are a resource – hope for an intelligent child). In the end we decided this was distinct from “family security” in its reflection on the value of children, and decided to add this new item 重视子.

To guard against the indiscriminant expansion of items, guidelines for justifying new items were considered. All expressions thought to be associated under any one SVS value item number were listed together so that linguistic analysis could be conducted on the nuances and range of differentiation among those terms. Only if such terms appeared in set after set were they considered as addable items (see Section 9.4 on the rationale for these indigenous additions).

The next challenge was how to generate numeric associations for duplicate items to maintain the integrity of Multidimensional Scaling (MDS) or Smallest Space Analysis (SSA). A procedure was considered to account for, integrate, and give due weight to multiple-listed items. We decided on an up-scoring procedure. If, for example, a respondent listed as the first item “make money” and as their third item “buy a house and car” then these would normally be rated 10 and 8 respectively. To reflect the extra weight given to SVS item 12 “Wealth” that these reflected, we decided to up the score two [2] points if the items were equal to or within three (3) rankings (suggesting closely-related values importance and strength), and one [1] point if they were more than three (3) rankings apart (suggesting less-similar same-value links, but still related). Thus, in putting both items under “Wealth” the score was now listed as a 12 rating. The second item would still be listed as 9, and the fourth item still listed as 7 and so on. For the few triple and quadruple indigenous value descriptions that corresponded with one SVS item, I set the largest accumulated score as the highest ranking plus three (3) points. This seemed to be a reasonable way to reflect the extra weight given to multiply-loaded semantically-near duplicate items.

9.2.3.3 Checking Semantic Fit

If these procedures were to test whether open-ended descriptive data like this could be transformed into statistically plot-able SVS ratings, and whether these could generate something akin to Schwartz’s theoretical map, it seemed important to limit item associations as closely to the SVS-58 items as possible. This proved difficult, as many of the terms generated by respondents had nuances or meanings that did not seem to fit well.

Following the suggestions of Dr. Gang Zheng of the Chinese Academy of Social Science (CASS) on his review of a previous unpublished report of part of this data (a paper presented at the IACCP in Xi'an in August 2004), a “degree of fit” procedure was implemented. A group of three expert raters (intercultural communication graduate students who had taken courses in both advanced-level values research and cross-cultural statistical methods⁹⁰) developed coding standards for both the Schwartz items and the Chinese-generated items. Two levels of analysis and review were decided on – the first to consider the efficacy of Schwartz-style MDS/SSA mapping, and the second to see how these might work with a more emic oriented map. Thus 1st round procedures gave the SVS priority (seeking best fit to keep the etic SVS integrity with its 58 items), and 2nd round procedures gave the indigenous data priority (aiming at an even content better fit by adding a few items to the SVS 58 for emic integrity).

After all SVS item assignments were made and entered into a spreadsheet, the Excel tables were printed out for independent checking by the fit evaluators. Each item was rated on a 1-5 “fit” scale, where 1 = 20 % fit, 2 = 40%, 2.5 = 50%, 3 = 60%, 4 = 80% and 5 = 100 % “equivalence of meaning” fit. Any item that did not receive over a 2.5 rating (better than 50% fit) was reconsidered whether another SVS value item might have more semantic correspondence. The stated goal of this “Schwartz fit procedure” was for every item to have at least a 3.5 rating (better than 70% fit).⁹¹ But for the free-form open-ended emic data that was collected, even the expanded Schwartz 58 items proved constraining.

Though the procedure initially yielded at least a 60% reasonable fit for all, some items still seemed out of place next to their Schwartz translated descriptors. To truly determine if universal frameworks like Schwartz can be satisfactorily used, the “pure Schwartz” lists were important for confirming their representation of his theoretical structure. Encouragingly, even with the constraints, the MDS common space mapping did yield a reasonable picture of values domains (see Section 9.3 below). But, with the further postulation that use of an etic instrument could be enhanced with some indigenous item additions (as Bond & Chi had demonstrated was possible, 1997), it was necessary to test whether “semantic fit” was improved by adding items that more

⁹⁰ For this procedure, my Chinese skills allowed me to review the results, but native speakers with intercultural awareness were needed to carry it out. I was gratefully assisted in the fit procedures by intercultural 2009 MA graduate Jia He and 2010 MA graduates Yanqing Duan and Lixin Xiao.

⁹¹ With “off-the-top-of-the-head” emic data, we decided initially on 70% to relax the standard slightly. For Schwartz’s cross-cultural item selection (which is now confirmed at 46 “culture-level” value items), his standard has been “only items that demonstrated near equivalence of meaning in at least 75% of cultures are included. The other items (some 11 or 12 of them) are usable within cultures after doing a structural analysis that indicates what they mean” (Littrell & Schwartz, 2007:2). This project’s emic-to-etic within-culture analysis seeks to carefully consider *both* rater-meaning fit and structural-association fit.

faithfully represented the data generated. This procedure also produced encouraging results and a similar map, but one that was arguably easier to understand and more relevant to the Chinese context (as will be illustrated and described in Section 9.3.3).

9.2.4 Converting List Scores for Structural Analysis

Once the expanded set of items had been determined to meet the 3-rater fit criteria (originally 70%, but after reassignment including new 8 emic items, over 80%), the Excel data rating lists were turned into SVS data scores. Obviously “top 10 lists” are not scaled data like the Schwartz - 1, 0-7 Likert scale produces. Though non-parametric in nature, a pseudo-interval scale was devised to check whether the data gathered might plot out using SSA to reveal associations among value terms or dimensional regions that these value items might locate in. As Stephen Borgatti (1997:online “Dimensionality”) notes, “Normally, MDS is used to provide a visual representation of a complex set of relationships that can be scanned at a glance. Since maps on paper are two-dimensional objects, this translates technically to finding an optimal configuration of points in 2-dimensional space”—the intent of this design.

9.2.4.1 Scoring Procedures for Multidimensional Scaling (MDS)

For converting the lists to numeric scores, two schemes were tried. Scale 1 treated non-listed items as zero (0) and any item generated by respondents a “ranking” number in reverse order (e.g., a No. 1 item listed was given 10 points, a number 2 item 9 points and so on). Because these sets do not represent strictly scaled data, the concern was that the 1-10 scheme imposed a weighted bias or interval scaling on data that did not necessarily represent nometric intervals.

As put forward in Section 7.3.5, the more equitable rating system of Scale 2 was tried – where 0 was assigned to non-listed items and all that were listed were scored between 1-2. Such a scheme reduces the statistical differences between listed items (all generated “hits” within one point segmentation, 1.0-1.9) but distinguishes them better from those not listed (a full point away at 0). This seemed to better differentiate between those items that were produced (where 1.9 represented the first item down to 1.0 for the last item listed) and also reduced the impact of “ranking” them numerically by order of appearance. Collection procedures could not guarantee that respondents had listed their items in rank order, even though they were encouraged to do so orally. The version of SPSS used for Multidimensional Scaling did not accommodate decimals, so we all scores were multiplied by 10, making the range of data from 0 for items not mentioned and 10-19 for ever higher-on-the-list inclusion.

As mentioned in Section 9.2.3.2, multiple indigenous items related to one SVS item had to be dealt with. The duplicate-semantic-meaning-item upscoring was followed for both Scale 1 and Scale 2, resulting in a few variant-but-similar multiple-rated items scoring as high as 13 for trial Scale 1 and 22 on adopted Scale 2 (for consistency, the maximum allowed was 19+3). Though Scale 2's more spread-score procedure was the preferred approach, the data was initially ran both ways (0, 1-10+, and 0, 10-19+) to see which scoring scheme and MDS plot seemed to provide the more useful picture for analysis of exploratory values data.

9.2.4.2 Z-Score Standardization Within Samples

Each data set was first run with raw scores. As would be expected with so many missing values and some other items rated with high frequency, most items tended to cluster in a dense clump near the center of the resulting maps in a way that made analysis for item associations almost impossible. The highest rated items that were spread out across the map and a few general trends could be noted, but raw data mapping was inadequate.

As is encouraged in cross-cultural research (where specific item responses, means and standard deviations can vary widely across samples), data standardization procedures using the computation of *z* scores were adopted (cf. van de Vijver & Leung, 1997:88). Each item was recalculated based on its relationship to the specific sample under study (a cultural-level norming procedure) so that analysis of each data set would be along a comparable "standard normal curve" (as postulated and advocated in mathematics and natural sciences by Gauss and Laplace and extended to the social sciences by Pearson, 1893). As Reinhard notes (2006:78):

Researchers rarely collect data that have a mean of zero and a standard deviation of 1. Even so, researchers can use the logic of the standard normal curve to help them make decisions. To do so, researchers have to transform their raw scores into *z* scores that represent what the scores would look like if they came from a distribution that had a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1.

Using this "standard scores" procedure is not always appropriate and requires justification "because cross-cultural differences in average scores may not be exclusively due to response sets or other unwanted sources, but may reflect valid differences (van de Vijver & Leung, 1997:89). But for this study, the procedure seemed justified for several reasons: (1) this is the procedure Schwartz advocates and uses for all his values surveys, both at the individual and cultural level (1992); (2) by "listing ten values" out of a possible sixty or more options, the only way to reduce the effect of the great number of "missing items" was to standardize each item in relation to the

sample collected; (3) the data output applying this method proved to be more accessible to careful analysis, and (4) this provided maps more consistent and visibly similar with studies reported by Schwartz (e.g., 1992, 1994), Mohler and Wohn (2005), and other scholars. On these last points, van de Vijver and Leung lend support, noting that “a more prudent approach can be adopted by comparing the structures obtained from standardized and nonstandardized data” (1997:89). The Multidimensional Scaling (MDS) data output figures from nonstandardized and standardized inputs show the necessity of his step (compare Figure 9.1 and 9.2).

A raw data plot like Figure 9.1 mainly shows that a number of value items are more strongly rated. Ambition, family security, and loyalty are high-rated and situate together in the upper left hand quadrant (what do they have intuitively in common?). Honoring parents/elders, self-discipline, and tradition (all Embeddedness values) are also strong, but in the lower left quadrant fairly close to humility and helpfulness. Crossing the axis nearby are politeness, reciprocity, social recognition, social order, and social norms (face) (also Embeddedness values, but are they a distinct set?) clustered in the lower right hand quadrant. A few other strongly held values were plotted in the upper right quadrant (like independence, honesty, and success). But the rest of the data is a jumble near the intersection of axes. Identifying any clearer domains or dimensions appears very challenging with such a map, even with magnification.

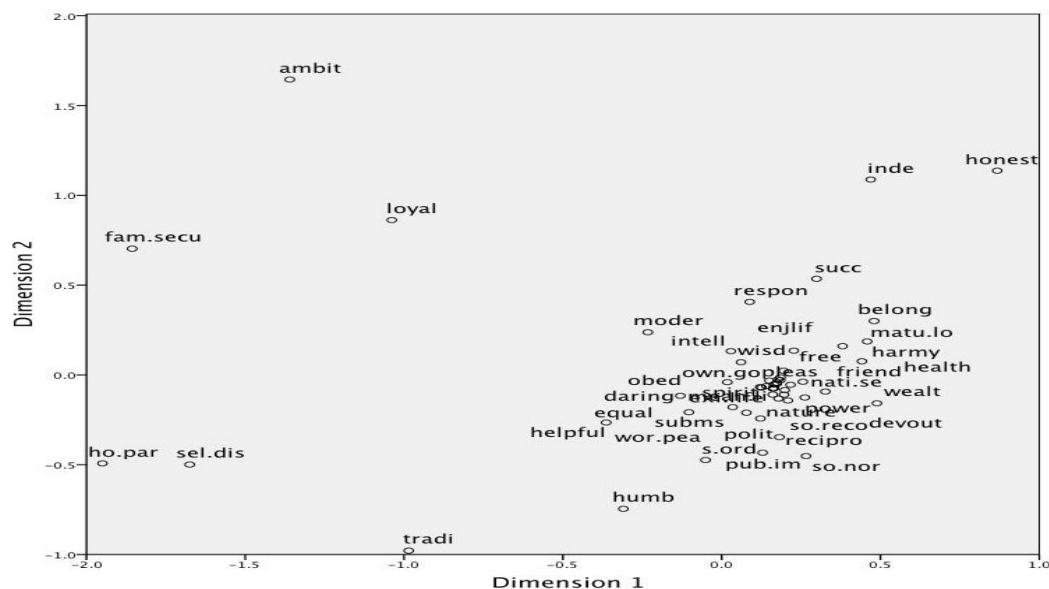


Figure 9.1. Raw (Non-standardized) MDS Projection Map for Baseline 1995-1997 Sample

Figure 9.2 shows how using *z* score standardization procedures spreads the item points based on their common or shared space, enables more careful and more confident analysis, and allows for more standard comparisons between subsequent data sets. The use of these maps and the

establishment of procedures for identifying Schwartz individual level value types or culture level value dimensions will be discussed below.

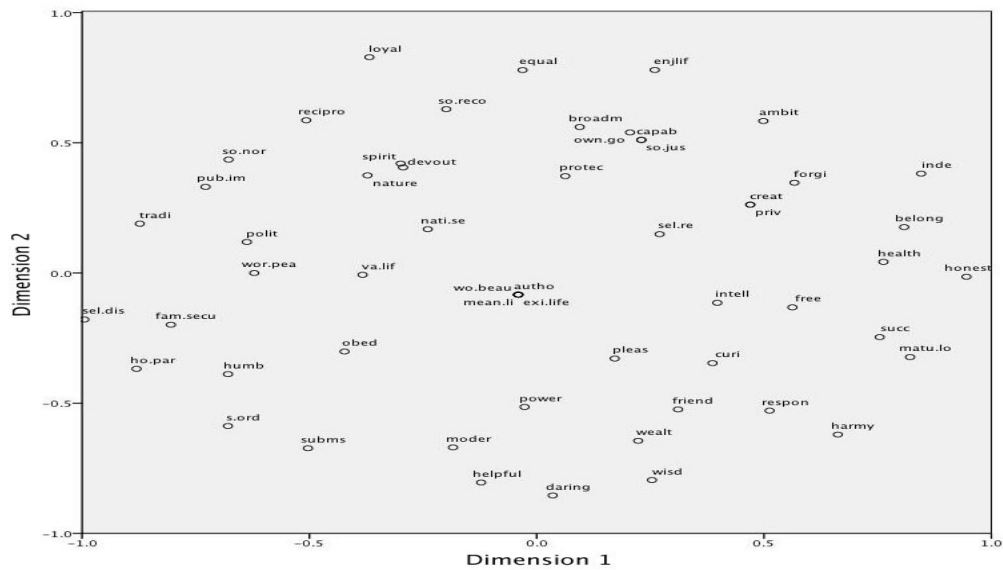


Figure 9.2. Standardized z-score MDS Projection Map for 1995-1997

9.2.4.3 Procedural Decisions from First-Run MDS Map Plots

Both projection maps above were generated using “best fit” Schwartz 58 item associations. As explained below, adding a few Chinese indigenous items produced “even better fit” data sets, and thankfully proved to not increase the complexity too much. The MDS maps in this thesis were all produced using the SPSS 17.0 tool PROXSCAL with the following defaults (with some variation in versions noted. ALSCAL can also be used, but with slightly less accurate results):

- a. Data format set to “create proximities from data” (interval Euclidean distances)
- b. Number of sources (conditionality) from “one matrix source”
- c. To define, the 58 items were input initially, then the 8 items were added for later runs
- d. For the level of measurement/Proximity Transformation model, we selected “Ordinal”
- e. For Initial Configuration options, we selected “Torgerson” (display “Data Matrix”)
- f. And for later standardization (as noted in the reports below), we ticked “z-scores”

This Torgerson analysis tool approximates the Guttman-Lingoes SSA component (Guttman, 1968) employed by Schwartz and his team at Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the earlier SYSTAT subprogram of SPSS he and Romie Littrell have recommended (2007:2).⁹²

With program defaults set, analysis began on whether pseudo-statistical Scale 1 (with 0, 1-10+) or Scale 2 (our proposed 0, 10-20+) data treatments worked better. Both of the early sets (1995-97 and 2003 data) were analyzed both ways, and Scale 2 maps did turn out to be easier to analyze and to reflect a distribution more consistent and compatible with Schwartz's theoretical model. Procedures for analyzing these exploratory visual maps are now clarified.

9.3 Pilot Study Analysis Attempts: Setting MDS Map Analysis Standards

The linking of free-form emic data to an etic framework with what some would consider small or incomplete samples is a tedious and contestable process. The challenges posed by this qualitative into quasi-quantitative process and the standards that were established for labeling or linking items in each data set are discussed next. These exploratory, multi-method probes helped develop procedures that proved capable of transforming emic data via semantic correlation to etic items for the production of comparable and interpretable maps.

9.3.1 Considering Links between Culture- and Individual-Level Items

When one looks at MDS output maps like those presented above, the first task is to identify how to "cut the pie" or divide up the associated regions (or determine if the pie can even be cut). Doing so necessitates a tedious process where the researcher first makes notations by each item (in this case, to which Schwartz individual type or cultural dimension it should be assigned). For multiple data sets, multiple output runs, and adjusted reruns, this laborious task clearly needed a reference key. Table 9.2 was developed to assist in this process, linking each of the 58 values items with both Schwartz's cultural (left column) and individual (right column) domains. This table is included because compiling it actually led to several conceptual breakthroughs that affected this project; (1) that some individually reported items do NOT have stable cross-cultural or even cross-sample associations (supporting "culture-level" variability); and (2) the cultural interpretation of these roaming (adjacent region) items needs to be confirmed first before any individual type or cultural dimension scores can be calculated.

⁹² This was advised by Prof. Schwartz by email correspondence on July 7, 2009. For data cleaning procedures, we followed the suggestions prepared for collaborators using the SVS (Littrell & Schwartz, 2007). Schwartz uses Dr. Reuven Amar's SSA program (Hebrew University Computer Center).

Table 9.2. Item Key - Relation of Culture-Level Dimensions with Individual Level Types

Schwartz Culture Dimension	Culture Level 46 Items	Other Ind Level Items (of the 58)	Original Individual Level Type(s)
Hierarchy	Humble→		Tradition / Power
Hierarchy	Authority		Power
Hierarchy	Wealth		Power
Hierarchy	Social Power		Power
Master/ Hierarchy	Social Recognition→		Power/ Achievement
Mastery	Successful		Achievement
Mastery	Capable		Achievement
Mastery	Ambitious		Achievement
Mastery	Influential		Achievement
		X46 Intelligent →	Achievement/ other?
		X14 Self-Respect→	Self-Direction/ Achievement
Mastery	Choosing Own Goals→		Self-Direction
Mastery	Independent→		Self-Direction
Mastery	Daring→		Stimulation
Affective Autonomy	Varied Life		Stimulation
Affective Autonomy	Exciting Life		Stimulation
Affective Autonomy	Enjoying Life		Hedonism
Affective Autonomy	Pleasure		Hedonism
		H57 Self-Indulgent→ a	Hedonism
		X21 Privacy→ a	Self-Direction/ other?
Intellectual Autonomy	Creativity		Self-Direction
Intellectual Autonomy	Freedom		Self-Direction
Intellectual Autonomy	Curious		Self-Direction
Intellectual Autonomy	Broadmindedness→		Universalism
Egalitarianism	Equality→		Universalism/ Benevolence
Egalitarianism	Social Justice→		Universalism/ Benevolence
		X2 Inner Harmony→	Universalism/ Benevolence
		X6 A Spiritual Life	Benevolence
		X10 Meaning in Life→	Benevolence
Egalitarianism	Helpful		Benevolence
Egalitarianism	Honest		Benevolence
Egalitarianism	Responsible		Benevolence
Egalitarianism	Loyal		Benevolence
		X28 True Friendship→	Benevolence/ Universalism
		X19 Mature Love→	Benevolence/ Security/ Conformity
Egalitarianism	T44 Accepting My Portion in Life→	[was formerly unstable as Submission]	Tradition/Conformity
(Global) Harmony	Protect Environment		Universalism
(Global) Harmony	Unity with Nature		Universalism
(Global) Harmony	World of Beauty		Universalism
(Global) Harmony	World at Peace		Universalism
Embeddedness	Wisdom→		Universalism

Embeddedness	Forgiving→		Benevolence
Embeddedness	Moderate→		Tradition/ Benevolence
Embeddedness	Devout		Tradition
Embeddedness	Respect for Tradition		Tradition
Embeddedness	Honor Parents/Elders		Conformity/ (Benevolence)
Embeddedness	Politeness		Conformity
Embeddedness	Obedient		Conformity
Embeddedness	Self-Discipline		Conformity
		P58 Face/ Comply with Social Norms → b	Conformity
		X42 Healthy→	Security/ other?
Embeddedness	Clean		Security
Embeddedness	Social Order		Security
Embeddedness	Family Security		Security
Embeddedness	National Security		Security
Embeddedness	Reciprocation of Favors		Security
		X7 Sense Belonging→	Security/ Power
Embeddedness	Preserving My Public Image→		Power/ Security

Compiled from Schwartz 2003 manuscript:34 Table 2; 36 Figure 2 Portuguese student sample (both published as Schwartz, 2005a).

The individual-level tradition item “detachment” was in the early 56-item version only and not included as it no longer appears in Schwartz’s culture level list (and showed up in none of the input).

a In the later 57 item version only

b Added in the 58 item version (relevant to Chinese samples)

→ Items that have potential for location in neighboring domains (highlighted below in Table 9.3 and discussed in Appendix 2). Schwartz labeled 11 of these with X- for easier cross-cultural exclusion.

This table was compiled out of a practical need to label map points, but set in motion a reflexive process. In specifically plotting and noting the order and relation of items, constructing the table helped rectify and clarify consistent variations that had been noted when comparing published lists or maps. Table 9.2 is organized on the principle of maintaining Schwartz’s theoretical circumplex progression of individual-level types (Column 4) keyed to his cultural dimensions (Column 1). Column 3 items are not included in Schwartz’s [cross-]cultural-level list (Column 2), as each has a lower percentage of locating in the theoretically designated region or adjacent region across all his samples. Several of the lowest “fits” are ‘meaning in life,’ which only locates in 36% of the samples in benevolence, and only in 71% in adjacent regions, “self-respect” (37% and 53% respectively), “healthy” (53% and 55% respectively), and “intelligent” which locates in 62% of the samples in achievement and in only 64% of the samples in adjacent regions (Schwartz 2003 manuscript:34 published as 2005a).

Thus all of the extra items in the third column can be expected to be generally more variable across samples than those in the second column, which are statistically shown to be more stable in their assigned or adjacent regions by Schwartz (most near or over 80%, which is the same standard adopted for the improved “fit” ratings in this study). But as the plotting process was begun and

previous Schwartz tables rechecked, I discovered that even some of the items included in the [cross]-cultural level 46 had lower region fit percentages. They are marked here with an arrow [→] to reflect their potential changeability (interpretable variation).

9.3.2 Identifying Potential Unstable or Movable Schwartz Items

Though the key developed in Table 9.2 above became an important tool for analyzing MDS map outputs and determining where the boundary lines/circles of related values could be drawn, it also illustrated that at least 24 values might locate in some samples near or over those lines. It became apparent that Schwartz's theory does not suggest hard-fast assignments (though some published research treats them as if they were stable); Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) is needed to find out where each item locates in each sample being studied.

Clearly, contextual meanings and cultural associations cause some values to be associated in one domain here, but, in another culture, they may be grouped with different items. For example, one's "sense of belonging" may individually locate with security items in some cultures or with power items in others; culture-level analysis might place it in Embeddedness here or in Hierarchy there. A similar pattern was also noted with "preserving my public image" in these Chinese samples, with variations also depending on the level of analysis.

Making the list also revealed that at least two important individual levels types actually split into divergent culture level dimensions (the highlighted circles in Table 9.2). Some self-direction value items locate under Mastery, but others under Intellectual Autonomy. Likewise, items often classified under universalism (though in other Schwartz samples, these same items are closer to benevolence) generally align in the Egalitarian dimension cross-culturally, whereas other universalism items locate under the Harmony dimension. This seems counter intuitive to my understanding of Chinese culture (and the prediction made above in Section 8.5.2.4). Why items of an individual-domain would associate in different cultural level domains across cultures is an interesting question to consider. Generating this "key table" helped provide a possible theoretical basis for such unexpected (or expected?) moves of related items into different domains.

A detailed discussion of these "potential movers" follows in Appendix 2. Table 9.3 lists these for later reference (the codes used are from the Schwartz & Littrell key in Appendix 4, with X representing the non-cross-cultural items that are expected to be most movable).

Table 9.3. Potentially Movable Schwartz Value Items (the 24 not-cross-cultural items)

SVS Item (with original code)	Normally under Individual Type(s)	Potential Cultural Dimension Associations
T36 Humble	tradition, power, benevolence	Hierarchy or Embeddedness
X23 Social Recognition	power or achievement	Hierarchy or Mastery
X48 Intelligent	Achievement	Mastery or Intellectual Autonomy
X14 Self-Respect	self-direction or achievement (variable)	Mastery, Intellectual or Affective Autonomy
ST37 Daring	hedonism, stimulation and self- direction (variable)	Mastery, Affective Autonomy or Intellectual Autonomy
SD41 Choosing Own Goals	self-direction near achievement	Mastery, Intellectual Autonomy
SD31 Independent	self-direction near achievement	Mastery, Intellectual Autonomy
H57 Self-Indulgent	Hedonism	Affective, Intellectual Autonomy
X21 Privacy	self-direction	Affective, Intellectual Autonomy
U35 Broadminded	Universalism	Intellectual Autonomy, Egalitarianism, or near Harmony
U1 Equality	universalism and benevolence	Egalitarianism or Intellectual Autonomy
U30 Social Justice	universalism and benevolence	Egalitarianism or Intellectual Autonomy
X2 Inner Harmony	universalism and benevolence	Egalitarianism or Intellectual Autonomy
X10 Meaning in Life	benevolence (variable)	Egalitarianism?
X28 True Friendship	benevolence or universalism	Egalitarianism or with/near Embeddedness
X19 Mature Love	benevolence, security or conformity (variable)	Egalitarianism or Embeddedness
T44 Accepting my Portion in Life	Tradition	Egalitarianism, Embeddedness, or Hierarchy
U26 Wisdom	Universalism	Embeddedness, Egalitarianism or Universal/Global Harmony
B54 Forgiving	benevolence, border of tradition	Embeddedness or Egalitarianism
T32 Moderate	tradition, border of benevolence	Embeddedness or Egalitarianism
P58 Observing Social Norms (Face)	power, security, or conformity (unclear yet)	Embeddedness or Hierarchy
X42 Healthy	security or which? (variable)	Embeddedness?
X7 Sense of Belonging	security or power	Embeddedness or Hierarchy
P46 Preserving My Public Image	security or power	Embeddedness or Hierarchy

This analysis shows that self-direction items actually split into two divergent sets at the cultural level. Though they might locate under Mastery (as SD41 “choosing own goals” and SD31 “independent” often do), in theoretical sequence, they could culturally also locate with other self-

direction items under Intellectual Autonomy. An important benefit gained by listing both individual and cultural levels side by side for emic work like this is noting the split of some individual domains (mainly self-direction into Mastery and Intellectual Autonomy, universalism to Egalitarianism and Harmony, and potentially some benevolence items splitting up under Egalitarianism or Embeddedness). This leads to the theoretical hypothesis that in some cultures, researchers may find more than one variation (an A and B form) of certain dimensions, particularly Mastery, Egalitarianism, Harmony, and Embeddedness. The Schwartz model thus has potential to refine and recognize some of the overgeneralizations that the former Individualism-Collectivism model propagated. This study will seek to carefully note such distinctions toward postulating further theoretical refinements.

Another refinement is to more carefully consider the labeling of the Harmony dimension. Some cultures think of inner harmony, others of interpersonal harmony, others of societal or national harmony, but the Schwartz items associated with this culture-level dimension are all considered universal ideals (like Rokeach's terminal, end-state values). Thus it seems better to label this as the Universal/Global Harmony dimension (see the note under "broadminded" in Appendix 2).

After spending hours marking the MDS output maps, trying to figure out the complex puzzles of associated value sets, seeking to draw circles of association or lines of demarcation, constructing Table 9.2 above and the list of swing items (Table 9.3) below became the time-saving and theoretical keys for making final decisions about domain locations. It was actually important to stop drawing maps and return to Schwartz's proposed theoretical relationship of bordering regions of values and follow that logical line down through the table to make the predicted possibilities above. My initial "mapping" was trying too hard to maintain the purity and integrity of the Schwartz domains, and as a result produced something more akin to giraffe patches or modern swirl art than value areas. But once these lists were checked and compiled from various Schwartz publications, noting the potential multiple border domains or other meaning assignments, it gave more freedom to consider larger blocks of associated items and helped make sense of the puzzles. When returning to mapping, sample after sample bore out many of these theoretically-based predicted moves.

The challenges of this emic-to-etic association process forced some of these issues to come to the surface. It is hoped that these lists of potentially divergently situated-meaning items in various cultural contexts (Tables 9.2 and 9.3) may aid future research and theorizing on the integrated relation of values and the overall efficacy of the Schwartz model (an updated list arising from all the studies reported here appears in Table 11:1). Only the Schwartz model and the breadth and

depth of the analysis he and his associates have produced in their many substantial publications could provide these types of clues and contribute to a practically applicable universal theory that is robust enough to allow for contextual adaptation, yet maintain its theoretical structure, integrity, and the ongoing refinements this project suggests.

9.3.3 Testing Procedures to Decide on MDS Maps

To implement these procedures, the earliest, and assumedly more culturally homogenous 1995-1997 set of data was taken as a test case. Items were initially matched with the SVS and 10-indigenous items (before standardization procedures were implemented) and first used Scale 1 (0-10 ranking). Labeling items, circling Schwartz cultural dimension associations, and trying to draw regions did reveal some items linkages – some rather curved lines could be penciled in. Though general trends could be detected and discussed (over five pages of explanation were generated), this was predictably “messy,” not overly clear or convincing, and posed problems with how this could be presented with any discernable clarity.

A data reassignment and rerun was then conducted using only the “best-fit to Schwartz’s 58 items” to better determine whether the proposed theoretical culture-level model of Schwartz would emerge. Leaving out indigenous items and aiming for the best possible fit scenario (near 70% for most items), many levels of indigenous complexity were eliminated to see if the map plot using these procedures would work. That MDS common space map (second run with z-scores) is shown below with culture domain regions marked, and allowing for some of the predicted “moveable item” assignments discussed above.

What Figure 9.3 shows is a pseudo-statistical confirmation of value relations, bearing some similarity to an earlier hand-drawn map (Figure 9.4 drafted on Schwartz’s Portuguese sample, though at the individual-level). In both it can be generally noted that the Global Harmony domains are lowly rated (close to the center in the MDS figure), as are the Intellectual Autonomy (represented at the individual-level by Self-Direction and some by Stimulation) and Affective Autonomy domains (represented mostly by Hedonism items).

The MDS output of Chinese samples now provides some basis for suggesting the statistically close association of several items, and for asserting that the domains of Embeddedness, Hierarchy, Egalitarianism, and Mastery show up as the stronger value motivations⁹³ in this sample of Chinese young adults. The general Schwartz theoretical structure, with neighboring areas still basically bordering one another, is represented, though some are located inside.

Based on familiarity with and observations in Asian cultures and the large number of indiscriminately items lumped under Embeddedness, I have for some time anticipated that this project might reveal two domains, and these are indeed seen on the left of Figure 9.3 (Embeddedness-A at the top and B at the bottom). But I had not expected that situated cultural interpretations of Egalitarianism terms might actually spit that dimension, or that Mastery would locate between these two in Chinese contexts. This was theoretically foreseeable from the two keys (the circled divisions in Table 9.2 and predictions in Table 9.3), but the MDS maps showed the first evidence that these culture dimensions actually split in an emic context.

9.3.4 Attempting to Draw Schwartz Domains on Base Sample MDS

Now with a databased foundation, we can begin to examine the dimensions that have emerged. The Embeddedness differentiation seems to reveal an ingroup, role-based “A form” versus an outgroup, respect-based “B form.” As was expected, these two Embeddedness quadrants border one another, the top left one (Em-B) is more related to less-strongly rated (Global/Universal) Harmony items (perhaps a broadly social or functional respect- or role- oriented Embeddedness), and the bottom left quadrant (Em-A) on the border of less-strongly rated Affective Autonomy items as well as strongly held Hierarchy items, suggesting a more specifically developed Embeddedness in a committed set of relationships, like one’s family.

What was not previously apparent was that a possible outworking of a collectivist, interdependent culture might be a redefinition of typically individualistic dimensions: Egalitarianism and Mastery. The upper Egalitarianism-A region borders the more broadly social Embeddedness terms on the right side and the Mastery terms on the left, suggesting an egalitarianism balance among relations where social reciprocation and personal qualities are both important. The lower right quadrant Egalitarianism-B is situated between Hierarchy on the left and Mastery above, in what appears to suggest interdependence and power axes (where friendship, mature love, responsibility, honesty, and personal harmony are situated). This suggests personal, but also binding, developed relationships (non-birth/bloodline family/clan); perhaps one aims to use one’s best personal

⁹³ The further from the center items are in the MDS maps, the stronger their rating score and more broad their rating frequency.

qualities (from the neighboring Mastery area) to seek to move one's in-group up the hierarchical status ladder.

For quadrant analysis, it seems the horizontal x-axis ranges from social/group orientation on the left to more personal qualities on the right, while the vertical y-axis moves from equality on the top down to more power on the bottom. A diagonal z-axis seems to cut the map from the bottom left to the top right, where the lower left corner represents relational development whereas the upper right corner represents individual development. Dividing the map in two sections above and below this z-diagonal suggest that the items above and left are more role or public related (potentially more formal), and the items below and to the right are more informally relational, or at least interdependent. These potential axes tags have been added to the map, and will be evaluated with the analysis of more data.

The Schwartz theoretical regions can all be located, though the “missing values” (or seldom reported items) have produced roughly two circles; an inner circle of those lesser-generated values dimensions (comprising Intellectual Autonomy, Affective Autonomy, and what I am calling Global Harmony) and the more strongly and frequently-cited outer circle items of the broad/possibly dual-nuanced Embeddedness, Egalitarianism, Mastery, and Hierarchy domains. The methodology appears to work using just Schwartz items, even if fit scores are a bit low. Inclusion of indigenous items now needs to be attempted, and other data sets examined to see if these initial trends hold up.

9.4 Establishing Procedures for Adding Indigenous Items to the SVS

The adding of items can be an arbitrary process, and is very much contingent on the actual responses submitted. Admittedly, each data set reported in this study represents rather small samples, all of about 40-80 persons. Though each contributor only generated about 10 items, cumulatively, this meant the generation of more than 6000 linguistic terms or phrases. To counter the potential skewing of specific samples, a multiple (or more precisely, repeated) ratings procedure was employed to insure some degree of cross-sectional “cultural” consistency. Each data set was first input as raw data attempting meaning correspondence to Schwartz's 58 items. Then fit problems and potential indigenous items were noted. And after each new data set was entered, the previous ones were revisited and revised accordingly.

9.4.1 Adding Items and Checking Cross-sample Relevance

Initially, 20 “not easy to rate” terms were added to a “to be labeled” spreadsheet section for the baseline 1995-1997 group. When statistical conversion procedures to prepare the data for SPSS analysis was began in January 2006, two native-speaker evaluators⁹⁴ review each and found that some items could be combined and others reassigned, such that adding eleven (11) items sufficed. But anonymous reviewers questioned some SVS item-meaning assignments. Items were re-checked by two other well-trained reviewers in 2007⁹⁵, and some of the terms assignments previously questionable were resolved, but finalization was delayed by other commitments. So the project was temporarily put on hold until a better assignment and fit check system could be worked out, which was implemented in 2009⁹⁶. On the first run of the three-rater fit procedures documented here, the 1995-1997 data set needed only 8 items.

Examples of adjustments included items like 热情 (*reqing*, being enthusiastic, heartfelt) which was originally placed in Schwartz's “mature love” (due likely to a first-look association with other 情 *qing* tender/love-related terms) with a fit rating of 3.56, but when more appropriately put in Schwartz's “helpful”, the fit rating increases to 4.0 (apparently, “being helpful” in Chinese culture implies not just practical assistance, but some thoughtful human sentiment). Another item, 宁为玉碎, 不为瓦全 (“I’d rather be a broken piece of jade than a complete tile”⁹⁷) was originally placed in Schwartz's “a spiritual life” (noting that in the Mainland context, “spiritual” is often interpreted as “intellectual spirit”) with a rating below 3.5, but when it was reassigned to “freedom” the rating increased to 4.0 (80%). Because of the manual procedure and human judgment factors involved with entering a large quantity of diverse items, such initial mis-interpretation, mis-association, or over-looked nuance errors are understandable (including data-entry errors), so the fit-rating procedure proved invaluable for checking and improving item assignments.

The 2003 sample needed only 9 local items (2 identified as new proposals). Some examples driving us to consider indigenous item additions were expressions like 吃苦耐劳 (“eating bitterness and persevering”), one of the terms that external reviewers had originally questioned when it was inappropriately assigned to “ambition.” Each of the Chinese samples seemed to have

⁹⁴ SISU intercultural MA honors graduates Rui Zhang and Shutian Zhang.

⁹⁵ SISU intercultural MA honors candidates Liping Weng and Jie Shen.

⁹⁶ Learning from the past procedures, I asked MA candidate Jia He to help me monitor the work of a native-speaking “review team” to assess the meaning fit of each item, as detailed here and in Chapter 9.

⁹⁷ Though some dictionaries equate this to “Better to die with honor than to survive in disgrace”, the implied meaning is actually one “which implies pursuing one’s great dream, even if it means failing rather than be conservative” and connotes the self-direction most associated with “freedom”.

terms that dealt with this kind of persevering sacrifice or diligence, so I decided we had to add a new indigenous item, 勤奋勤劳 (hardworking/ diligence, which provided a perfect 5.0 fit for such expressions). Similarly, 道德 (morality) was originally assigned to “humble,” but humility is obviously only one small domain of morality, and in the Confucian tradition, being a moral person is considered a broad and important goal for a number of areas of personal development, so the indigenous item 道德意识 (moral awareness) was also added, resulting in a 5.0 rating for this and other related terms.

Processing each new data set and considering new items raised other issues. (1) Should we keep increasing the number of unique items produced by each new set (i.e., by this time there were more than 11 new items and it appeared that new sets might yield 15 or more). Or (2) should we seek to reevaluate each newly proposed item by reviewing previous sets and seeking an economy of new additions (i.e., might there be some synonymous or overlapping nature to such indigenous items that would help reduce the number)?

To answer this question, I followed Littrell & Schwartz (2007:2):

In order to assess the extent to which items have their expected meanings, it is desirable to do a structural analysis within each sample. This also reveals the structure of relations among the ten [individual-level] values and clarifies whether there are problems in using the standard a priori indexes for group comparisons.

We assumed that the same would be true for the seven culture-level domains, since that was the type of data we were asking students to produce at first. Hence a MDS data plot was ran on both of the initial sets.⁹⁸ Trends among some of the associated items were noted and considered for whether such shared space associations appeared logical or not. Both maps provided some insights. However, the concern was that we did not yet have equivalent indigenous items across these cross-sectional samples, a variation which could clearly influence deviations in the maps. An item-review and standardization procedure was deemed necessary.

⁹⁸ For suggestions on data entry, cleaning, and processing with SPSS I thank Jia He (2010 doctoral candidate in Psychology at Tilburg University, Holland), and for advice on common space multidimensional scaling (MDS) mapping, Xiaoming Wang, SISU MA (City Honors) graduate (2009).

9.4.2 Standardizing Chinese Indigenous Item Addition

Moving toward standardization, the “meaning fit” assessment was first conducted on these two sets. Aiming at economy, post-fit analysis reduced the number of indigenous items from eleven to six (6), which moved both sets up to over 80% fit ratings. The goal was to determine just how “the Chinese” minds of respondents were construing various value items. I suspected culture-level data alone may not suffice, and so, as reported in the demographic Table 9.1, I also collected and examined two initial individual-level sets (2000 and 2007). A description of the rationale and rewording used to produce this level will be explained with the data analysis of those sets below (see Section 10.3.1). These sets were entered using the Schwartz association process adding indigenous items where needed, with a markedly greater sense of ease, speed, and fit due to increased experience and accuracy of the raters.⁹⁹ The first-round entry of the 2000 and 2007 more individually-focused samples at first generated 9 and 7 Chinese items respectively, of which four were potential new indigenous values items.

Once four sets of data had been analyzed, two at a targeted culture level and two at a targeted individual level, a complete review of the proposed indigenous items was conducted. From the four data sets analyzed so far, about 13 indigenous Chinese language items had arisen that that seemed difficult to place within the Schwartz 58 based on the 70% independent fit-rating criteria. These were all compared and reanalyzed with each of the data sets in view. A complete list of terms that were put under consideration is listed in the Appendix 3 (“SVS Indigenous Item Misfits for New Item Consideration”).

This standardization review revealed that one item was a negative anti-value and appeared only once in one set, and thus was rejected (“snobbery,” 势利 *shili*). Two items, though appearing occasionally in the culture-level sets, were more in the realm of generalized beliefs (and appeared mainly in the 1995-1997 set before the priming filter was introduced), and were also rejected (“unity with heaven,” 天人合一 *tianren heyi*, and “Confucian idealism,” 儒家理想 *Rujia lixiang*). Three indigenous items appeared more clearly after the analysis of the 2000 individual-level set and were deemed to also bring some clarity to some confusing items in the other data sets, and were added.

As a grounding precaution, this work was checked with the indigenous item proposals highlighted in Chapter 8, as well as compared with the indigenous Chinese mainland lists generated by Jingfu

⁹⁹ For suggestions toward standardizing input procedures, helping with data input, and checking accuracy, I thank SII Interns Zhibin Hong, Jia He, Jinqing Lin and Jie Wang.

Zhang's (1998) respondents. In the end, the original three trained raters and one new external rater agreed that eight (8) indigenous items would likely provide the best fit across the four samples examined so far. The rationale is explained in Section 9.4.3.

All four data sets were then revised using these 8 items, some earlier poorer-fit items were reassigned, and the fit evaluation procedure was re-conducted. The raters each reported that this process went smoother, quicker, and more logically than the previous attempts and felt very pleased that almost all items now represented what they considered to be consistent scores. Among the three raters a higher percentage fit as well a greater agreement was obtained, upgrading the original minimum standard of 70% equivalency (at least a 3.5 rating average for each), to the 80-100% range (from at least 4 to 5 full points). Below we document which “hard to place” terms were incorporated, how these resolved misfits, and why the nuanced distinctions of some of these indigenous terms were deemed necessary for separation from existing Schwartz items.

9.4.3 Proposing Eight Indigenous Additions

This section reports on the proposed eight (8) indigenous item additions that allowed the best degree of fit in the data samples reported. After matching the raw data with the 58 SVS items and rating their fit percentages, eight Chinese value categories (see Table 9.3) were considered not adequately included in the existing Schwartz items - they could not be accurately linked with any of the SVS items, or they at first yielded fit ratings below 70%.

Table 9.4. Eight (8) Indigenous Item Additions Arising from the Samples

Item #	New Items	Meaning (Explanations)
NC59	关系	<i>Guanxi</i> (nuanced social exchange and inter-dependent support relationships)
NC60	光宗耀祖	Bringing honor to one's ancestors (family reputation, bloodline continuity and respect)
NC61	意识形态	Having ideological awareness (holding or respecting various Chinese ways of thinking – Confucianism, pragmatism, Communism)
NC62	重视子女	Placing high importance on children (valuing and rearing them)
NC63	明哲保身	Being world-wise and playing it safe (shrewd, careful conservatism)
NC64	勤奋勤劳	Being hardworking and diligent
NC65	珍惜时间	Cherishing time
NC66	道德意识	Having moral consciousness (upholding and developing morality)

Note: NC stands for “New Chinese” indigineous item

At first sight, the reader might question if some of these are truly unique conceptions from those already included in the Schwartz list. The rater group's rationale why they indeed reflect different or distinct cultural nuances follows.

For the 1995-97 data set, the terms associated with SVS Item 22, “family security,” had a rating average of 3.45 (69%). The low rating score may be caused by the rich and varied cultural connotations of family in China. Two expressions initially matched with this category seemed to have other connotations. “Honoring one’s ancestors” (光宗耀祖) was listed by three respondents in that set. Items related to “child-rearing” or “emphasizing your child” (重视子女) were also initially linked with Item 22. Once these items were moved out independently, the average rating increased to 4.5 (90%). Discussions with other colleagues and classmates suggested that the two values are quite distinctive, so the new value categories of “Bringing honor to one’s ancestors” (NC60) and “Placing high importance on children” (NC62) (the same Chinese expressions as noted above) were added, and were deemed to better accommodate items in later data sets.

The Chinese term for relationship linkages “*Guanxi*” (关系) conceptually had been previously accounted for by Schwartz’s colleagues with Item 23, “social recognition.” The initial association of it here had an average rating of 3.67 (73.4%). Though this was adequate for our standard, Chinese raters and informants consistently argued that *guanxi* has a special and very nuanced connotation in Chinese society. They maintained that though it included some elements of SVS Item 15, “reciprocation of favors,” that was not an adequate term either. Since the term itself was often generated in data from each of sets, it seemed best to categorize *guanxi* independently, thus it was added. It was found to sometimes locate close to “friendship,” “politeness,” “loyalty,” “social order,” and “national security,” reflecting the variety of levels, types, and rich nuances that this culturally-imbued sense of social networking and reciprocal exchange ties includes.

In each set, respondents came up with some rather philosophical terms such as “dialectics” (辩证), “materialism” (唯物主义), “atheism” (无神论), “pragmatism” (实用主义), yet none at a frequent enough rate to be isolated across all sets. Considering the Marxist theories that heavily influenced the two generational groups that were included in the study, it clearly seemed there should be a category for this kind of value, thus the value category of “ideological orientation” (意识形态) was proposed. This term was flexible enough to accommodate “Confucian idealism” (儒家理想 *Rujia lixiang*) and other value related ideals. Some might argue that the belief filter did not adequately weed this out, but it seems that these terms do not only form part of a belief system, but also function as part of respondent’s desirable, guiding principles. Moving these related items into this separate category increased the average rating of the SVS values where they were originally located (e.g., Item 2, “inner harmony,” Item 41, “choosing own goals,” and Item 51, “devout,” from initial ratings 3.48, 3.17 and 3.17 respectively) to over 4.0 for all (+80%).

The Chinese people are known for their “hard work and diligence” (勤劳勤奋) – some would consider it one of the most notable cultural or ethnic traits. Items related to hard work and diligence were originally placed under Item 34, “ambitious” (which was also challenged by the 2006 anonymous reviewers), with an average rating of 3.84, but as mentioned above, we increasingly concurred that the nuances of the two concepts are distinct. There were 4 respondents generating these items in 95-97 and more in the other three sets. So the new, more narrow category of “diligence/hardwork” (勤劳勤奋) was created.

“Cherishing time” (珍惜时间) was mentioned four times in 95-97 and many more times in the other three sets (consistent with the 1997 and 1998 proverbs studies reported in the last chapter). Schwartz has not yet included a time value, so this new category was created.

Two other items were added after **the analysis of the 2000 individual-level data.**

Being “clever,” “shrewd,” “worldly-wise and playing it safe” (明哲保身) was a new item emerging in the 2000 data, mentioned by three respondents. Placed originally under Item 39, “influential,” the average rating was only 2.67, so it seemed necessary to create a new category to increase the average to the standard of over 4.0 (+80%).

“Moral consciousness” (道德意识), which is very likely a remnant of the Confucian legacy of self-cultivation/self-mastery ([*Rujia*] *zixiu, xiuyang* [儒家] 自修, 修养), the education system, and the socialist influence on being a good person/citizen (*zuo ren*, 做人, combined with moral education, *daode jiao yu* 道德教育), is a broad Chinese value and thus hard to specifically define. It seemed necessary to create this new category, and having done so, rating of related items improved.

9.5 Summary of Quantitative Adaptation Procedures

This chapter has documented the design, trial application, and modification of the methods that will be used in the rest of this project. With analytical procedures and a carefully filtered set of new emic items confirmed, these could then be implemented in value item assignments, numerical rating, conducting MDS, and examining structural associations. These steps concluded the procedural standardization, which was then applied to each of the specific studies reported in Chapter 10 and 11.

Chapter 10: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF CULTURE AND INDIVIDUAL LEVEL DATA

...[A]nalyzing data thoroughly and sensitively...[is] critically important to the development of future research and proper interpretation of data that are often gathered in unusual ways in places that are foreign to the researchers.

Lonner and Berry (in van de Vijver & Leung, 1997:ix)

The previous chapter discussed the methods and standardization processes developed for carrying out emic-to-etic indigenous research in the Chinese context. This chapter will now report on the findings of the specific studies conducted and compare them to one another. As mentioned in Chapter 9, this project aimed to examine the self-reported, open-ended values of eight cross-sectional groups (listed in Table 9.1), four of which elicited “culture-level” and another four “individual level” indigenous data. Chapter 9 reported on how the pilot (Study 4) was used to establish methodological standards (Sections 9.2). The initial results of the that study were discussed in Section 9.3 and mapped in Figure 9.3, and will now be reconsidered in comparison with the other cross-sectional studies.

This chapter begins with Study 5 (Sec. 9.5) which applies these procedural steps to analyze the first two comparable cross-sectional sets (1995-97 and 2003) at the culture level; Study 6 (Sec. 9.6) compares those two with two more recent groups (2009U, 2009G), conducts a 4-set composite analysis, and summarizes the initial culture-level findings. Study 7 explores similar procedures at the individual level (Sec. 9.7), first comparing samples (2000 and 2007, then 2009U and 2009G) as well as the 4-set composite individual analysis.

The next chapter (11) reflects on the outcome of these procedures, discusses limitations (Sec. 11.1), addresses some of these with Study 8 (Sec. 11.2), which compares results achieved from various methods: open-ended listing, rating and ranking procedures (3 data sets from the **same** 2009 graduate group) toward improving future research applications. Then, the reliability of each study is evaluated with stress fit statistics (Sec. 11.3), sub-scale analysis on both composite sample’s culturally most consistent items (Sec. 11.4), and findings regarding item-associations, consistent domains and emergent dimensions are highlighted.

10.1 Study 5 – Comparison of Baseline (1995-97) and a Similar Group (2003)

With the goal to begin examining possible changes during this period of progress, I sought to initially locate a similar group that showed about a decade of advance in age and social development. To this end, comparable data sets were collected from one group of working adults studying English from 1995 to 1997, and from a socially similar, but older group in 2003 with the aims of identifying both some of the enduring and shifting aspects of Chinese values in transition. The demographics of the 1995-97 baseline group were described in section 9.2.1 and are highlighted comparatively in Table 10.1.

Table 10.1. Demographics of the Pilot Baseline and Comparative Samples

Demographic Variables	Baseline Group (1995-1997)	Comparative Group (2003)
Sample size	41	41
Male	14 (34.1%)	23 (56.1%)
Female	27 (65.9%)	18 (43.9%)
Average Age at Sampling	25.3	35.1
<i>Ave. Age of Baseline by 2003</i>	<i>33.5 (estimate of 8 years later)</i>	

The comparative 2003 class was an older adult professional group, on average 10 years older (roughly 25-50) that reflected a similarly diverse profile of backgrounds, education, geography, and to some degree the likely progress that the “base group” would have experienced after an anticipated 7-10 years of work, further education and life growth. These two groups (reported in Table 9.4) were selected and compared to provide an initial picture of how demographically-similar, cross-sectional group’s perception of values might have changed after about 7 years of personal maturity and national development. Each will now be discussed, illustrating how the methodologies developed work for such analysis, and then in terms of the values maps produced and how these can be compared or contrasted.

Prior to map analysis, a measure of “validity” needed to be considered. Chapter 9 reports the decisions made to develop this SVS58+8 approach to rating items, which clearly gave a higher percentage of conceptual-meaning fit. But what about statistical mapping fit? In the next chapter (Sec. 11.3) standards for “degree of alienation” or stress-on-fit measurements for structural plotting are discussed and compared for all samples. The statistical “fit” scores are quite similar for both entry methods – only marginally better at the raw data level for the Schwartz, 58-only map presented earlier, and almost equal (both for Stress 1 and Tucker’s coefficient) on the z-score plots for the Schwartz 58+8 procedures (see Table 10.2).

Table 10.2. Statistical Comparisons of Degree of Structural Fit in MDS Mapping

Year and SVS Item Style	Stress 1 for raw data	Stress 1 for z- scores	Tucker's coefficient for raw data	Tucker's coefficient for z-scores
1995-97 Schwartz 58 only	0.155	0.316	0.988	0.9498
1995-97 Schwartz 58+8	0.157	0.316	0.987	0.9487

Since there was negligible statistical difference for the structural fit of the two methods, and since the later 58+8 items showed superior meaning fit, I decided to continue the data analysis mapping using the 58+8 method.

10.1.1 Discussion of the 1995-97 MDS Map

In examining Figure 10.1 below, it is notable that this map is laid out differently than the “Schwartz-items-only” 1995-1997 map presented earlier (Figure 9.3). This is an important facet of MDS maps to keep in mind, “that the orientation of the picture is arbitrary” (Borgatti, 1997:online, “Interpretation”). This one appears to be completely inverted (a right-left flip) – if the drawing could be manipulated by turning it over and viewing it from the back, nearly the same charting of dimensional regions as above would be observed, with only slight changes accommodating the addition of the indigenous items. Interestingly, nearly all six of them appear in or on the borders of the two adjacent Embeddedness regions.

One of the drawbacks of the MDS tool in SPSS is that there appears to be no way to set one or two anchor points so that each time the data plots out in the same direction (e.g., clockwise). If several consistent item points could be entered as orienting anchors, then reading and comparing the maps across samples would be much easier. As it is, each time the map direction is at the mercy of how the program chooses to process and plot the data. Thus, more description is needed to explain how each graph seems to have been rotated or inverted.

“friendship” and “forgiveness,” (all relational) with several rather personal quality terms like “health” and “inner harmony.” This proposed Egalitarianism-B cluster at the top and right seems to promote the more equal, yet intimate and interdependent relationships.

Why “national security” locates at the top in Egalitarianism was initially confusing (next to “responsibility” and “equality”?). Linguistic analysis done with Zhu Min on the 1995-1997 sample suggested one of the key inputs was a phrase from Deng Xiaoping on “self-strengthening” (which he meant at the national level). This shows that even with careful procedures, some items might still carry imbued nuances that place them in unexpected locations. Another explanation for “national security” might be the shared burden in the mid-90’s, where somehow every Chinese sensed that they had a role in making the nation stronger. Those were threatening, frustrating years where it seemed the whole world did not trust or did not support China (WTO negotiations took forever, the Olympic bid for 2000 was blocked). From the cultural stories I collected in the late 90s it was also noted that almost every one ended with some iteration of an ideal, “And I hope to work hard enough and be successful enough to make my family proud and help build my country.” The idea of national construction as a personal development task certainly seemed to be present.

Overall, the left side (or upper left diagonal) of the figure was very hard to map domains on and the items seem mixed together. One wondered if these domains represent rather new territory for mid-90s Chinese (and therefore not clearly differentiated) and the demarcations that Schwartz would expect in a “mature/developed” values profile may not have been sorted out yet (note that both Intellectual and Affective Autonomy and [Universal] Harmony are all rather lowly-rated, small, compressed regions]. Would the later samples more exposed to economic growth and global awareness show a sorting out of these areas?

If the y-axis is viewed as a range from “equality to power” from the top to the bottom, then the top cluster tentatively labeled Egalitarianism-A seems to focus more on qualities that promote generally good relations at any social level: “loyal,” “equal” “responsible.” The Mastery region in between also has some SVS items that are normally considered Egalitarianism, such as “honest” and “social justice” which are near the Mastery qualities of “independent,” “intelligent,” “capable,” and “choosing own goals.”

Hierarchy includes the expected values of “wealth” and “power” rated fairly highly, with the Master items of “daring” and “success” closely clustered, and perhaps “wisdom” (though that could be drawn to be in Embeddedness-A or in Affective Autonomy).

Examining the outer regions of the map reveals that the strongest values domains in this sample (those rated with the highest frequency) are Embeddedness (A & B) areas and Egalitarianism (A & B) items. Mastery and Hierarchy are also fairly highly rated. The lower frequency selections cluster in the center of the map: with Intellectual Autonomy and Affective Autonomy somewhat more substantial than Universal Harmony items. In this respect, almost the same exact pattern is seen in the 2003 comparative set discussed below.

10.1.2 Discussion of the 2003 MDS Map

The parallel cross-sectional sample from 2003 was also analyzed. Using just the Schwartz 58-item only correspondences, the map was more difficult to plot regions. So the SVS 58+8 correspondences were again used, as they yield a clearer map. Still not as tidy (or regionally contained) as the 1995-1997 group, perhaps due to greater age and experience as well as more status and life-situation variance, a basic Schwartz dimensional map did emerge (Figure 9.6).

Compared to the 1995-97 map, this one appears to be rotated by about 135 degrees and perhaps also inverted. Embeddedness is again the largest region, and could arguably be divided by the y-axis (or the diagonal) line into two adjacent regions. Because of the inversion, this time Embeddedness-A items are to the right, with “self-discipline” and “honoring parents” again closely linked, but this time with “forgiveness,” “politeness,” “moderation,” and the indigenous “focusing on children” nearby. The bottom left-center Embeddedness-B items might include “tradition,” “submission,” and two of the indigenous items of “ideology” and “being world-wise and cautious.” But the tight cluster noted in 1995-97 (a perhaps more traditional period yet in China at the beginning of current modernizations?) is quite dispersed here, with items like “social recognition” and “social order” locating over in Hierarchy, and some of the Mastery items locating in Egalitarianism-B across the top, which might be somewhat anticipated (e.g., the cluster of “*guanxi*,” “friendship,” and “loyalty” still locating together, and still near “national security,” but this time near “enjoy life” and “freedom”).

Overall, this is the most diffused sample of items with less-conclusive clusters. This was initially disappointing, because one consideration for this study was to seek to evaluate the impact of the passage of time and social development on a similar cross-sectional population. As Chuang (2003:45) notes, “a large percentage of interpersonal communication research as a whole, examine intercultural interactions, not as a life-span process, but rather as a still-life snapshots, often with that snapshot taken by having participants fill out a onetime pencil-and-paper questionnaire...(As a result) more longitudinal research...needs to be conducted.”

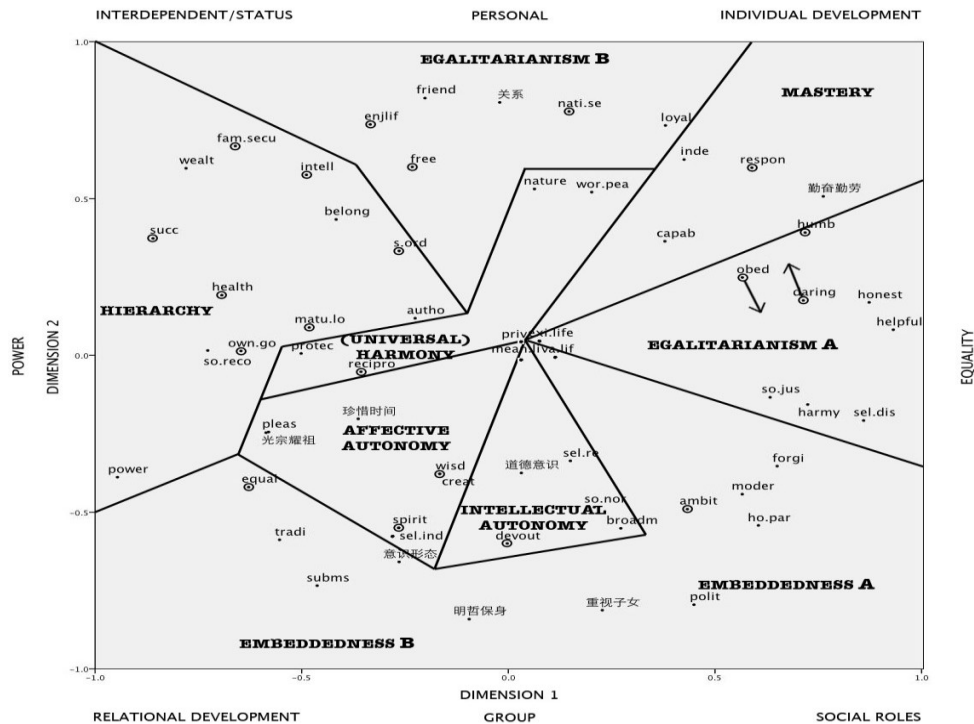


Figure 10.2. Z-Score 2003 Adult-learner Schwartz 58+ MDS Common Space Map

Thus, this study sought to select samples that reflected similar demographics at two points on the life-span and see what blend of traditional, modern, or imported values they would reflect at each point. Obviously, in-class values clarification exercises have their limits, and this was also not a controlled sample longitudinal study. Conclusions on this sample were harder to draw than expected – whether the diffusion plotted was due to increases to age, modernization, western exposure, or other factors – this group provided a very complex values picture.

Yet, a few clusters noted earlier still held together. The proposed Egalitarianism-A to the right still showed up with “honest,” “helpful,” and “social justice” still close together, and the Hierarchy cluster to the opposite left again included “power,” “wealth,” with the Mastery redefined “success” between them. But this time “health” showed up nearby. Labelling this an axis ranging from “equality to power” seemed to be one of the more robust explanatory dimensions in both of these first samples. But more culture-level samples were needed to confirm any of these propositional observations.

It is acknowledged that MDS analysis cannot tell the whole story of the data. There are obviously other shifts occurring. Some might be highlighted from the number of times an item is generated (and the percentages of those “hits”). The most often generated items for these two “comparable” samples separated by 7-8 years of development are listed in Table 9.6.

Table 10.3. Comparison of Item Generation (and Sample Percentage) for 1995-97 and 2003

Top Ten For 1995-97	1995-97 Hit Times	1995-7 Hit frequency	Top Ten for 2003	2003 Hit times	2003 Hit frequency
34AMBITIOUS (hard-working, aspiring 有抱负 (有理想, 有志向, 敬业)	23	56.10%	40HONORING OF PARENTS AND ELDERS (showing respect 敬老 (尊重父母和长辈)	22	53.66%
22FAMILY SECURITY (safety for loved ones 家庭安全 (保护自己亲属的安全)	21	51.22%	NC64勤奋勤劳 (Diligent/hardworking)	18	43.90%
20SELF-DISCIPLINE (self-restraint, resistance to temptation 自律 (自我约束, 抗拒诱惑)	19	46.34%	22FAMILY SECURITY (safety for loved ones 家庭安全 (保护自己亲属的安全)	16	39.02%
40HONORING OF PARENTS AND ELDERS (showing respect 敬老 (尊重父母和长辈)	18	43.90%	36HUMBLE (modest, self-effacing 谦虚 (虚心不自满, 内敛)	15	36.59%
33LOYAL (faithful to my friends, group 忠诚 (对朋友, 集体忠心耿耿)	17	41.46%	45HONEST (genuine, sincere 诚实 (真实, 诚恳)	15	36.59%
18RESPECT FOR TRADITION (preservation of time-honoured customs 尊重传统文化 (保留流传已久的习俗)	16	39.02%	28TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close, supportive friends 真正的友谊 (亲密无间, 能支持您的朋友)	14	34.15%
49HELPFUL (working for the welfare of others 乐意助人 (热心公益)	14	34.15%	49HELPFUL (working for the welfare of others 乐意助人 (热心公益)	14	34.15%
31INDEPENDENT (self-reliant, self-sufficient 独立 (依靠自我, 自给自足)	13	31.71%	20SELF-DISCIPLINE (self-restraint, resistance to temptation 自律 (自我约束, 抗拒诱惑)	13	31.71%
45HONEST (genuine, sincere 诚实 (真实, 诚恳)	13	31.71%	12 WEALTH (material possessions, money 富有 (拥有金钱和物质)	12	29.27%
52RESPONSIBLE (dependable, reliable 有责任感 (可信赖, 依靠)	10	24.39%	55SUCCESSFUL (achieving goals 成功 (达到目标)	12	29.27%
[In the instructions, I inadvertently used 勤奋勤劳 (diligent/ hard-working) as an example, so none wrote it]			30SOCIAL JUSTICE (correcting injustice, care for the weak 社会公义, 纠正社会上不公平现象, 扶助弱小)	10	24.39%

This table lists only those items that were self-reported by about ¼ or more of each sample. Though expecting to see more value shifts over time, continuity is again observed among some expected items (e.g., “family security” in rank positions 2 and 3 respectively, “honoring of parents” in 4 and 1, “self-discipline” in 3 and 8, “helpful” in 7 in both, and “honesty” in 9 and 5).

But while the 1995-97 sample put “ambition” in 1st place, “loyalty” in 5th, “respect for tradition” in 6th, the 2003 sample added the indigenous “diligence/hardworking” term (a safer way to express ambition) in 2nd, “humble” in 4th, “true friendship” in 6th, and both “wealth” and “success” creep into the top 10 (in 9th and 10th positions), perhaps reflecting the new economic opportunities. In conclusion, both levels of analysis seem necessary to detect the complexity of trends. Appendix 6 provides the complete ranking list, linking it to the CVS.

10.2 Study 6 – Extending Culture-Level Comparisons (Two 2009 Samples)

As noted earlier in this dissertation, studying the impact of value shifts in societies undergoing change was first promoted by Kluckhohn (1952), who observed the rapid changes taking place in US society after WWII: “The matter of values is certainly the prime intellectual issue of the present day. The practical implications of the problem also are of the most intense importance...” (1952:286). Analysis of social change over time is further inspired by the World Values Surveys (WVS) (Inglehart, 1997, 2000, 2003) across three time periods, and more specifically by studies comparing Chinese traditionality and modernity (Yang, 1994, 2003; Chang et al., 2003; Lu, 2003).

Hitlin and Piliavin (2004:368) suggest that “more work needs to engage the longitudinal nature of values.” I admit that this project is not strictly longitudinal, but cross-sectional, examining representatively similar groups over time. Though unable to develop strict longitudinal studies in this classroom context, this program of values research has sought to sample diverse cross-sectional groups over time. Below two new groups are analyzed.

10.2.1 Updating Time-Referenced Cross-Sectional Samples

The critical part is how to monitor the changes in...values accurately, and to apply the values appropriately in different contexts...Future monitoring of...values will prove more useful when applied thoughtfully and carefully to a specific...area in conjunction with other useful measures and with an understanding of yhe adaptive significance in the values in respondents' lives. With the development of technology and change, it is crucial to reexamine the measure accuracy at regular intervals to catch up with emerging trends and nuances.

(Kahle & Xie, 2008:580, 581)

Analysis of the earlier two culture-level groups suggested some potential trends and clustering that might help context Schwartz's theory for “Chinese populations.” In order to testing the veracity of these domains and dimensional relations across more data sets, two new sets of culture-level data were collected in 2009. Though limited in time to convenience samples, two somewhat

differentiated populations were sought: one from a younger, more broad educational stream – that of a second-tier college (the Xianda four-year college program attached to Shanghai International Studies University, SISU), and one from advanced students (1st year MA candidates in the SISU College of English program, as shown in Table 10.4).

Table 10.4. Demographics of the 2009 Comparative Culture-Level Samples

Demographic Variables	2009 Undergrad College Group	2009 MA Grad Student Group
Sample size	61	86
Male	22 (36.1%)	14 (16.3%)
Female	39 (63.9%)	72 (83.7%)
Average Age	21.5	22.84

A limiting feature of all humanities and language-oriented programs in China is a higher percentage of female students. This becomes increasingly so the higher one proceeds up the educational system. Access to more male-dominated science and engineering programs may be needed to balance these samples, though the general pictures of values from a domain and dimensional perspective may not vary much based on gender. The extensive international data pool of Schwartz is certainly available for the examination of the value structure by gender, but perhaps due to misunderstandings or misuse arising from Hofstede’s “Masculinity vs. Femininity” dimension, scholars may be reluctant to do so. Yet, in countries with higher power, hierarchy, or gender differentiation, this might be a useful area for future research.

10.2.1.1 Discussion of the 2009 Undergraduate Sample

The demographics of this sample can be noted above. In summary, this is a group of more practically motivated young students (mean age 21.5), whose college entrance exam scores limited them from enrolling in more recognized first-tier schools. A career in academics is mostly closed off to them, so this more mainstream group of college students is seeking to get a marketable degree, find internships, and bolster their resume to get a decent job upon graduation among the growing glut of BA and BS graduates in China.

Though not forming a distinctly mapable region this time, Egalitarianism-A items like “helpful” and “honest” are near each other on the Embeddedness/Mastery border. The larger dedicated Egalitarianism region is a real hodge-podge this time, but with “mature love” and “friendship” still forming a stable cluster on the edge of Hierarchy, and “equality” locating near them this time. The now classic Hierarchy set of “wealth” and “power” still locate relatively closely, with the Embedded “family security” and “health” items again locating close, and the Mastery relocated “success” also (though to map straight lines, it ended up on the border of Egalitarianism. The lesser-rated inner areas of Intellectual Autonomy, Affective Autonomy and Universal Harmony follow a similar pattern and content as previous samples, minimized in the center. Some of the consistent trends seem to again be evident, so another sample will be analyzed to confirm these relations.

10.2.1.2 Discussion of the 2009 Graduate, Culture-Level Sample

The way this MDS map (Figure 10.4) has plotted is with the same rotation as the 2009 undergraduate sample, and the general structure of relations follows as similar pattern. However, these graduate students (predominantly female) reflect a stronger and broader concentration of Embeddedness values superseding Mastery values. The location of Mastery near Intellectual Autonomy and Universal Harmony values is again noted, but this time Mastery forms part of the second-level less-rated inner map domain.

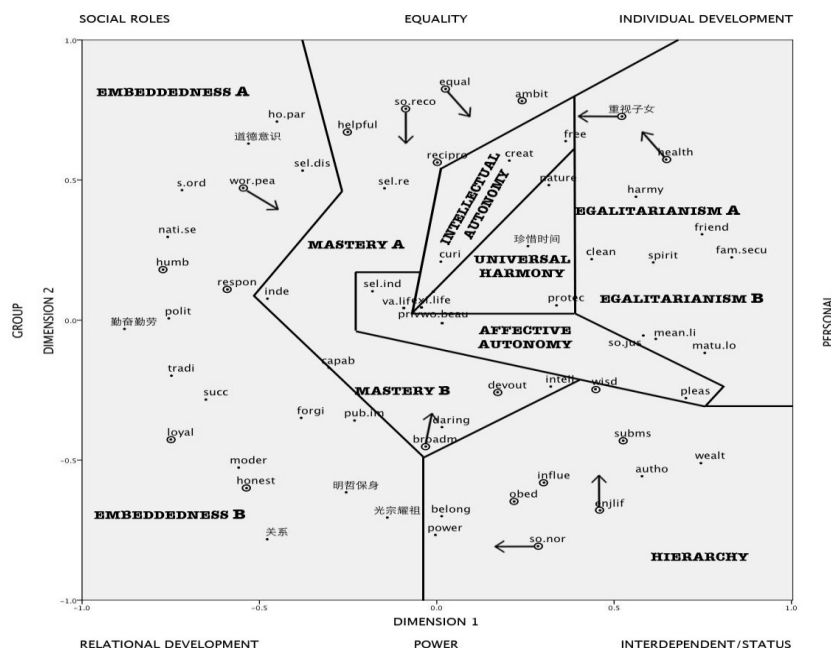


Figure 10.4. 2009 Graduate MDS Cultural-Level Map (2009G)

The two proposed Embeddedness domains are less differentiated, and possibly inverted from previous maps, though the distribution of items makes it hard to draw solid conclusions from. The Em-A cluster of “honoring parents” and “self-discipline” has moved up into the upper left quadrant (this time slightly clockwise from), yet not totally distanced or distinct from the center and upper left Em-B anchors of “tradition” and “social order.” Many specific items on both of these maps are in nearly the same location, but some of the anchor items have shifted, making it quite difficult to draw a convincing map of the relation of regions. One wonders if the additional education of post-graduates, or the larger percentage of females, has brought about less clear differentiation and more blending of value domains (or more nuanced sophistication)? For such an exploratory single-sample investigation, those are perhaps as much as the data will allow us to generalize or surmise. More samples, and with more males, is needed to develop further hypotheses about how education or gender affect value relations.

Additional important information can be discerned from the actual item selection statistics (reported in Table 10.5). “Honoring parents” continues to be a value highly rated (top 2) for both groups (and for the larger female graduate sample, equally “family security”).

Table 10.5. Comparison of Item Generation (& Sample Percentage) for 2009U and 2009G

Top Ten for 2009 Xianda-cultural	2009 Xianda-Cultural hit times	2009 Xianda-Cultural hit frequency	Top Ten for 2009 Graduate-cultural	2009 graduate-cultural-hit times	2009 graduate-cultural-hit frequency
40HONORING OF PARENTS AND ELDERS (showing respect 敬老 (尊重父母和长辈))	54	88.52%	22FAMILY SECURITY (safety for loved ones 家庭安全 (保护自己亲属的安全))	54	62.79%
45HONEST (genuine, sincere 诚实 (真实, 诚恳))	36	59.02%	40HONORING OF PARENTS AND ELDERS (showing respect 敬老 (尊重父母和长辈))	52	60.47%
49HELPFUL (working for the welfare of others 乐意助人 (热心公益))	36	59.02%	NC62重视子女 (Valuing Children)	46	53.49%
11 POLITENESS (courtesy, good manners 礼貌 (有礼节, 良好的举止))	31	50.82%	NC59关系 (Guanxi)	45	52.33%
30SOCIAL JUSTICE (correcting injustice, care for the weak 社会公义 (纠正社会上不公平现象, 扶助弱小))	29	47.54%	8 SOCIAL ORDER (stability of society 社会秩序 (社会的安定))	39	45.35%

NC64勤奋勤劳 (Diligent/ hardworking)	28	45.90%	34AMBITIOUS (hard- working, aspiring 有抱负 (有理想, 有志向, 敬业)	30	34.88%
33LOYAL (faithful to my friends, group 忠诚 (对朋友, 集体忠心耿耿)	26	42.62%	58 COMPLYING WITH SOCIAL NORMS (maintaining my “face”) 遵守社会规范, 维护面子	30	34.88%
20SELF-DISCIPLINE (self- restraint, resistance to temptation 自律 (自我约束, 抗拒诱惑)	22	36.07%	12 WEALTH (material possessions, money 富有 (拥有金钱和物质)	29	33.72%
13 NATIONAL SECURITY (protection of my nation from enemies 国家安全 (保护国家免受敌人侵袭)	21	34.43%	NC64勤奋勤劳 (Diligent/ hard-working)	29	33.72%
36HUMBLE (modest, self- effacing 谦虚 (虚心不自满, 内敛)	20	32.79%	42HEALTHY (not being sick physically or mentally 健康 (生理和精神上的健全)	26	30.23%

Though sampled in the same year, one sees two very different sets of value priorities. The younger college student sample rated more personalized items higher (“honest,” “helpful,” “polite,” then “hardworking/diligent”), then more socially interactive items (“social justice,” “loyal”) with the more hierarchical items (“national security,” “supportive self-discipline,” “humble”) at the bottom of the most rated 10 items. However, the graduate student sample (more females) rated highly “valuing children” (understandable for potential mothers?), “*guanxi*,” “social order,” “ambition,” “complying with social norms,” “wealth,” “hardwork,” and then “health.” Both samples reflect an interesting bundle, where every socially-embedded item is followed by a more-individuated item – the postulated *yin-yang* matrix of values, or perhaps akin to DNA double helix strands, not only co-existing, but co-joined.

10.2.1.3 Item Comparison and Contrast of Culture-level Samples

There are several ways that the results from these first four samples can be compared. An analysis of the relative frequencies of item-generation is one way to note the consistency across samples. Though these were shown for each two samples above, Table 10.6 highlights the main trends, where the top five rated items in each sample are noted by parenthesis (with the rank number), and the top three in **bold print** for easier recognition.

Table 10.6. Top Values in Cultural-Level Samples

Frequency Values	1995-97 Adult	2003 Adult	2009 Undergrad	2009 Grad
40HONORING OF PARENTS AND ELDERS 敬老	43.90% (4)	53.66% (1)	88.52% (1)	60.47% (2)
22FAMILY SECURITY 家庭安全	51.22% (2)	39.02% (3)	13.11%	62.79% (1)
34AMBITIOUS 有抱负	56.10% (1)	17.07%	26.23%	34.88% (5)
NC64勤奋勤劳 (Diligent/ hardworking)	9.76%	43.90% (2)	45.90% (4)	33.72%
45HONEST诚实	31.71%	36.59% (4)	59.02% (2)	26.74%
49HELPFUL 乐意助人	34.15% (5)	34.15%	59.02% (3)	17.44%
20SELF-DISCIPLINE 自律	46.34% (3)	31.71%	36.07% (5)	13.95%
NC62重视子女 (Valuing children)	7.32%	9.76%	26.23%	53.49% (3)
8 SOCIAL ORDER 社会秩序	21.95%	7.32%	22.95%	45.35% (4)
36HUMBLE谦虚	21.95%	36.59% (4)	32.79%	19.77%

An interesting picture of cultural consistency appears across the samples. Though there are some slight variations of order and emphases, one or both of the “family” values (“honoring parents/elders” or “family security”) are regularly the top rated value and both appear in the top 5 for all samples but 2009 undergraduates. The terms chosen for “honoring parents” were very consistent. Then “ambition” and the indigenous “diligent/hard-working” are fairly-highly rated as a possible “achievement values” set. The next set of values all deal with personal qualities that facilitate relationships: “honest,” “helpful,” and “self-discipline.” More focus on the family

continues with the indigenous “valuing children,” followed by the more hierarchical, traditional remnants of Chinese culture, “social order” and “humility.”

Is there any evidence of culture change over these sampling years? Surprisingly, “honoring parents and elders” has not only maintained its importance, but also appeared even stronger in the most recent 2009 samples. “Valuing children” is markedly higher in the 2009 graduate student sample (which was a largely female, mid-20’s aged group, who also rated “social order” higher). Otherwise, one notes that these items have fairly strong and steady ratings across the samples, showing more continuing cultural homogeneity than one might expect.

But the logic applied to this analysis is the potentially superficial one of a researcher trying to make sense of the data. Conducting MDS has provided a statistical way of checking the actual values relations of these items, which is examined further below.

10.2.1.4 Domain Comparison and Contrast of Culture-Level Samples

As noted from the item frequencies and the earlier maps, there appears to be overall more persistence to the basic structure of “Chinese values” than anticipated, at least through this self-collected top-10 culture-level values item sampling technique. To reflect this consistency, we take all four of these data maps discussed so far and set them side-by-side:

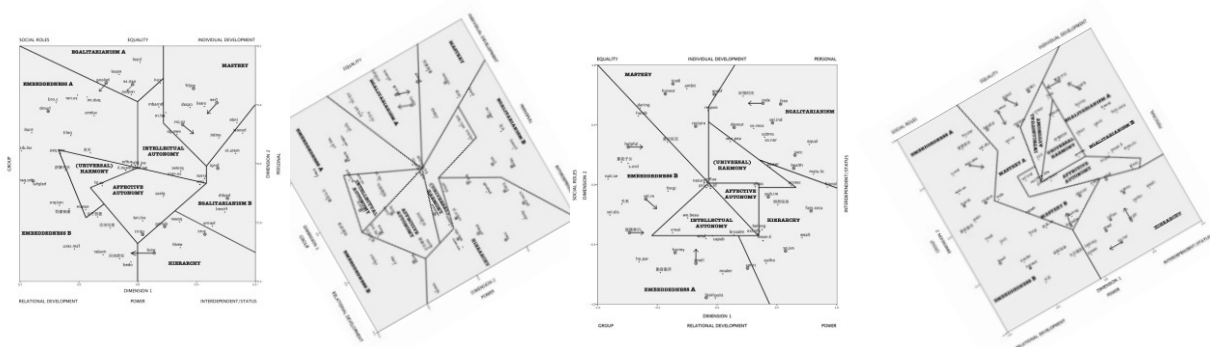


Figure 10.5. Rotated Maps to Show Similar Culture-Level Values Relation Patterns

In this arrangement of maps, we see that the Autonomy domains (both Intellectual and Affective) with Universal Harmony are the lesser-rated ones in all data plots, and located at the center. And the MDS plots have been arranged so that the Embeddedness values form generally the left half of the figures, bordering Hierarchy in the bottom right quadrant and various constellations of Mastery/Egalitarianism in along the top and in the top right quadrant.

There are variations across these four cross-sectional samples, but more consistency than might have been though possible. Limited sample sizes and disconformity of sampled groups prevent any

clear predictions on how values are shifting. Originally I had thought that simple percentage statistics might show this more clearly. But a general picture of the relation of values can be confirmed showing the salience of the Schwartz theory, which the analysis of combined samples makes even clearer below.

10.2.2 Consistent Culture-Level Clusters

Having now produced four different data maps from time- and situation-contexted classroom groups, certain consistent trends can now be observed that contribute to the hypothesized clusters of thick cultural values in Chinese contexts (Table 10.7).

Table 10.7. Consistent Value Clusters under Culture-Level Domains

Schwartz Value Dimension	Core Cluster (stable value items)	Occasionally Near (bordering associations)	As seen in which value sets	Cluster Evaluation
Embeddedness-A (Responsible Relatedness)	Self-Discipline, Honor Parents, Politeness → Humble [H] → 勤奋勤劳 (Hardworking/Diligence)	Forgiving, (Broadmindedness [I], Obedience, National Security), +道德意识 (Morality)	95-97, 2003 (with Moderation), 2009U, 2009G	Quite solid distinct set
Embeddedness-B (Broader Social Orientation)	→关系 (Guanxi), Social Order, Social Norms, Public Image, Tradition, Moderation, 重视子女 Valuing Children, 明哲保身 Shrewd and Self-Protecting, (Reciprocity) 光宗耀祖 Honoring ancestors	Social Recognition, Family Security (Authority [H], Submission),	95-97 (with Submission), 2003 (diffused, but with Submission), 2009G (a bit diffused and inverted with Em-A)	A distinct set, but more variable and broad on items included (has the most emic additions)
Embedded Hierarchy (Em/H)	A borderline set, slowly identified as data emerged	This Hierarchy border set below can all fit here		
Hierarchy	→Family Security [Em], Wealth, Power, →Success [M], →Health [Em],	Sense of Belonging [Em], Social Recognition [Em], →Pleasure [A], Authority though low rated, Submission, (Protect the Environment [UH], Influence [M] though low rated)	95-97 (with Daring), 2003 (with Family Security), 2009U (Success, Health near, in EG), 2009G (with Obedience, Submission, NOT Health, Success)	Strong distinct set(s)
Egalitarianism-A (Mature Equality)	Loyal (float in A, B), Honest, Social Justice, Helpful (Equality)	(Broadminded [I]),	95-97 (a bit diffused with Curious), 2003 (without Loyal), (2009U diffused in	Not very robust-occasionally associated, but

			M/Em, 2009G more diffused in Em/M)	not much with Eg-B
Mastery	Independent, Daring, (Intelligent, Own Goals, both bordering on Eg-B)	Freedom [I], Friendship [Eg], (Equality [Eg], Self-Indulgent [A]),	95-97 (without Daring), 2003 (with Capable, items in Eg A), 2009U diffused	Not well integrated – items often dispersed
Egalitarian/Mastery in Embeddedness	A set first clearly seen in the composite – the items had confused analysis before that	Capable [M], Responsible [Eg], Self Respect [M], Ambitious [M], Inner Harmony [Eg]) +道德意识 (Morality)	Located in M in 95-97, 2003 with some items in Em, 2009G borders Em	A possible solution? Socially interpreted?
Egalitarianism-B (Related Equality)	Friendship, Mature Love, →Enjoying Life [A],	Meaning in Live, Spiritual Life, Intelligent [M], Choosing Own Goals [M],	95-97 (Enjoy life in nearby M), 2003, 2009U, 2009G	A consistent, stable, close set
Intellectual Autonomy	Broadminded, Creative, →Devout [Em], , 意识形态 (Ideological Orientation)	→珍惜时间 (Treasuring Time), (World of Beauty [UH], World of Peace [UH],) Wisdom [Em], Self-Indulgence [A], (Equality [Eg], Freedom)	95-97, 2003, 2009U (2009G more diffused)	Not high ratings, but consistently together inside
Affective Autonomy	Self-Indulgence, Exciting life low rated, (Clean [Em]) (Curious [I]) [Privacy and Varied life little listed]	Spiritual life [Eg], Meaning in life [Eg],	95-97, 2003, 2009U, 2009G (Pleasure always on border of H). Never with Enjoy Life	Low ratings, but consistently together inside
Universal Harmony	All four as expected, but minimal ratings, diffused in circle (Protect Environment often near H), (Wisdom [Em])	(occasionally 珍惜时间 Treasuring Time, and Curiosity)	95-97, 2003, 2009U, 2009G	Low ratings, but consistently spread inside

Notes: → (arrow) represents value items that have consistently relocated in the Chinese samples
(Parenthesis) represents value items that sometimes associate with these clusters
[Brackets] list the original SVS theoretical or cross-cultural assignment, though the item is associating with a different region in these samples.

What this tracking of clustered elements shows is that there are some stable relations across all sets: “Chinese values” are clearly most strongly expressed within Embeddedness and Hierarchy with distributions in Mastery/Egalitarianism, while variations of Autonomy (Intellectual and Affective) and Universal Harmony values are of less-frequent appearance, yet still maintain their general clusters at a secondary level (the proposed yin/yang matrix or modernizig hybridity). Embeddedness splits in two nuanced domains in **all** samples, with a clear border group of values (Em/H) with Hierarchy. Surprisingly, under Hierarchy, “authority” hardly appears, except in the 2009U sample. Might it be an example of a “value” or cultural norm that is so taken for granted (as “freedom” might be in the US) that it is not stated? The clear focus is on the “wealth-power”

dyad leading to “success,” all symbols of status, position and achievement in the new *chenggong zhuyi* (成功主义) success-orientation.

The surprisingly variable “domain” is Egalitarianism, with Eg-B values (“mature love,” “friendship,” and often “meaningful life” or “spiritual life”) locating surprisingly next to Hierarchy in all sets. Other more “independently egalitarian” values tend to locate either in Mastery or what I have called Eg-A values. This Eg-A cluster turns out to be a rather unstable and contextually defined set in the samples analyzed, and surprisingly often locates near or in Embedded regions (e.g., “loyalty” and “honesty” with the Em-B broader social domain values in the 2009 graduate sample). This Egalitarian split was not foreseen until the Schwartz individual- and culture- level items were put into table form, and even then, it was not expected that it would split on either side of Mastery in some Chinese samples. More investigations are needed to determine how contemporary Chinese understand and explain their interpretations of these item associations.

10.2.3 Confirming Cross-Sample Culture-Level Dimensions

After plotting, drawing out domains, analyzing the associations, discussing clusters, and hypothesizing some possible dimensions from visual analysis of the data, it now needs to be asked whether this data is can statistically confirm any clear dimensions. Throughout the process of working on each data set, partly as a guide for rotating or inverting each MDS output map to be able to locate items and associated domains, I sought to make sense of the x- and y-axis of each two-dimensional representation of the data (asking, “what might each quadrant be representing?”), as well as consider what the pole emphases of each of the diagonals might be called, and posited labels.

But do these proposed dimensional or quadrant labels hold up across all samples? Intuitively, labeling some sets seemed easier than others and there was a sense of “conceptual fit”. But statistically, it is necessary to conduct a procedure similar to what Schwartz did to integrate his data across all cultural samples to determine the (cross-)cultural equivalency of item/domain locations. In this dissertation, I thus seek to determine the cross-sample equivalency (which represents a more true or higher level “culture-level” analysis than what has been reported so far)

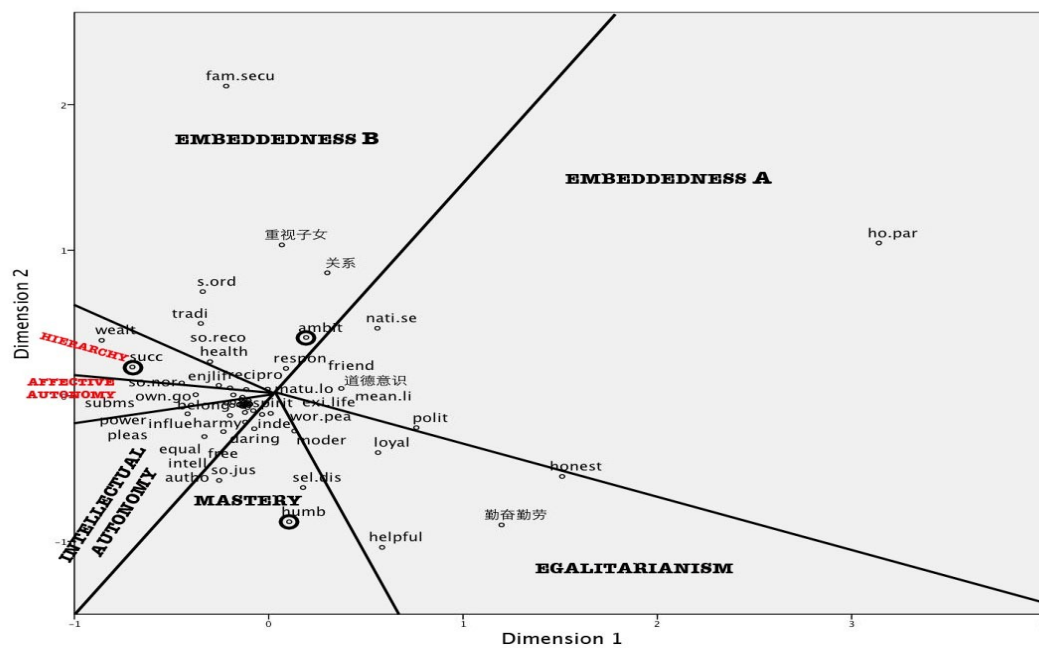


Figure 10.6. Composite Culture-level Sample Raw Score MDS Map (1995-2009 Samples)

of the four initial sets. Taking the combined culture-level z-score map as the basis for analysis ($N = 225$ valid cases, Aged from 19 to 45, Mean Age = 25.11, $SD = 5.695$, Female = 144, 64%, Male = 81, 36 %), Figure 10.6 shows the raw score MDS output, which guided early dimensional labeling.

As noted earlier, the analysis of raw scores in this ten-item listing technique does draw attention to the most generated items (high frequency items locating farthest from the center). Some general lines can be drawn that might represent the domains in Schwartz fashion, but careful analysis in such a bunched clump of items (those generated less often) cannot be easily carried out, nor are the relations of items standardized. Therefore, as has been done throughout this chapter, z-score analysis was conducted and the map replotted (Figure 10.7), providing a scaled relationship of the 58+8 items used in this study.

The lines drawn do not lay out a perfect Schwartz map, again acknowledging some of the limitations in the method that cause there to be a differentiation of what appears to be an inner (less generated, and thus less cognizant) and outer (more frequently generated, and thus more conceptually present?) set of items. Whether lines best capture these domains, as Schwartz draws them, or whether conceptual clusters might be more useful will be considered in the discussion below.

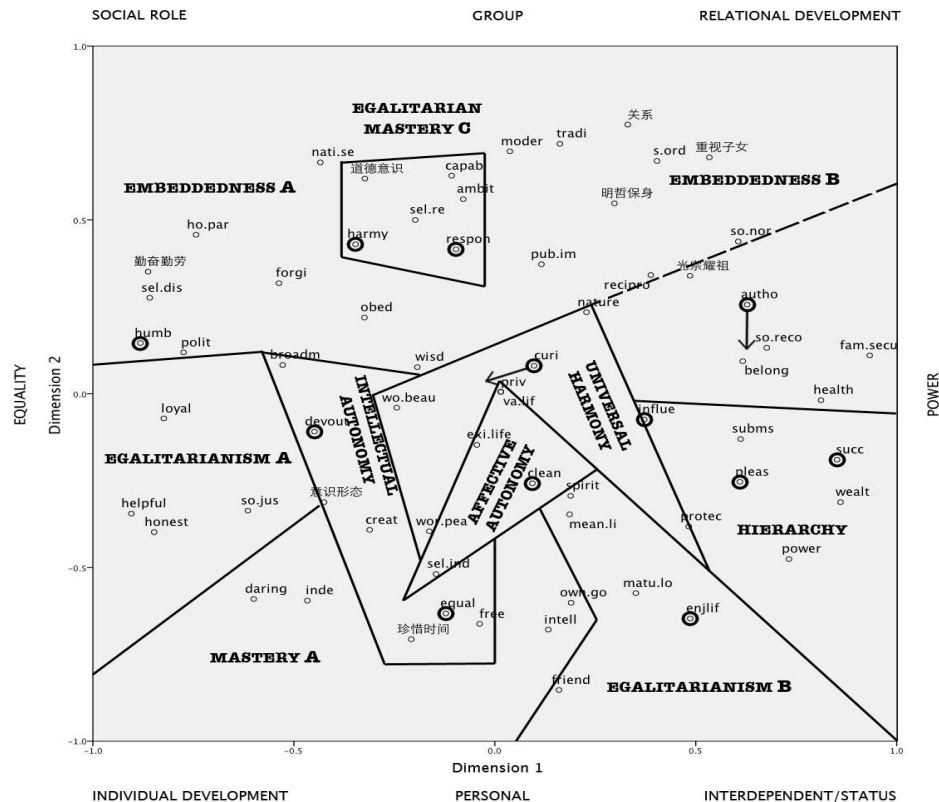


Figure 10.7. Composite Culture-level Sample z-Score MDS Map (1995-2009 Samples)

In attempting to draw domains on every MDS structural map, I found the initial axis labels both helpful and continually relevant, though some modification of wording was made from the first attempts and from set to set. Beyond my expectation, the “Chinese” data in this set of studies seemed to have amazing consistency in falling along four posited axial lines (once each map is duly rotated or inverted for comparison purposes):

x-axis: (Left) **Equality** ← → **Power** (Right)
(or conversely, The Embedded Hierarchy to Embedded Egalitarianism-Axis)
y-axis: (Bottom) **Personal** ← → **Group** (Top)
(conversely, The Social/Group-Oriented to Personally-Interdependent [Equally Linked] Axis)

[Note that Intellectual Autonomy and Affective Autonomy items locate below the midline]
[Whereas Universal Harmony items locate on or above the midline – Global Consciousness]

z-diagonal (Bot. Lft.) **Individual Development** ← → **Relational Development** (Top Rt.)

w-diagonal (Top. Lft) **Social Role** ← → **Status / Interdependence** (Bot. Lft.)

Initially, I posited that the w-diagonal could help distinguish broader collectivism (above right) from more situated individualism (below left), or in Schwartz terms, more universal Embedded Hierarchies from more particularistic Egalitarian, Mastered Autonomies. There may be some truth to that – Embeddedness-A locates on the particularistic side of that diagonal, which one would expect for family relationships. But the more each of the samples is studied, the more one has the feeling that almost all of these values are considered in interdependent social ways. It would have been immensely advantageous if from the beginning of data collection, several measures of Hofstede's or Triandis' Individualism-Collectivism and/or Markus and Kitayama's Independence-Interdependence could have been included for rating and correlation analysis. It is predicted that each of these samples would have had quite high percentages of Collective/Interdependence such that most values are filtered through that grid (at least at the culture level, which is almost asking for a "collective reading" or sort of values as a response to the question, "How do you view the collective in which you live?").

These emic dataset "dimensions" do not perfectly define every item as they are plotted, but they do provide a general quadrant description guide that seems fairly valid. For example, Embeddedness-A locates in the quadrant bounded by Equality and Group x-, y- axes and the w-diagonal of Social Roles. These hypothesized ingroup relationships should be less hierarchical than the other Embeddedness-B domain (e.g., honoring parents and elders) and should reflect what some scholars have termed the more "affective" ties, characterized by "politeness," "forgiveness," "hard work or sacrificial diligence." Perhaps such nuances are also reflected in Rui Zhang's "*qinqin*" (affective/familial) conflict resolution rule (2006). The other cluster of Embedded/Egalitarian/Mastery items also locating in the quadrant should thus also reflect the personal qualities that enhance such closer relationships: "morality," "capability," "ambition," "self-respect," and "responsibility," contributing to inner harmony from satisfied relationships.

Each domain segment can thus be analyzed in this way, considering whether the posited dimensions contribute clarity or not, according to the way one understands the working of the culture. Refinements can no doubt be made, and local informants can contribute more insights into their understandings on why these items might cluster together in most samples, and what they mean in relation to the other quadrants.

However, a note of caution is to be sounded, one I discovered only after seeking to use these dimensional lines as a point of reference in making sense of the data. Stephen Borgatti argues that in "an MDS map...the axes are, in themselves, meaningless" (Borgatti, 1997:online, "Interpretation"). He balances this with the following explanation:

Dimensions are item attributes that seem to order the items in the map along a continuum. The underlying dimensions are thought to "explain" the perceived similarity between items. It is important to realize that these substantive dimensions or attributes need not correspond in number or direction to the mathematical dimensions (axes) that define the vector space (MDS map). For example, the number of dimensions used by respondents to generate similarities may be much larger than the number of mathematical dimensions needed to reproduce the observed pattern. This is because the mathematical dimensions are necessarily orthogonal (perpendicular), and therefore maximally efficient. In contrast, the human dimensions, while cognitively distinct, may be highly intercorrelated and therefore contain some redundant information (1997:online).

This provides a clear and convincing basis for the kind of flexible domain drawing that I have sought to produce in line with Schwartz. Thus, though not "dimensions" in the strict sense of the word (as Schwartz has confirmed his 3 main pairs to be: Embeddedness-Autonomy, Egalitarianism-Hierarchy, and Mastery-Harmony, and which can actually be plotted within these maps), the proposed axis labels provide some orientation for analyzing and explaining the data.

10.2.4 Positing "Thick Culture" Clusters

When one looks at some of the maps presented in this chapter, the mapped lines seem rather complex. Linear segmentation did help in the analysis of grouped items (i.e., which fell in a region, which did not), but in my initial mapping, I found myself often first drawing circles of association, then trying to figure out how to draw lines around those groupings. Of more importance might be noting the clusters, which Borgatti suggests is the other thing to look for in MDS (he actually lists it before dimensions).

Clusters are groups of items that are closer to each other than to other items. When really tight, highly separated clusters occur in perceptual data, it may suggest that each cluster is a domain or sub-domain, which should be analyzed individually. It is especially important to realize that any relationships observed within such a cluster, such as item a being slightly closer to item b than to c should not be trusted because the exact placement of items within a tight cluster has little effect on overall stress and so may be quite arbitrary (1997:online).

Therefore, it might be more important to look at the data, not as angular sections or pieces of a pie, where some items seem to always be out of place or not entirely fit, but as sets of clusters, supporting the concept of "thick values." Such a reconstructed "map" is provided here based on the composite culture-level data just discussed above (see Figure 10.8 below).

Though internationally, the proposed Schwartz theoretical dimensions are consistently:

Hierarchy-Egalitarianism

Harmony-Mastery

Embeddedness-Autonomy (in its two expressions: Affective and Intellectual)

But in these Chinese samples at the culture level, there is more differentiation than that:

Hierarchy falls opposite ingroup Embeddedness-A and moral-quality Egalitarianism-A;

The more hierarchical social Embeddedness B falls opposite Egalitarianism-A +

Mastery;

Global Harmony is minimized but still is opposite the common types of Mastery;

Embeddedness-A is actually not far from some Intellectual Autonomy items, but

Embeddedness-B might in some ways be an opposite pole of Affective Autonomy.

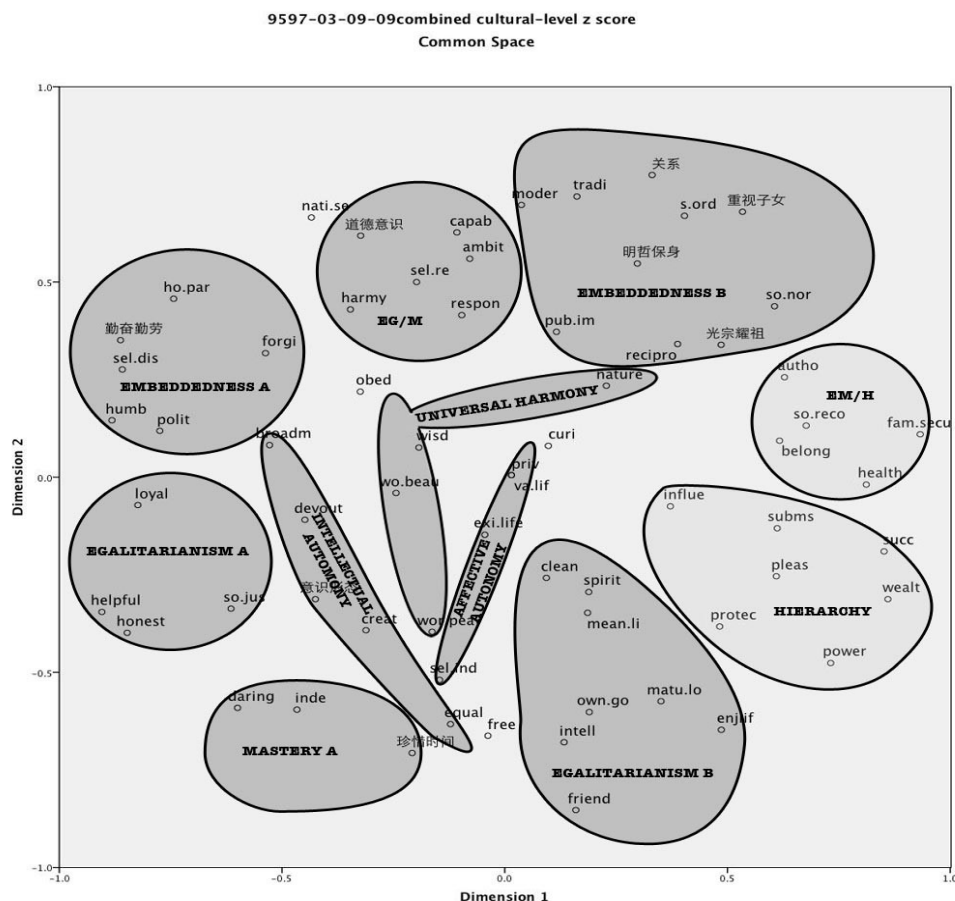


Figure 10.8. Composite Culture-Level MDS Remapped as Value Clusters

Such clarification might be helpful for more effectively adapting future Schwartz or other dimensional studies in Chinese contexts. It also offers potential to bring much more precise nuances to broad generalizations of “Power vs. Equality” or “Individualism vs. Collectivism.”

This far this emerging model has only been examined with a technique aimed at eliciting culture-level feedback, a procedure that some might critique as essentialization, cultural norming, or reinforcement of “Chinese” stereotypes. Because Schwartz’s theory has been developed both at the culture- and individual-level, it is now important to examine the results tapping into an individual-level values reporting process.

10.3 Study 7 – Modifying for Individual-Level Ranking (2000, 2007, 2009)

Having ran the culture-level exercise throughout the mid-90s, my sense from student feedback and interaction was that homogeneous assumptions about “the Chinese” (always a shaky enterprise) were increasingly tenuous – the diversity I was noting was becoming more striking and notions of some “unified Chineseness” no longer warranted much confidence. Concurrently, my reading of values literature and varied research approaches as well as growing awareness of the challenges of linking values information to behavioral or other life-outcome patterns continued, and so at the cusp of the new millennium, I decided it was necessary to gather these sets of data differently.

10.3.1 Individual Survey Form Design Modifications

In order to move from culture-level conceptions and in keeping with Schwartz’s two levels of analyzing culture, another form was devised to move toward the individual level of culture. For this, the form presented was worded as such:

To understand who we are, it is important to understand the deep dimensions of our own personal or small group culture. What are the things that are most important to you and your closest friends? What do you value (not just ideals, but practical goals)? What guides your daily or long-term decisions? How would you express 10 values that you most affirm, hope for and live by?

Personally, I MOST VALUE...

- 1.
- 2.
3. and so on up to 10.

The forms also asked the “beliefs” question as a priming category differentiation as suggested by Michael Bond in the same way as was carried out at the culture level. That statement was modified slightly this time, with a focus on how such “operational beliefs” can indirectly influence action (hoping this would stimulate more direct values into action thinking), as:

Each of us also has a set of beliefs. These are the things we think are just true, facts of life, principles by which we think the world operates, and realities that influence how we live and act. For example, most people believe that a human life is important and worth protecting, therefore taking another’s life (murder) is wrong, health care is necessary, and emergency medicine is worth paying for. More concretely, most operational beliefs impact how we live. For example, in one country, only if you are related to some leader with power can you get ahead (a belief in nepotism), in another, money can buy your way to the top (a belief in the power of bribes). What do you consider to be your basic operating beliefs?

Regarding how I how I live my life, I BELIEVE... 1. 2. 3. 4. and 5.

As with the earlier samples, these belief statements have not yet been analyzed, being left for future research.

The formulation of the statement was a challenging one. I first developed a much more individualistic version, e.g., “What guides you personally to in your choices, decisions, priorities....” But in discussing this with course participants, they suggested that it was a very American (Western) question – that most Chinese are never free to decide anything on their own, and that some situated group is always under careful consideration (in keeping with Markus and Kitayama’s interdependent self-construal, 1991). So I sought to be sensitive to that cultural observation and put the question in as personal/individuated of a context (“your small group culture,” “you and your closest friends”) as possible. However, the statement clearly focused on the individual with phrasings like, “your own personal” values, what is “most important to you,” what “you most affirm,” and “personally, I most value” stated four times. How much the allowance for context affected the responses is impossible to gauge.

That statement used was developed at the end of the 1990s and cusp of the 21st century, and many global, media, and social influences that were then unimaginable are now commonplace. Had I had more foresight, asking a third purely individualized question would have made for another very interesting comparison, but this study was limited to the phrasing adopted for 1999, which has

been kept consistent since then. The data from these exploratory studies will be presented briefly below.

10.3.2 Comparison of Early Individual-Level Samples (2000, 2007)

The first two samples mirrored each other to some degree. Both in 2000 and 2007, students studying intercultural communications from the Communication and Journalism College (CJC) were surveyed as part of their in-class introduction to the topic of values studies and personal cultural awareness. To increase the sample size, in 2000, this same class exercise was conducted in a weekend MA degree-qualifying adult education course (similar to the culture-level 2003 sample). To extend the size of the 2007 sample, more data was gathered from 3rd year International Relations students. Demographics are provided in Table 10.8.

Table 10.8. Demographics of the First-run Individual-level Samples (2000 & 2007)

Demographic Variables	2000 3rd year Undergrads and Weekend Adults	2007 3rd Year Undergrads
Sample size	64	55
Male	14 (21.9%)	9 (16.4%)
Female	50 (78.1%)	46 (83.6%)
Average Age	26.4	21.8

The challenge that this data presents is plotting 10 domains on the charts. After drawing lines on variations of the culture-level data above, my skills had been fairly well honed to label items, note patterns, and plot the best-domain lines as possible to fit the data. But this was initially much more complex at the individual level. Though not considered at the time that this sample was collected, the mixed halves of the 2000 sample (undergraduates and adults) might have made this data set unnecessarily complex (based on what was learned AFTER analyzing the 2003 sample above). But data had already been input without clear tags on who belonged to which sample set, and as noted earlier, even age demographic information was not completely provided. So the composite nature of this set must be kept in mind (handicapping “values shifts over time” analysis).

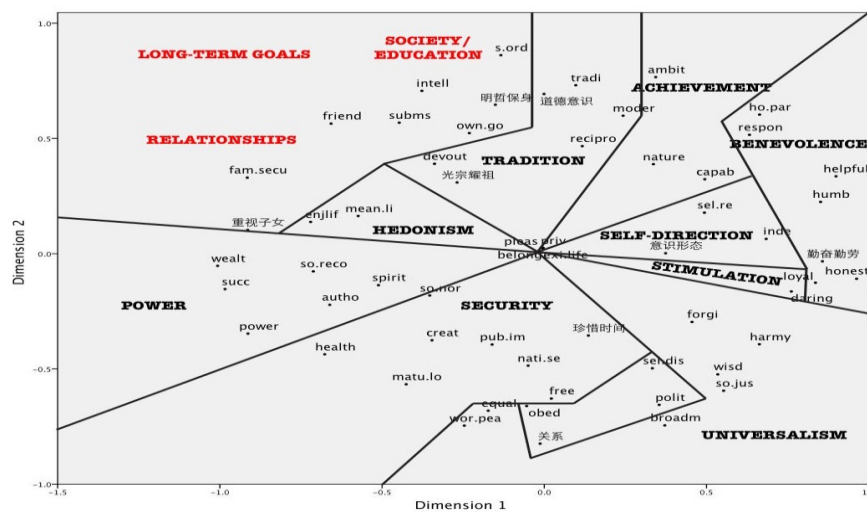


Figure 10.9. Z-Score 2000 Student's Schwartz 58+8 MDS Common Space Map

The initial 2000 sample was still fairly map-able, and the proposed Schwartz individual-level theoretical structure generally emerged. The Schwartz theoretical sequence (from his 1994 Figure 2, here as Figure 3.7 in Sec. 3.2.1.6) is: Tradition/Conformity→Security→Power→Achievement→Hedonism/Stimulation→Self-Direction→Universalism→Benevolence.

The order reflected in the 2000 self-generated values list MDS plot is (*italics* arrows and **bold** *italics* type highlight variations from the Schwartz sequence: Conformity → Tradition→→Achievement→Self-Direction →Stimulation→**Benevolence**→ Universalism →→Conformity/Security→**Power**→**Hedonism** / **Long-Term Relational/Social Goals** [new]

Power and Security are both large areas in this sample, and locate almost opposite Achievement instead of next to it. Hedonism and Stimulation still are linked, but at a second-level (lower-rated inner circle), which suggests that sample scores are too low to form any firm conclusions. Benevolence and Universalism inverted (thus **bold**). That Benevolence borders Achievement (instead of locating opposite), Self-Direction, and Stimulation may perhaps only be explained by the way that Chinese seem to see items in those domains as “shared values” – values where self-advancement or self-development benefits the group. This either justifies the way that the data was collected (my assumption about situationed identities, or perhaps is a byproduct of how that priming (asking for the values of “your own personal and small group culture,” “you and your closest friends”).

The emic-to-etic nature of this study also highlighted a composite area of items that did not really fit any category. This indigenous constellation was labeled long-term goals, giving credence to the Hofstede-Bond work (1988) that had renamed Confucian Dynamism as Long-term/Short-term Orientation. Though critiqued by Tony Fang (2003) on philosophical and cultural-insider grounds, this data set shows that family security, valuing children, friendship, and acceptance of one's place (submission to fate) seem to cluster together in a kind of *connected-ingroup-security* link (thus the long-term dynamic). This cluster is closely located to the other cluster of intelligence, own goals, shrewd self-protection, and intelligence, a kind of long-term *individualized conformity to the social structures* of education and social advancement. I can agree with Fang that the label “long-term” is confusing in that it evokes a time dimension, and I would suggest these all deal instead with “enduring relationships” –what is important here is the commitment of relationship (time is just one way of describing it). This idea is further supported with consideration that these “ingroup security” items border Power and Hedonism’s “enjoy life”, whereas “individualized conformity” items border Tradition and is close to Achievement – both logical locations for a cluster of indigenously interpreted items.

While the 2000 young college student data set could be mapped with some distinguishable domain lines, this task proved increasingly difficult with each later sample. Certain value clusters were still identifiable, but in the end it proved easier to use circles to denote the clusters. The linear drawing out of ten distinct domain segments became increasingly difficult. My proposed interspersed “matrix of values sets” and “synchronous inclusion of divergent values” (Kulich, 2008:20, 21) was substantiated by the data mapping reported below.

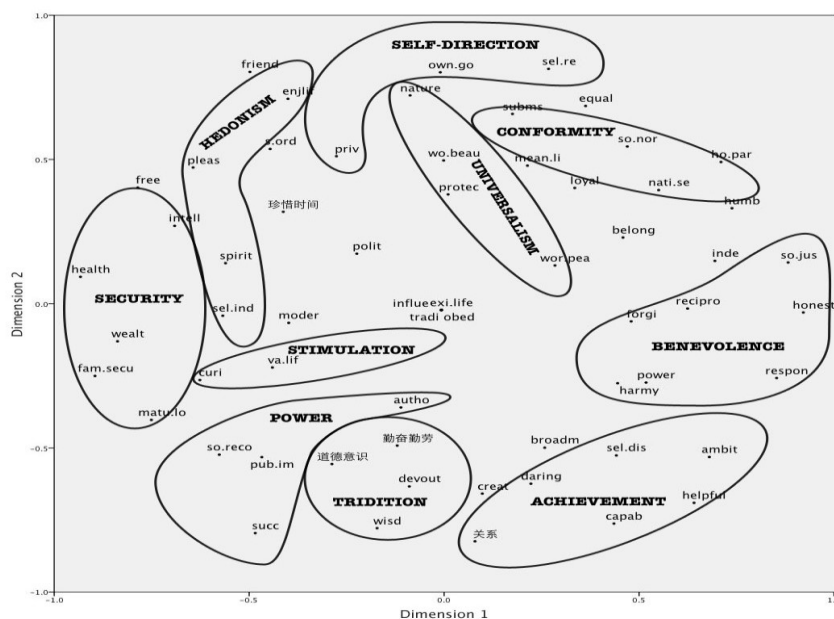


Figure 10.10. Z-Score 2007 Student's Schwartz 58+8 MDS Common Space Map

Again, compared to the Schwartz order, the 2007 clusters have some deviation:

Tradition→Power→→Security→Stimulation/Hedonism→Self-Direction→*Conformity*/
Universalism→Benevolence→*Achievement*.

Stimulation and Universalism are less-rated value sets, so no firm conclusions can be drawn. Power and Security still border one another, but Achievement has again moved to the other side (this time **not** opposite) next to Benevolence. This time the Universalism→Benevolence sequence is in the “right” Schwartz order. Conformity has relocated as a stronger value set, between Self-Direction and Benevolence (whereas in Schwartz’s 22 country values map, it is lesser-rated and locates opposite Self-Direction). Clearly some value items are being redefined (“accepting one’s place in life/submission,” “social norms,” “honoring parents,” “national security,” are similar items to what I labeled as the new Long-term Relational/Social Goals domain in the last set, but some of these have relocated in the upper right quadrant this time instead of upper left (still relatively neighboring one another). Many specific value items are still in the same domain vicinity, but others are scattered about and ended up between regions, suggesting that the values “matrix” is becoming more complex at the individual level. Because of this complexity and the limited size of each sample, I decided at this time not to conduct “culture-level” z-score dimensional analysis with individual sets, but only with the combined mean-normed composite set (see below). More work could be done to try to tease out trends over time, but it is an admittedly tedious process for what appear to be incredibly complex results.

10.3.3 Updating Individual-Level Data (Two 2009 Samples)

Having compared two sets several years ago, I wanted to similarly update these to observe the current situation and consider contrasts. After providing their culture-level “Chinese in general” list, students were also asked to contribute their individual-level “top 10.” Now that I am more aware of priming effects, it is worth considering if the order should have perhaps been reversed. My collaborator Rui Zhang has implemented this observation in his research design (in progress), so future reports may show the impact of such priming. For this 2009 comparison procedure, the demographics are reported in Table 10.9. Basically, two types of students were investigated, the “2009U” group being 2nd year students at a 2nd-tier 4-year college, and the 2009G group being 1st year graduate candidates in a nationally top-five English MA program. These two groups were also reported in Table 10.5 and described in Section 10.2.1 (where the focus was on their culture-level responses).

Table 10.9. Demographics of the 2009 Comparative Individual-Level Samples

Demographic Variables	2009 Undergrad College Group	2009 MA Grad Student Group
Sample size	61	86
Male	22 (36.1%)	14 (16.3%)
Female	39 (63.9%)	72 (83.7%)
Average Age	21.5	22.84

This 2009U MDS analysis was even harder to map out, partly because it appears to differ more from the Schwartz order. The general region sequence went from: (less-rated) Conformity surrounded by *Achievement* → Benevolence → Stimulation /Tradition → Security → Power → → *Universalism* → Self-Direction /Hedonism

The reversal/displacement of Achievement and Universalism continues to be an interesting facet of each of these data maps. Though identifiable oppositely, Conformity and Stimulation values (both ends of an Ind/Col spectrum?) are not has highly rated. Universalism items are rated more strongly this time, but they border Power and Security, as if to suggest that only when a person or social network has “authority,” “success,” “wealth,” and “public image” do they have the luxury to start to focus on “a world of beauty,” “world peace,” and interestingly “forgiveness.” The environmental value of “protecting nature” is still rated quite low.

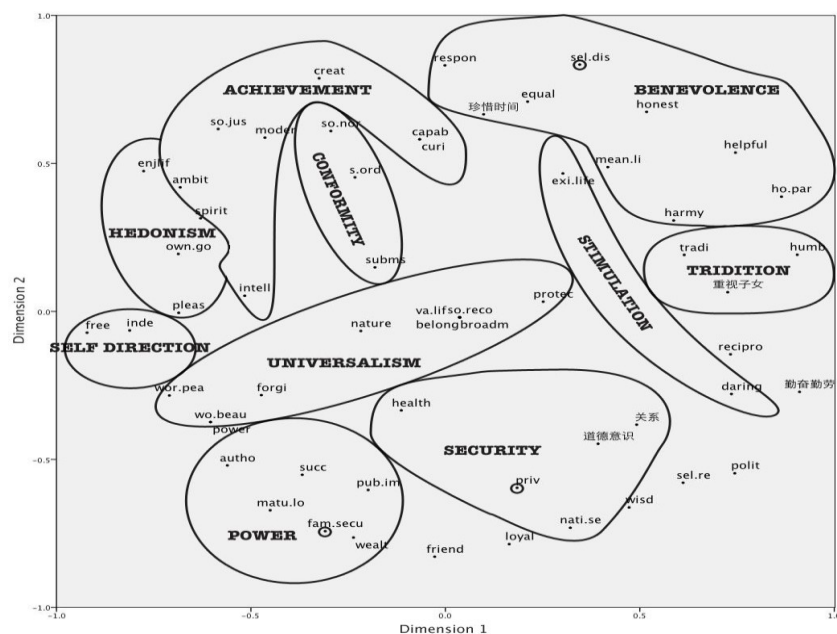


Figure 10.11. Z-Score 2009U Student's Schwartz 58+8 MDS Common Space Map

The complexity of the 2009 Graduates was even more pronounced (see Figure 10.12). Keep in mind that these two samples were gathered at the same time in the same way. The post-graduate map is the first in this series to need a rotation (90 degrees clockwise – which we’ve noted in MDS maps before). But even more notable is that this set of values constellations is the hardest of all to map, with areas blending into one another and displaced even more.

Self-Direction now surrounds Universalism, bordering on Benevolence (the higher-rated set) and Conformity (lower-rated), then Achievement surrounding Tradition (and some Benevolence items) (with neighboring Stimulation items very lowly rated)→Power (with other items clustering there this time)→Hedonism→Security (next to Self-Direction). The logic of the domains in this sample is increasingly hard to analyze. The clusters seem to reflect a dispersion of traditionality in modernity, of growing self-awareness values that are however still contexted in relationships and group orientations. This is not surprising in the

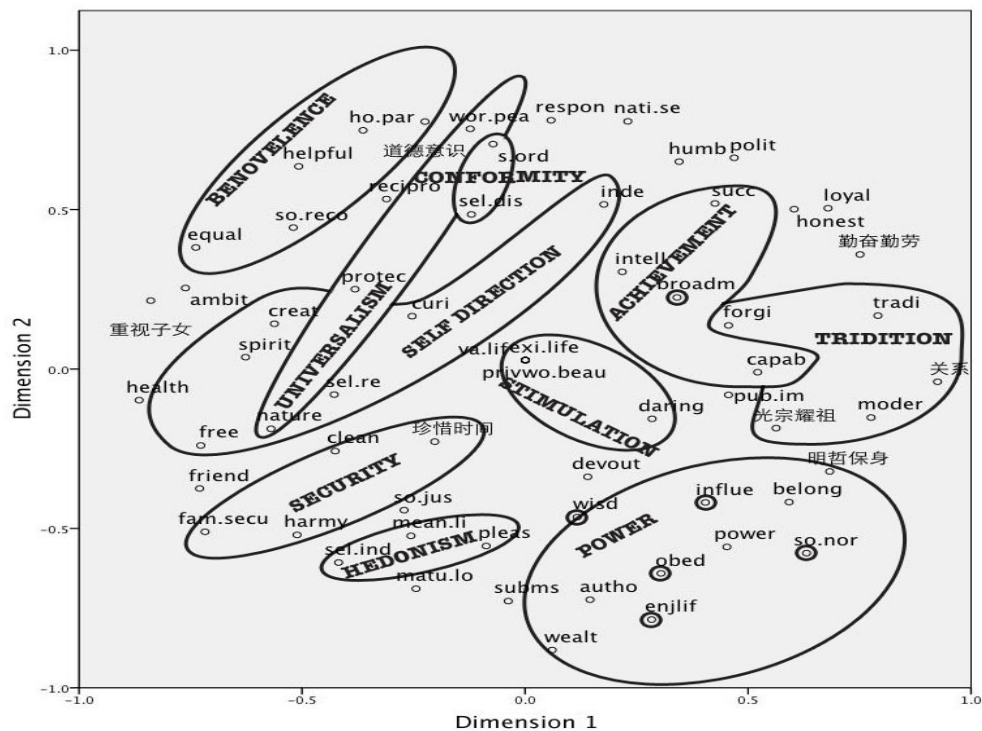


Figure 10.12. Z-Score 2009G Student's Schwartz 58+8 MDS Common Space Map

Uniquely rapid, developing context of China during the last decade plus, where GDP has had nearly double digit increases year on year since 1994, media input and international information options have perhaps doubled every few years. These students have almost all watched the complete season sets of American TV series like *Friends*, *Sex and the City*, *Desperate Housewives*, *Prison Break*, and *Lost* to learn English. In addition, household incomes have gone

up enough that cell phones, personal computers, new apartments, and for some even private cars have become a reality for their families. And as Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:10) perhaps prophetically reminded us, “In societies undergoing change the ordering of preferences will not be clear-cut for some or even all the value orientations” (cited in Section 1.2.1 of this dissertation). Yet in general, the “core items” of the clusters noted in the earlier culture-level analysis are still holding together. To confirm that observation, all four of these sets were then analyzed at a “cross-sample” level as was done with the earlier four sets and the results reported below.

10.4 Summary and Composite of Individual-Level Analysis

In order to get a “culture” level overview from the individual-level response samples, the same procedure was used to create a combined composite sample from all the valid scores (as Schwartz’s has also done). The “individual-level” data from the three samplings of 2000, 2007, and both 2009 sets were combined in one set, ran first at the raw data level, then re-ran with z-score standardization MDS output. This composite “quasi-culture-level” map is shown in Figure 10.13 below. The composite participant demographics (in Table 10.10) of four cross-sectional samples is quite comparable to the original culture-level composite except for variance on the years sampled.

Table 10.10. Comparison of Combined Composite Samples at Both Levels

Demographics	9595-03-09-09 Culture-level	2000-07-09-09 Individual-level
N= (valid cases)	225	267
Age Range	19-45	19-42
Mean Age	25.11	22.63
Std. Deviation	5.695	3.01
Female N (Percentage)	144 (64%)	207 (77.53%)
Male N (Percentage)	81 (36%)	60 (22.47%)

This composite map averaging and standardizing individual inputs could be analyzed with Schwartz’s “culture” dimensions just as was done for the earlier culture-level composite above, to determine if any similarities or differences in dimensional structure emerge.

Though there are slight variations of shape, this map is quite similar to the earlier composite. The progression of domains progresses almost exactly the same as the combined culture-level MDS. Notable, as expected, is that the intellectual autonomy items are rated more highly and spread over a broader area. The Egalitarian/Mastery cluster (items like “ambition,” “self-respect,” and “inner harmony”) that located top-center between the Embeddedness regions in the culture-level

values set, perhaps representing a more individualized interpretation of these items at this level, equating them closely to “friendship” and “mature love.”

Whether these facets catch “the story of the data” or reflect level or sampling anomalies, even such “distortions” are not too disconcerting as the general relation of items is maintained. Most items fall in the same general region, on the same diagonal side of the map, and nearly in the same quadrant. Stephen Borgatti allows for such minor variations noting that, “distortions may be spread out over all pairwise relationships, or concentrated in just a few egregious pairs. In general, however, longer distances tend to be more accurate than shorter distances, so larger patterns are still visible even when stress is high” (Borgatti, 1997:online, “Interpretation”). As Figure 10.14 illustrates, the thick-cultural clusters that these studies have identified in map after map are also generally maintained here.

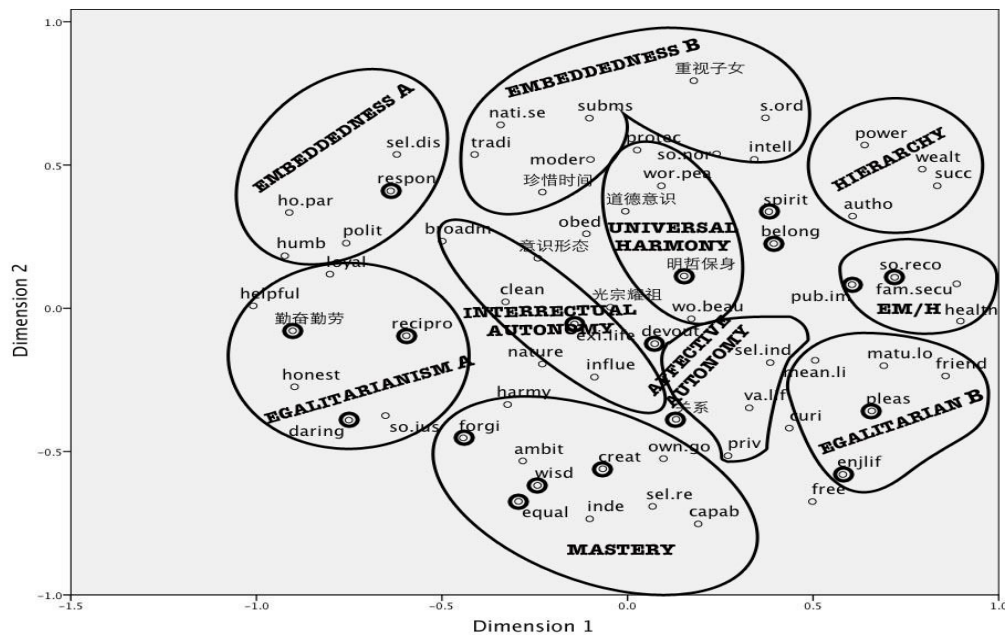


Figure 10.14. Individual-Level Value Clusters across Four Samples (2000, 07, 09U, 09G)

Thus, apart from what seem to be minor, but perhaps explainable exceptions, there is broad consistency in the values structure reported, no matter what level of values we were seeking to elicit. Indigenous modifications to the Schwartz values structure seem to be confirmed, providing fairly high support for Hypothesis (3) stated at the beginning of this chapter: that (a) the general Schwartz value relations can be ascertained (b) with emic modifications.

Beyond equating this data to the Schwartz structure, an initial goal of this project was to detect some of the changes within and across samples. Unless some mass-weighted MDS technique can eventually be implemented (so that not only the relative distance of items, but their relative “selection weight” could be observed), this analysis is dependent on descriptive statistics to compare and contrast any trends that can be noted across the samples. The frequencies of item selection for these four samples are listed below in Table 10.11.

This table reveals that, though some type of family value (“family security” or “honoring of parents and elders”) ranks as number 1 or 2 in all four samples, the individual samples are quite individualized. Item-level analysis based on percentages does not provide much of a picture at all of trends, except that “wealth” and “ambition” stay fairly steady across the samples. The samples with graduate students seem to emphasize hierarchical relations less (lower “honor elders” and “humble” scores) and may be somewhat more self- oriented (lower “helpful” scores).

Table 10.11. Top Values in Individual-Level Samples

Frequency Values	2000 Undergrad	2007 Under+Grad	2009 Undergrad	2009 Grad
22FAMILY SECURITY 家庭安全	57.81% (1)	52.63% (2)	25.00%	60.47% (1)
40HONORING OF PARENTS AND ELDERS 敬老	51.56% (2)	0.00%	61.67% (2)	33.72% (5)
49HELPFUL 乐意助人	42.19% (3)	17.54%	56.67% (3)	22.09%
45HONEST 诚实	37.50% (4)	7.02%	71.67% (1)	34.88% (4)
43CAPABLE 能干	6.25%	52.63% (2)	1.67%	5.81%
12 WEALTH 富有	34.38% (5)	29.82%	20.00%	25.58%
34AMBITIOUS 有抱负	34.38% (5)	1.75%	28.33%	41.86% (2)
36HUMBLE 谦虚	31.25%	5.26%	41.67% (4)	17.44%
NC64 勤奋勤劳 (Diligent/ hardworking)	29.69%	0.00%	40.00%	27.91%

Some items were not consistent across the lists, but more emphasized in a particular year, suggesting perhaps that each generation of cohorts has its favored words or terms. For example, the 2007 group surprisingly rated “world of beauty” as number 1 (with 56.14% of the sample

eliciting related phrases on their lists), “preserving my public image” as number 4 (46.37%) and “mature love” as 5 (38.6%), suggesting more self-actualized, affective values. 2009 undergraduates rated “politeness” as a co-number 4 (41.67%) with “humble” suggesting more compliance with social norms than expected for this supposedly Westernized young generation. And, though much literature suggests that traditional patterns are changing, 2009 graduate students still added “*guanxi*” phrases as their number 3 (36.05%). It appears that a rather situated set of emphases emerges for each group.

Beyond these spotty observations, the “bigger picture” that the MDS scores provide gratefully helps to locate value items in their associated contexts. If the procedures of converting open-ended list content into etic frames were not so tedious and time-consuming, it certainly seems that collecting larger individual-level samples are needed if more meaningful findings are to be derived. How best to collect such data will be explored in Study 8 reported in Chapter 10.

10.5 Conclusions from these 1995-2009 Quasi-quantitative Probes

This chapter has carefully documented a set of established and tested procedures for converting qualitative data into exploratory quantitative data outputs to generate a general picture of the structure of Chinese values from 1995-2009. Hypothesis (1) on the possibility of working out such a methodology is thus confirmed. Hypothesis (2) was as well, that (a) both value item associations and (b) domain structures could be detected by this technique. And Hypothesis (3) (a) and (b) were also confirmed regarding general consistency with the Schwartz structure.

What was not anticipated was the consistency of the MDS maps across all eight of these samples. Through two different styles of self-report techniques and data gathered at both the culture- and individual-level, the general map generated by Chinese respondents in educational classroom settings has been amazingly consistent. Analysis of specific samples has revealed some insights into specific contextual factors, but the overall script of Chinese values uncovered with this set of techniques appears to be generally replicated even over these years of rapid development.

The next chapter will raise limitations noted in these procedures, seek to evaluate whether listing, rating, or ranking has better results for the purposes of this project, and attempt to integrate the findings of this chapter at the item-association (cluster) and domain level. The final chapter will then discuss conclusions drawn from these exploratory probes, relate those to work highlighted earlier in this dissertation, and put forward suggestions for future modifications and further study.

Chapter 11: DISCUSSION OF METHODS AND INTEGRATION OF FINDINGS

Ideally values should be measured as systems rather than as individual values. This goal creates complications because of the large number of potential patterns of values and because of the difficulties of data reduction in one context. Kahle (1996:140)

11.1 Discussion of Limitations of these Methods

Before summarizing the work presented so far, it is important to candidly address some possible limitations of the procedures adopted. These limitations have led me not to put too much emphasis on the visual mapping, but use this process as a guide for noting consistent trends of value item clustering in the MDS closest space domains across the various samples. Those value item groupings may provide an initial picture of Chinese emic value associations, or what might be considered “thick” cultural values, and how this tedious procedure can be used to help modify future value instruments and predict linked-value trends.

The limitations acknowledged and noted are:

1. The data transformation from qualitative to pseudo-quantitative will not be a perfect match for the Schwartz items, especially at an individual-level of analysis (where the map would need to be partitioned into 10 type segments) due to both the random generation of items and the item-by-item Schwartz meaning-association procedures needed. Though the exploratory limitations are acknowledged, Chapter 9 details the careful steps taken to generate as accurate of an emic-to-etic process as possible.
2. For standard statistical work and Smallest Space Analysis (SSA), the collection of “top 10” data likely allows for too many missing items. Linking 10 inputs per participant to Schwartz’s 58 items (and the 8 indigenous terms for a total of 66) means that there are roughly 48 or 54 missing items for each respondent, limiting normal analytic procedures. Using SPSS to analyze the rated values (1-10) with the rest as unreported can cause the program to initially produce a “data not executed” message. This problem was address by treating all missing values as zero (0). Using zero assumes that “missing values” are not necessarily absent in each respondent’s mind, but that they were of less or no importance during reporting, hence equal to 0.

3. A main difference between list data collection and a questionnaire or survey instrument is the level of focus and range of options provided. In using an open-ended survey, we have no way of knowing what triggered the mental stimulation, selection and writing down of these specific responses, or if more were in their minds but the limitation of 10 numeric spaces (1. 2. 3. and so on) curtailed input. Without a framing list for comparison, other equally important value items might have been missed, only because the situation and circumstances under which the respondents wrote down their top 10 list may not have activated them.

A more ideal design would have participants generate a longer list (so that less items are “missing”), allow them to see a stimulus list (such as Schwartz’s or an emic list like that of Bond’s or Jingfu Zhang’s) and then be allowed to modify their original list. This type of reciprocal stimulus process might provide more conscientiously generated items and better reasoned associations. Conversely, one can argue that NOT having stimulus lists provides a more authentic “read” of the culture – tapping into that which is in the mind of the respondents, and not just that which is the mind of researchers (e.g., Hofstede’s critique of GLOBE, 2006b). This was what I opted for, but to answer this critique, the “ideal design” will be tested below.

4. It could be argued that to accurately detect individual variations, providing a full complement of carefully reasoned, well-selected items is necessary. The “skimming” procedures used here are likely better suited for identifying culture-level trends – where we likely tap into that which is most readily present or on the mind of respondent, and which may reflect the more generalized script of the broader culture. To curb this possibility, multiple cross-sectional probes were taken to check if the trends noted hold up across different samples at various times (as noted creatively by a research assistant).¹⁰¹ Here, I determined to work with this facet and focus primarily on generating and analyzing culture-level data, though also readjusting the strategy for attempted individual-level comparisons (as noted in Chapter 10).

¹⁰¹ In personal correspondence (August 15, 2009), Xiaoming Wang pointed out, “Since you’ve argued about [some degree of] representativeness of the sample taken...[let us] assume that the body of participants is a miniature reservoir of all Chinese values. If you further assume that each single contributed value (by the respondents) is a fish (big/important or small/trivial) in the Chinese values “pond,” all the fishes (different species/values) will make up the “values of the Chinese.” This makes better sense because all fish appear spontaneously (self-generated) in the pond, meaning they do naturally exist in the Chinese mind (ensuring the originality of the value items) instead of risking being imposed foreign values under a certain stimulus like in a questionnaire survey (in questionnaires respondents have to rate each item no matter they consider it a value or not). That [being] said, as you sort out the data, what happens...is that the fishes of the same size (the values with the same frequency) will be sorted out as a different species (value). In the end, you’ll see how many different fishes (values) are present and of what sizes (importance) they are.”

5. With this type of data, some might consider using a frequency sort of ratings as the best option. This was a part of the early analysis (as the hand-drawn map in Figure 9.4 illustrated) and continued with each set (Tables 10.3, 10.5, and Appendix 5). Higher frequency of item generation should imply higher importance of the value for this group of Chinese and lower frequency the opposite (and items not generated by anyone in the sample become real missing values). But such a procedure only generates a whole-sample index, a single frequency calculation per set. Type, domain, or dimensional scores could be summed together, but provided no valid basis for deciding whether an item really was construed to locate in that region or not. Percentages show relative weight, but offer no insights into item meanings or associations. Assigning an item to a Schwartz domain with other items re-introduces an “imposed etic” unless actual associations can be confirmed by Chinese colleagues. To test item associations and derive comparable statistical measures across sets, it was clear the data needed a pseudo-scaled treatment, with z-scores calculated and MDS closest space analyzed. The results presented in Chapters 9 and 10 confirm the benefits of this process.

It is also acknowledged that, as a statistical procedure, MDS can only provide certain types of information. Chapters 9 and 10 show how it can help more confidently determine why certain value items may need to be associated with a different domain, which items consistently locate with other items, which domain lines or cluster circles can be drawn, which axes might be operative in a map toward meaningful interpretation of the data, and what these emerging dimensions might be called. Because Schwartz used SSA maps from the beginning, this seemed to be the best way to check the results from these samples as to whether his hypothesized circular relationships, value types/domains, and dimensions might be supported or need to be modified. The MDS procedures adopted have seemed to highlight stronger and consistent linkages (identifying potential core cultural value sets), which items consistently seem to be reinterpreted by the culture (emically redefined values), or which have unstable, variable meanings depending on the context or level of analysis (individual-level items), all lending positive support for the three guiding hypotheses stated in Chapter 9 (Section 9.1).

But a case can also be made for considering other procedures, both to overcome the constraints of these data sampling and data transformation processes and to confirm the reliability of these results. To investigate potentially better ways of eliciting the type of data that is needed for an emic-to-etic study like this, I decided to conduct one more exploratory study focusing on the efficacy of various data collection approaches.

11.2 Study 8 – Addressing Limitations to Compare Methodologies

In Chapter 7 the issue was raised regarding which data gathering methodologies would produce the most reliable, valid, or interpretable data. As explained earlier, the data work for this dissertation was carried out in classroom values clarification exercises, in which the primary method adopted was self-report list generation, and in the data treatment, pseudo-ranking scores were generated. The method appears to “have worked” from the perspective of producing rather consistent pictures of rather similar values priorities of rather divergent participants in various educational settings in Shanghai (through the diverse educational levels and program of Shanghai International Studies University).

11.2.1 Comparing “Top 10” Ranking, SVS Rating and SVS Ranking

The question of whether ranking or rating or the proposed “grounded” or “referenced” emic-in-etic ranking procedure is better (Section 7.3.2) has not been fully addressed. This section reports three exploratory attempts to consider data gathered in those three proposed ways. The following procedures were all intentionally carried out seeking to elicit “culture-level” responses because the prior sections showed that these seemed to be more consistent, mapable, and more in line with Schwartz’s theoretical structure than individual-level data sets proved to be. I also sought to be very careful to conduct this step of the research as closely to the procedures by which the large body of Schwartz values data has been collected so that this research project could be evaluated by those standard procedures and results.

The subjects for these procedures were the convenience sample of 2009 graduate student already reported on in Section 10.2.1 (demographics in Table 10.4). From a pool of over 100, these 86 students knew they would have the option to take a course in values studies, and with their enrollment in our MA program were willing to invest a concentrated hour as volunteers to complete each of the three research segments.

As put forward earlier, the design was to move first from the open-ended completely indigenous listing procedures already documented, then to carry out a standard Schwartz rating procedure on the master-list (our emic-with-etic, 66-item modified Schwartz proposal from this research), and then to reconsider this 66-item list and conduct an informed ranking. The goal was to identify which procedure produces the best fit reliability ratings, the most interpretable maps and findings, and whether the three procedures yield similar or different results to suggest there are advantages or disadvantages for any one over the others.

11.2.2 Reviewing emic Self-generated “Top 10” Ranking Results

Some of the results for this comparative methodology check have been reported above with the culture-level data (Sections 10.2.1.2 and Figure 10.4 reprinted below). The results, limitations, and benefits of this “top 10” listing have been illustrated throughout this paper. Here, I briefly summarize methodological aspects of the procedure.

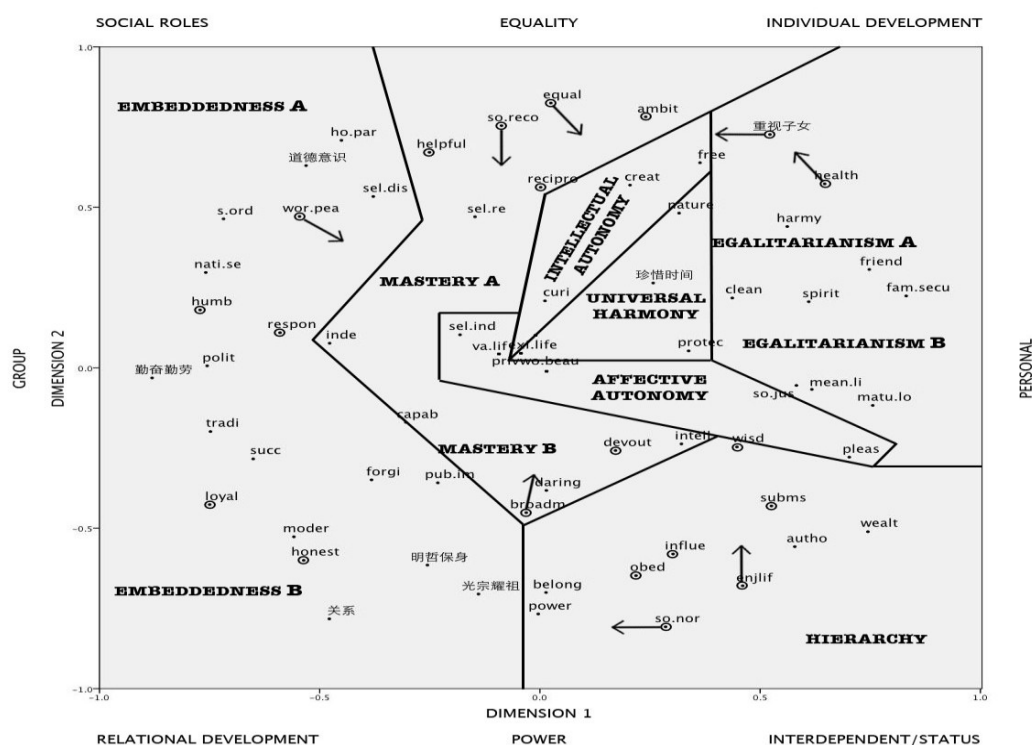


Figure 11.1. 2009G “Top 10” Listing MDS Map

These 2009 graduate students again confirm the two types of Embeddedness proposed and though tighter, the two strands of Egalitarianism are also clustered. Hierarchy is also a strong value. What is surprising in this sample is that Mastery is slightly minimized (actually having an upper and lower cluster, each corresponding to a type of Embeddedness). Further, “success” is not located in Hierarchy as has been fairly consistent, but at the cusp of Mastery and socially-negotiated Embeddedness-B values. This may be sample specific, since Chinese graduate students get in to their graduate programs only by taking a political examination and gaining their professors’ recommendations for being “good, obedient students,” explaining why “success” located near “tradition,” “loyal,” and “moderation.” This sample seems to have defined “success” in its more traditional, orthodox, Confucian way. The “Top 10” listing technique seems to have clearly differentiated strongly-held (or easily generated) values items from those that are less-strongly held (or generated toward the tail end of self-initiated lists), consistent with the findings noted throughout Chapter 10.

Students needed about 10-15 minutes to carry out the procedure, including time to check the order of their statements and move any up or down (for closer approximation to ranking). Post-hoc spot-check interviews revealed that they found this to be a good way to think about what was most important to them (“satisfying,” “stimulating,” “enjoyable”) and several post-procedure emails suggested that of the three steps, this was the least constraining, and even if “less scientific” from an intuitive sense (subjectively), the more “accurate” or “authentic.”

11.2.3 Comparing etic SVS Survey Ratings

Does rating work better, give a different picture, and prove to be more objective? After having students do the emic listing, I then provided a sheet with the universal list in Chinese (the SVS 58 in Littrell’s standard translation + the confirmed 8 emic items) in questionnaire format. Through written and verbal instructions, they were asked to follow the standard Schwartz procedures rating each item on his -1 (anti-value), 0 (not my value), and 1-7 (increasing value strength). I also implemented his suggested cutting procedure (“read the whole list through, then first rate your top 5 or so values, and your lowest or most opposed 5 or so, then the next 5 highest and next 5 lowest, working toward those that are just of average importance to you”) to get the best possible point-scale distribution.

Students needed about 20 minutes to carefully rate all items, and the z-score MDS output is shown in Figure 10.2. In order to make dimensional and domain comparisons with previous maps or the one above, this SVS rating map appears to need a counter-clockwise rotation of about 45 degrees. To illustrate, projected x- and y-axes are drawn with light arrows out from the 0.0 center point.

Many scholars suggest that if Chinese respondents record input on a 7- or 9-point Likert scale, they tend to leave the end positions empty and their responses cluster around the middle, applying the “doctrine of the mean”. Perhaps because this was a group of eager, generally positive, well-read English and communication studies students, even though the instrument and all instructions were in Chinese, they tended to rate items higher than expected. Note that to accommodate the strong ratings of this sample, the MDS program automatically enlarged the right side scale to 1.5. I found this initially confusing, and at first surmised that this was due to leaving the -1 and 0 ratings in the data set (following the 1-7 ranking scheme of Schwartz). To account for -1 (“a value I oppose”) ratings (and there were a few), the standardized data set probably had to shift slightly to go beyond the typical 1.0 to -1.0 frame.

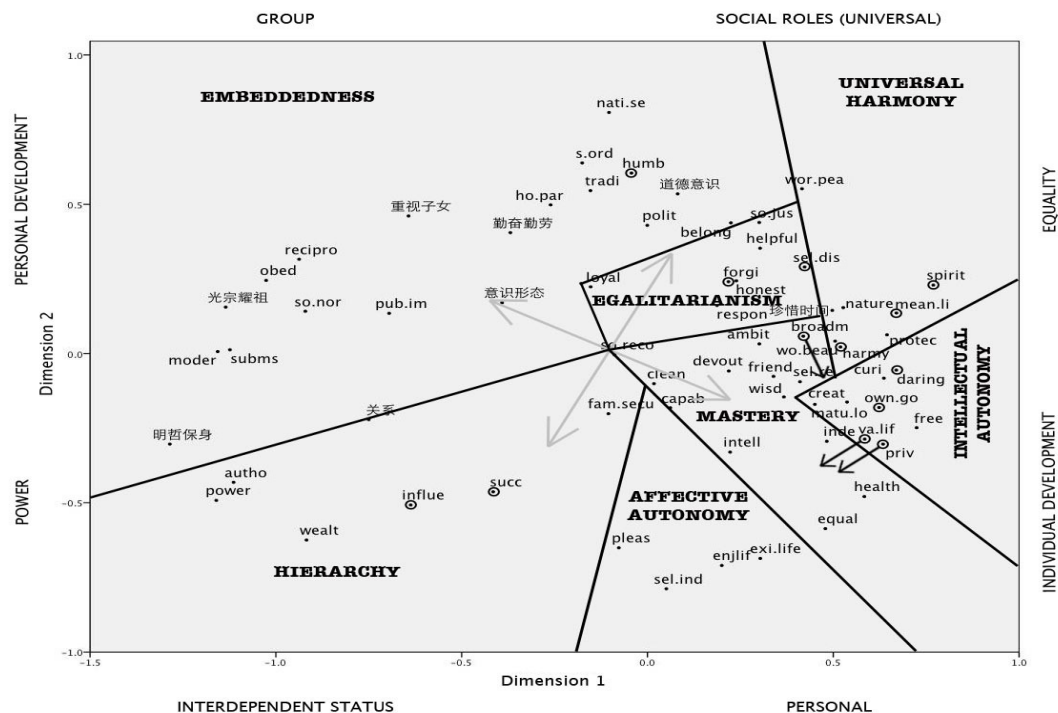


Figure 11.2. 2009G Classic SVS Scale Rating MDS Map

The data was re-ran to check this, strictly following Schwartz's data processing procedures (Littrell & Schwartz, 2007). Hoping to improve the results, the original 87 cases were re-examined (1) for no missing values, and (2) for instances where the frequency of any given item exceeded 35, such that 10 cases were deleted (reflecting the positive ratings, 8 of them had given the full 7-point rating to more than 35 items). His other guideline (3) to conduct subscale analysis will be done below. This step was simplified since this data did not need item-by-item interpretation like the emic sets did and could follow the standard Schwartz key (though a new key will be proposed in Chapter 12). Analysis of these "cleaned" 77 cases, both in raw and z-score form, yielded virtually the same item maps and coordinate locations (z-score version shown in Figure 11.2 for comparison purposes). In conducting this procedure, however, I learned that PROXSCAL calculates an optimal scaling factor to minimize Normalized Raw Stress, and noted that the x-axis scaling factor for the raw data was 1.015 and for z-scores 1.045, thus providing one explanation for the maps extending to -1.5.

Though the map is inverted from most published maps (which can happen in MDS analysis, there being no way to enter a marker point), the sequence is consistent with his theory: Embeddedness borders Hierarchy, which borders Mastery (though collapsed and split partially between the two versions of Autonomy), followed by Affective then Intellectual Autonomy, which is close to Egalitarianism (lower rated and minimized), then Universal Harmony, before competing the circle

to Embeddedness. A 45-degree rotation to the left would put the items in similar quadrants in a mirror image to Schwartz's maps (e.g., Figure 3.8). So, using his procedures has shown the expected theoretical associations with some possibly cultural features shown for this sample group.

Consistent with all Chinese data sets in these studies, there is a strong cultural emphasis on Embeddedness and Hierarchy. In fact almost all of the indigenous items locate clearly in the broad Embeddedness region. But, the **rating** of **all** items has strengthened the relative emphasis on those "second-level" value items that do not appear as often when freely generated. **Only** with this rating method do Affective and Intellectual Autonomy and Universal Harmony reflect more distinct, extended domains, most likely due to more the equitable rating possible through considering **all** comparable items on the survey form (no missing values).

Yet, comparing with the free-listed item map of Figure 11.1, these perhaps more "Western" or "modern" items are stronger and more pronounced (larger areas and further from center) than in previous samples at the culture level. This may be due to this time period, 2009 representing a more modernized, globalized China, or to the female sample being more receptive to such values, or to their being graduate students in a language- and culture-oriented program, having thus read more internationally and perhaps having developed a more complex awareness of more varied value options and priorities.

However, post-survey feedback suggested that doing this exercise was much harder than the first. Some respondents commented that a few of the terms felt somewhat foreign, even though well-expressed in Chinese. Several felt it was more academic than authentic, making respondents grapple at the meta-communication level of categories that "may not necessarily be in our own minds."

These are instructive comments for how the results of these surveys might be employed to render survey items more as more typical cultural expressions. Future work should take the freely-generated phrases from this project and adapt the most frequently repeated ones into a emically derived Schwartz survey form, then test its reliability in comparison to the Littrell-provided translation. But even with the existing item and translation limitations, the results derived are satisfactory, consistent with theory, and enlightening.

11.2.4 Comparing emic-in-etic SVS “Top 20” Rankings

It remained to be seen how these “value priorities” work out if students are asked to rate them specifically on the Schwartz 58 etic + 8 emic item list. The purpose of this exercise was to see if providing a “referenced” list provided more consistent or clearer results as opposed to the “out of thin air,” open list technique. Also, in case the previous list conversion method to numeric data scores (the 0, 10-20 scaling) might have brought in any distortion of the data, I decided to use the more traditional ranking conversion for this data, starting at 1 and going up to 20, and then marking all non-ranked items as 0. This was done to also help fill in the “not-ranked *versus* ranked” gap, since all items *were* clearly seen, evaluated, and scored. Further, this procedure was done last, so that after carrying out the other two procedures, respondents had gained a good awareness of what items were listed to be able to rank them effectively. Students needed 10-20 minutes to do this procedure, some seeming to have gained a better grasp of the whole list quicker, and others still wrestling with differentiation between items.

To see the impact of such a ranking, the raw data is first plotted in Figure 11.3 (an interesting contrast to Figure 9.1). This shows again the inordinately strong distribution of highly ranked items (those getting near 20 top points) that have in this study been shown to reflect the two Chinese cultural variations of Embeddedness. And consistent with previous samples, the next important domain is Hierarchy, followed by the cluster of Egalitarianism items.

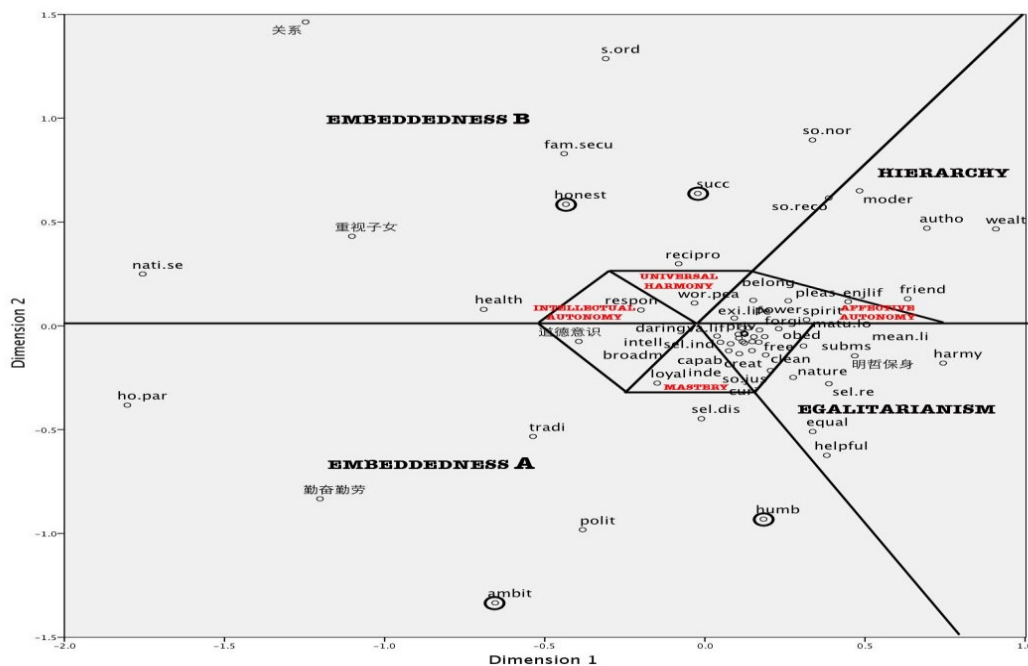


Figure 11.3. 2009G Referenced SVS “Top 10” Ranking “Raw” Data MDS Map

Those closer to Hierarchy (Egalitarianism-B) were again represented by friendship and mature love, along with what in the West might be construed as “self-actualization” values. These are imbued here instead with tones of “relational satisfaction:” “a meaningful life,” “spiritual life” and “inner harmony.” Again, in hindsight, the completion of a self-construal scale would have helped (and is recommend for future studies) to determine if this apparent self-with-other perception could be statistically confirmed or correlated.

Post-survey feedback suggested that this was the hardest of the three steps, picking out then focusing on ranking 20 items from the 66. However, some felt the filtering process was more “scientific” this way, even though they had a hard time “finding themselves” in the items listed (improvements for more colloquial translations was suggested, as noted above). The map and fit scores are amazingly within the same range as the earlier probes, even though the method used was quite different, suggesting a large degree of triangulation in the findings.

11.2.5 Findings from Ranking, Rating, and emic-in-etic Rankings

Three different methods have been utilized. The statistics for each are not reported, as they did not show discernable differences in sampling advantages. From those statistics or from the maps shown, it is hard at this point to argue for the superiority of one method over the other. Choice of method seems to depend partly on the research goals. It is clear that the free-form “top 10” listing and extended reference list “top 20” ranking produced virtually the same values picture, which seems to confirm the validity of the earlier list-conversion procedures

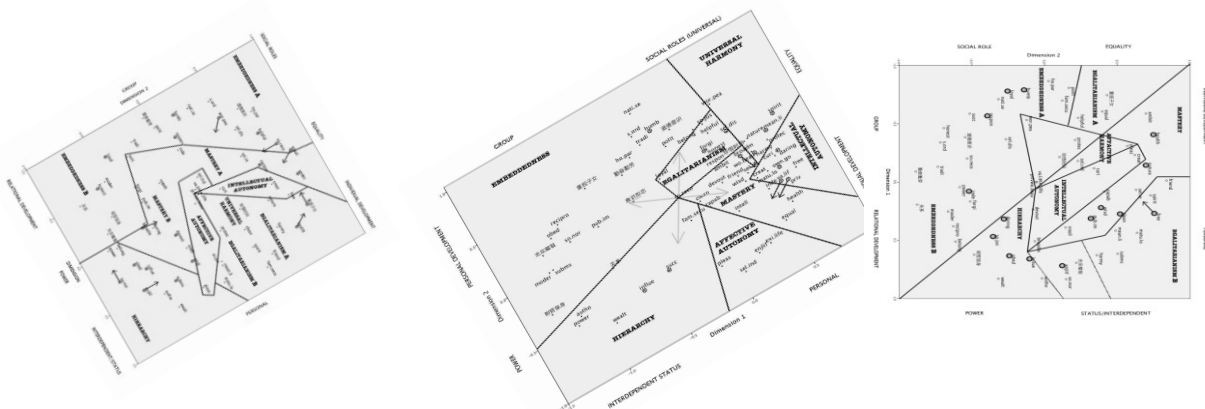


Figure 11.5. Listing, Rating, Ranking MDS Map Comparison

into pseudo-rank order (detailed in Chapters 9 and 10). Whether “estimated-ranked” or “hard-ranked,” the same associations are reflected in each sample producing very similar dimensional maps. We can conclude that the same general pattern persists despite sampling techniques once the dimensions are duly aligned.

11.3 Evaluating “Goodness of Fit” of MDS Methodologies

“Top-10” data, with all its missing values, does not facilitate “the frequently applied technique for addressing construct equivalence” (Harman, 1976; Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997:90) of exploratory factor analysis (EFA). We thus cannot conduct multiple rotations or indexes of factorial agreement across these cultural groups to determine if there are “better fit” solutions. This analysis is limited to the two dimensions of the MDS structural analysis maps. Ideally further rotations of a full-rated set of data would yield increasingly better “structural fit” ratings for such coefficients. With 66 variables, more “factors” might provide better results than the x-by-y 2-dimensional plots that Turgerson MDS allows. However, Stephen Borgatti (1997) notes that it is not necessary (and almost impossible) for an MDS map to have zero stress to be useful. A certain amount of distortion is tolerable and expected.

“Kruskal Stress” (Kruskal, 1978, which is also called “Stress Formula 1” or just Stress 1) calculation standards suggest that any coefficient under 0.1 is excellent and levels should ideally be below 0.15. Generally, my raw data plots hovered around the upper end confidence level (which is already amazing given the many 0 responses and wide range of point spreads with this type of hit-and-miss “top 10” data). Obviously manipulating the data with the z-score standardization procedure makes the Stress 1 levels roughly double, so those scores are in the 0.31-0.35 range. Yet Stress 1 coefficients are only one of the many calculations used to determine the goodness of fit (Schwartz uses “degree of alienation” in his SSA package) and may not be the best indicator for they type of data presented here.

The conditions of a common theoretically based “target matrix” were sought (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997:90), which in this case was Schwartz’s SSA model. Since this was also mathematically derived with the recommended z-score standardization (“The data are usually standardized per cultural group before the analysis in order to remove unwanted cross-cultural differences in level, e.g., due to response sets,” 1997:91), it seems this data qualifies for estimations of factorial agreement, like Tucker’s phi (Tucker, 1951). This phi is labeled “the coefficient of proportionality” by Zegers and Ten Berge (1985) because it is insensitive to multiplications of the factor loadings and seems to work well on proportionally plotted data (MDS). My data procedure I adopted reflected such scale “proportionality” (0 for no response, 1.0-

1.9 for the ranked responses, then multiplied by 10 for entry as explained in Section 9.4.2.1). Thus, Tucker's coefficient of agreement was deemed to be a helpful comparative fit statistic. Perfect agreement would be score 1.0. The "rules of thumb" for this coefficient suggest that, "values higher than .95 are seen as evidence for factorial similarity, whereas values lower than .90" point to incongruities (van de Vijver & Leung, 1997:92). Table 10.1 reports the fit coefficients (highlighting the best values). Encouragingly, the Tucker's phi for all these MDS maps was in the .985 plus range, and for the z-score adjustments (the method primarily used for mapping here) in the .936-.979 range. We can conclude that enough factorial similarity exists for discussion of dimensions.

Table 11.1. "Fit" Coefficients for all MDS Maps: Stress 1 & Tucker's phi

Year	Stress 1 for raw data	Stress 1 for z-scores	Tucker's coefficient for raw data	Tucker's coefficient for z-scores
1995-1997 adult cultural	0.15701	0.31607	0.98759	0.94873
2000 undergraduate individual	0.14743	0.31267	0.98907	0.94986
2003 adult cultural	0.16779	0.32392	0.98582	0.94608
2007 undergrad/grad individual	0.12646	0.33593	0.99197	0.94189
2009 undergraduate cultural	0.13359	0.32862	0.99104	0.94446
2009 undergraduate individual	0.13280	0.32580	0.99114	0.94544
2009 graduate cultural top ten	0.13968	0.35007	0.99020	0.93672
2009 grad individual-Level open top ten	0.17685	0.35406	0.98424	0.93522
2009 graduate Level-SVS sheet 20 ranking	0.22502	0.35342	0.97435	0.93546
2009 graduate Level-SVS sheet rating (rerun*)	0.12185 (.12259)	0.20121 (.20677)	0.99255 (.99246)	0.97955 (.97839)
9597-03-09-09 culture combined	0.15721	0.33187	0.98756	0.94332
00-07-09-09 individual combined	0.14727	0.32675	0.98910	0.94511

*the 2009 grads were all first run N=87 and then as a cleaned N=77 rerun.

As could be predicted, the best coefficient of fit was using the Likert-scale rating procedure most commonly used with the SVS (note the lowest 0.12 Stress 1 for the raw MDS run and 0.20 for the z-score version, and highest Tucker's scores at .9925 and .9796, respectively). Amazingly, the

larger sample first run had better fit scores than the slightly smaller cleaned sample. Comparatively, my hypothesis that using presented list for rankings (directly ranking on the Schwartz scale and expanding the list to 20 items) did NOT increase the accuracy of rank data, and in fact produced the worst fit coefficients of all (Stress 1 at .22 and .25 respectively and the lowest Tucker's phi at .974 and .935, respectively – the row shown in italics). Perhaps having students seek to rank a their Top 20 values with such a “complete” list of values muddled their thinking or confounded differentiation, while the more “off the top of the head” recording that the open-listing produces seems to be a better, or at least more consistent, reading of the cultural values script in people's minds.

No great differences are noted for specific sets, though the 2000 and 2007 individual level sets had slightly lower stress levels by both measurements (Stress 1 and Tucker's). As one might expect, the lowest stress scores were obtained for the z-scores of the combined individual MDS maps (the most diverse samples). Set-by-set, it seems that asking students to provide their own values items provides a slightly better picture of value item relations than asking them to estimate culture level perceptions (though this was not true, and in fact, inversed, for the 2009 graduate students). But again, such differences are negligible – asking them to rate at either level produced quite similar stress fit margins (see Appendix 6 for the complete SPSS stress fit printouts).

Considering the “values change” and “values matrix” hypothesis put forth here, it can be noted from these statistics that the earlier data generally had better stress fit scores (lower Stress 1, and higher Tucker's phi). This suggests that the values structure was slightly more homogenous or integrated (better fitting) at the turn of the last century and has become more complex (slightly harder to fit the relations together) with increased opening, development, and modernization. But such a conclusion is at best marginal: the “Stress 1 fit” of z-scores were almost the same in the culture-level 1995-97 data and 2000 individual data at its desired lowest (0.316 and 0.312, respectively), with Tucker's coefficient the desired highest (with 0.9487 and 0.9489, respectively), and seem to creep up year by year.

2009 graduate students have an apparently more complex and less-easy to fit value structure, with culture- and individual-data registering the highest Stress 1 scores (0.350 and 0.351) and lowest Tucker's coefficient fit (0.937 and 0.936) – almost identical no matter at which level data was elicited. This was a surprising outcome of these studies, but consistent throughout the data sets. Overall, we see marginal values-fit decreases year by year, and also decreases with higher education levels, suggesting greater cognitive complexity or greater international exposure. Data collected the same week with the same procedures at the 2nd tier college level were determined to be slightly better fitting with lower 0.33 Stress 1 fit and higher 0.945 Tucker's phi. These provide

some initial clues about how increasing globalization and education might be affecting values structures.

11.4 Mapping the Submatrix of Clusters and Most-rated Items

...it makes sense to extract the submatrix corresponding to a given cluster and re-run the MDS on the submatrix. (In some cases, however, you will want to re-run the data collection instead.)

Stephen Borgatti (1997:online, “Interpretation”)

For a true culture-level analysis of items, Shalom Schwartz and his associates reanalyzed the domain placement of all 58 items and determined that only 45 (later 46) had domain fit ratings (in predicted or adjacent domains) consistently over 70%, and thus selected those to map out his (cross-)cultural framework of values relations. These items were thus considered to have near-equivalence of meaning across cultures (e.g., Schwartz, 2006) and established the basis of his “culture-level” theory and 7 domains. Borgatti (1997) also encouraged the analysis of items in the submatrix. Since a fairly consistent set of items and domains have been identified throughout Chapters 9-11, it was decided that the less-rated items should be removed for such analysis. Analysis of all these maps suggested that besides unstable items, the lesser-rated domains of Intellectual and Affective Autonomy and Universal Autonomy items also had sufficient grounds for removal (those located in the less-rated inner circle of all maps). 36 of our expanded Schwartz list of 66 items met the consistent-across-samples criteria. These were extracted from the combined sets of “culture-level” elicited data and analyzed using z-score standardization to produce the MDS map in Figure 11.6.

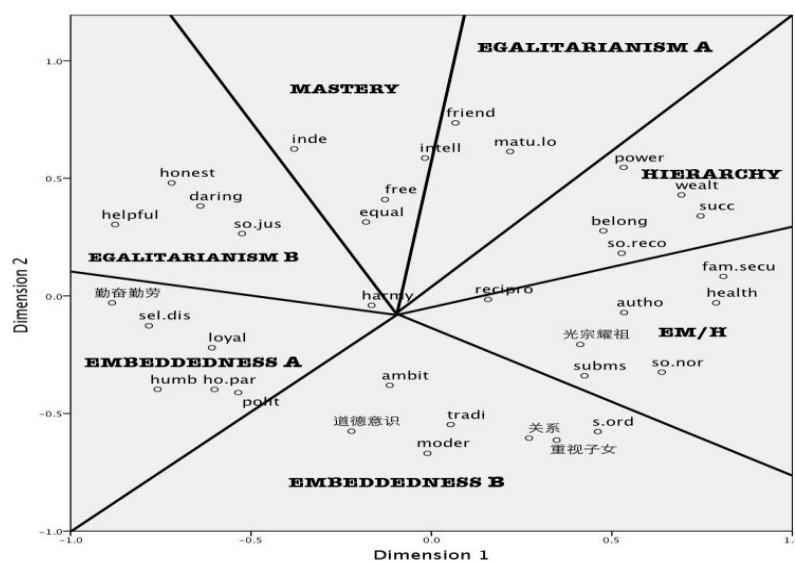


Figure 11.6. Extracted Culture-Consistent High-Frequency Items Z-Score Domains

This step was also considered necessary to answer two questions. (1) Were the mobile, unstable, less-well-fit items causing some of the structural fit stress noted in Section 11.3 and Table 11.1? (2) If unstable items were removed, would the more-highly rated, stable items continue to form the same clusters as discussed above?

The map produced is 180 degrees inverted from previous maps (top/bottom flip), but reflects the same highly-rated clusters. This can be seen whether domain lines are drawn as they are above, or grouped as clusters as below. And as predicted, the structural fit levels improved greatly, Stress 1 decreasing to 0.2763 (originally 0.3319 with the 66 items) and Tucker's phi up to 0.9611 (from 0.9433). There is clearly fairly high sample agreement on these items.

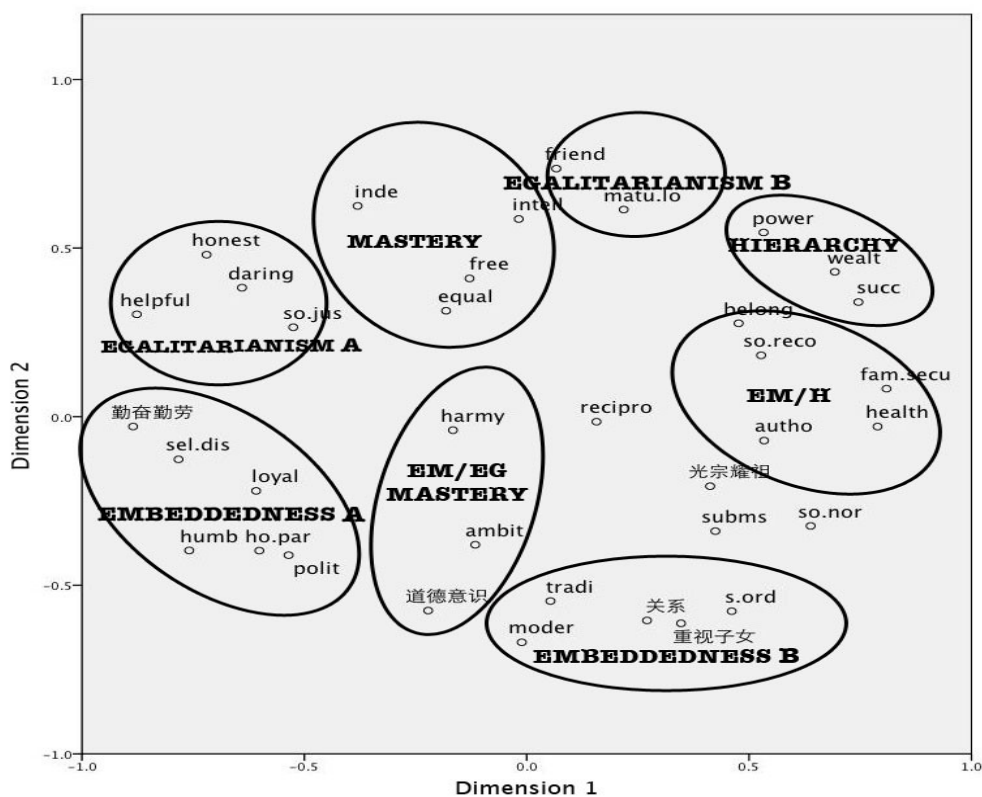


Figure 11.7. Extracted Culture-Consistent High-Frequency Item Z-Score Clusters

This procedure effectively removed clutter; the consistent “Chinese value” domains for these samples deem to be more clearly expressed. Two variations of Egalitarianism on either side of Mastery values are confirmed. The Hierarchy cluster is clear, bordered by the proposed Embedded Hierarchy set. This in turn borders the more public larger grouping of Embeddedness-B items; and moving toward Egalitarianism are the more personal Embeddedness-A items.

One question was whether this procedure would reveal the same results at the individual level. As realized in the individual-level work of Chapter 9, the z-score MDS output for the individual composite 36 items was likewise hard to map with linear domains without compromising cultures. Figure 11.8 presents the individual cluster mapping.

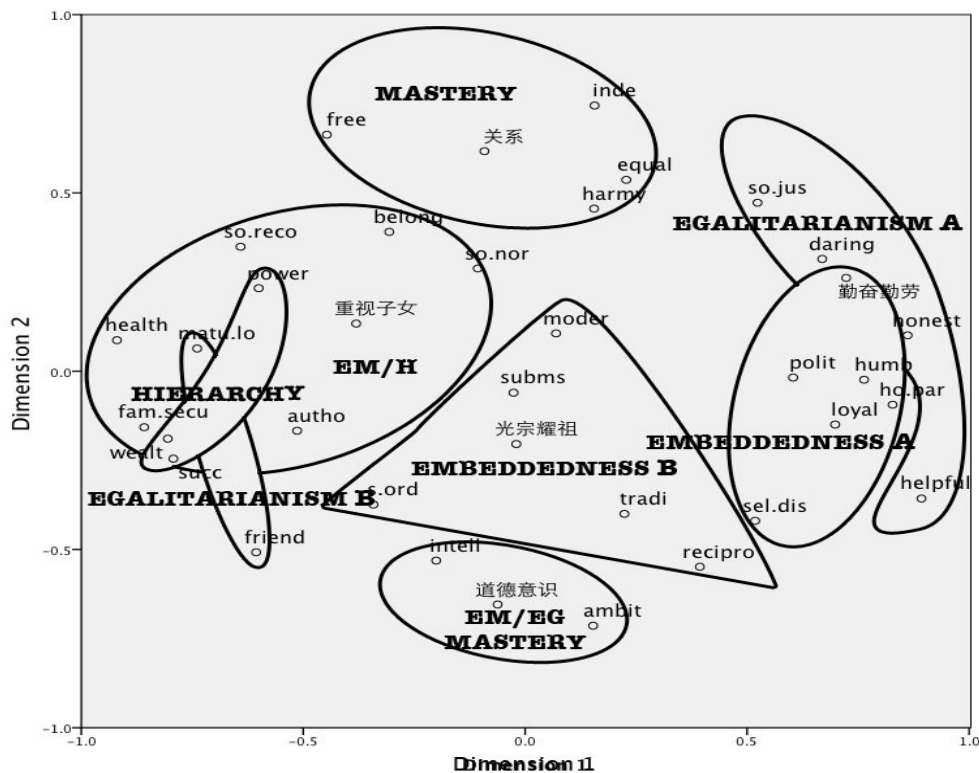


Figure 11.8. Extracted Individual-level High Frequency Items z-score MDS Clusters

The Embeddedness split was the one theoretically predicted prior to this study. The results derived show “set integrity” (the same items still group together in the same clusters) and confirm to the “cultural logic” as I am able to understand it. There are a few items that it would help for cultural insiders to comment further on (like why “family security” and “reciprocation” consistently locate with with more hierarchical items?). I suspect that when we think of the broader conception of reciprocation or “*guanxi*” (or exchange relationships in general) there are several types: the hard/cold/required “I need to pay back favors, especially in superior-inferior settings” (hierarchy) versus the more affective loyalty-driven *guanxi*, “of course I’ll help you – you and I have commitments, and I can count on you to help me if I ever need it too.” The latter “*guanxi*” item seems to locate consistently with “freedom,” “equality,” and “harmony,” supporting this conclusion in part.

And I also suspect from the literature reviewed in Chapter 5 and 6 that “family” values have not been split out carefully enough (due to decisions made to maintain the Schwartz list integrity as much as possible). Items like sacrificing for “family security” might be more hierarchical/required, whereas “loyalty,” “self-discipline,” “honoring parents” all seem to be more affective/willing/it-goes-without-saying types of family relations. Yet in these data sets, the *Connections* (hierarchical/outgroup - Em-B) vs. *Relations* (affective/ ingroup Em-A) distinction seems to be born out. Some Schwartz phrasings might appear puzzling to cultural insiders, but this study shows that when related terms are generated, they generally plot out in the predicted regions.

And as for the structural stress of these maps, an unexpected finding was that the individual level actually statistically fits better than the culture level (though culture-level items fit better with meaning-associated clusters). Table 10.2 reports the comparative stress statistics for the original full-level analysis as compared to this Schwartz-type cross-sample (“culture”-level) analysis of meaningfully consistent more-highly-rated items (the 36).

Table 11.2. Comparisons of Structural Fit in MDS “Sample-Culture” Selected Items

Year and SVS Item Style	Stress 1 for raw data	Stress 1 for z-scores	Tucker's coefficient for raw data	Tucker's coefficient for z-scores
66-item Composite Culture-level	0.1572	0.33187	0.98756	0.94332
36-item Composite Culture-level	0.15091	0.27627	0.98855	0.96108
66-item Composite Individual-level	0.14727	0.32675	0.98910	0.94511
36-item Composite Individual-level	0.13575	0.26534	0.99074	0.96416

The highlighted **bold** scores show improvements on the original procedure. Stress 1 scores for raw data have been reduced below the recommended 0.15 threshold and even z-scores have come down considerably from their 0.33 level to 0.27. Tucker’s coefficients have improved, with the individual level now above 0.99 moving closer to the 1.0 perfect-fit standard. The stress scores overall might be higher than desired, but as the following section shows, the distance relations are still meaningful and useful.

11.5 Summarizing Findings: Item-Domain Associations and Dimensions

11.5.1 Interpreting and Comparing the Multi-probe SVS MDS Maps

Care must be exercised in interpreting any map that has non-zero stress since, by definition, non-zero stress means that some or all of the distances in the map are, to some degree, distortions of the input data...[yet] larger patterns are still visible even when stress is high.

Stephen Borgatti (1997:online, "Interpretation")

As reported in Section 11.3, the "top 10" listing procedure certainly did not produce "zero stress," but rather high, yet basically acceptable levels of "stress fit," especially taking into the consideration the large number of missing values. Furthermore, the basic MDS domain and dimensional patterns of each sample, and especially the combined sample composites for both culture- and individual-level scores, turned out remarkably similar. This is especially noted when the two maps are placed side by side. Note that because of the stronger ratings of both Egalitarianism-A and Embeddedness-A items at the individual level (the map on the right), the MDS plot automatically adjusted to a 1.5 scale (wider to the left) to show the points clearly. That should be kept in mind when comparing the two maps of Figure 11.9.

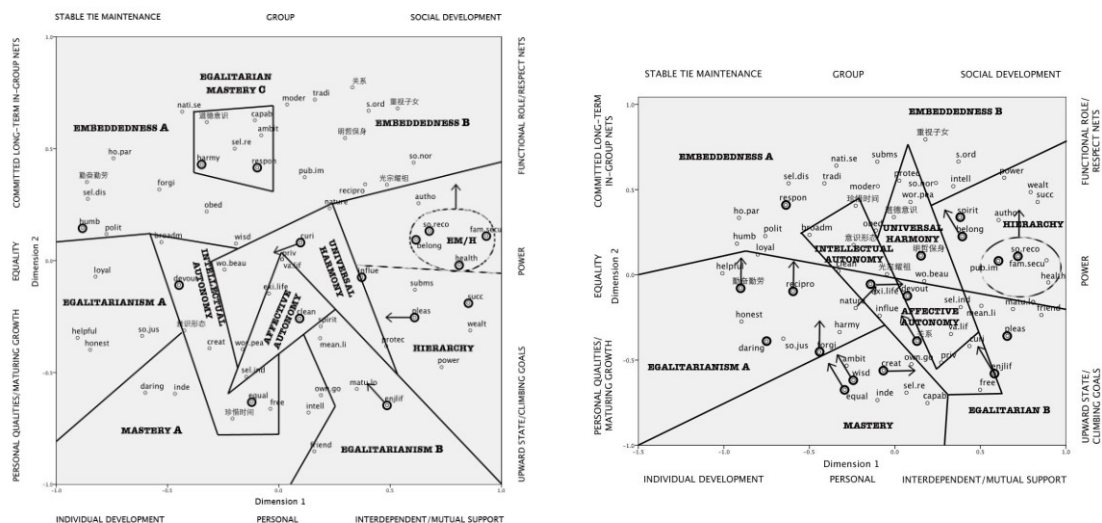


Figure 11.9. Comparison of Composite Maps at the Culture-Level and Individual-Level

11.6 Reconsidering SVS Items that Consistently Relocated

As was noted in the discussion following the mapping key (Table 9.2), some items on the SVS have been shown even in Schwartz’s work to be cross-culturally variable, locating in different regions across cultures. Here I review the maps produced and highlight those items that have turned out to be translocational in these Chinese samples. This is important toward developing a dimensional chart that is relevant to the Chinese context for domain area score calculations. This analysis starts first with the composite all-sample map for culture-level responses (N=285 valid cases, Aged from 17 to 45, Mean Age=24.50, F=189 and M=96) and then discusses some of the variations noted in specific samples. The discussion logic refers back to the pages where item moves were postulated (Sec. 9.3.2 and Table 9.3) as a check for how accurate those predictions turned out to be. This discussion follows Schwartz’s item order (1992) on which the earlier “transitional item” list was based (as well as the related discussion in Appendix 3). Reference to specific samples is primarily at the culture-level of elicited data as those proved to be more consistent and stable. But a table of MDS map coordinates will be provided for each cluster including the items under discussion, both at cultural- and individual-levels, to give statistical weight to the cluster assignments (see the complete tables Appendix 7 and 8 respectively).

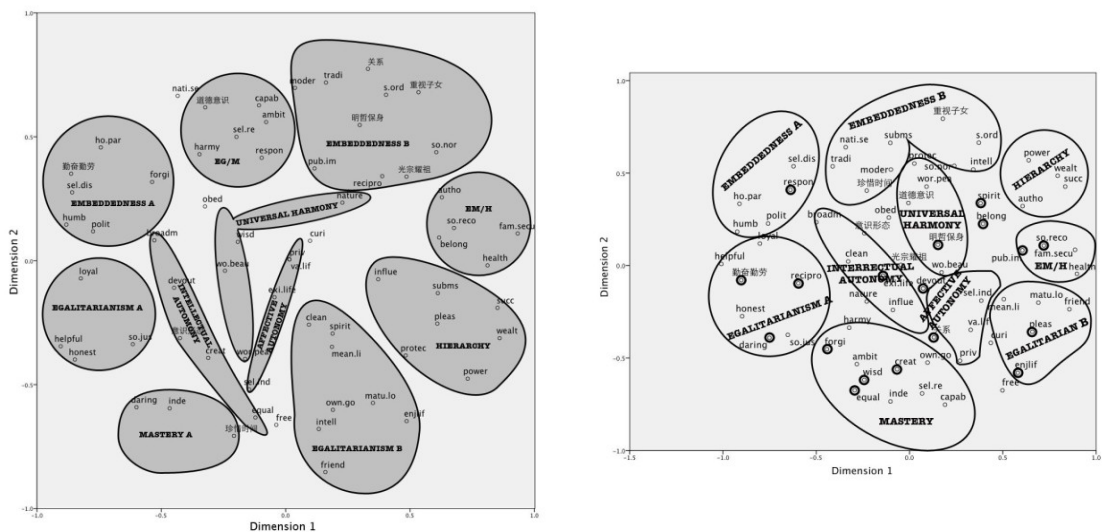


Figure 11.10. Comparison of Composite MDS Culture- and Individual-Level Clusters

11.6.1.1 The Embeddedness-A cluster:

Noting first the biggest Chinese self-rated region (which is consistently divided into two associated regions) we start with the upper half of each map - Embeddedness. In the left hand quadrant, representing a more equal, yet role-related, socially- or at least group-contexted type of Embeddedness (A), we find the first hypothesized variant, “humble.” Though it might have been

expected to locate on the opposite side of the map under Hierarchy, in most samples (except 2003 where it located at the border of Mastery/Egalitarianism, yet near “self-discipline”) it is a fairly steady component of this type of Embeddedness.

“Humble” is consistently near “self-discipline,” the indigenous item 勤奋勤劳 (diligence/hard work), “honoring parents,” “politeness,” “forgiveness,” potentially including “obedience,” and not far from “national security” and the indigenous item 道德意识 (moral sensitivity) (e.g., in both 2009 samples). Further analysis suggests that, at the culture-level, “morality” joins a new Embedded/Egalitarian/Mastery composite set discussed below (Section 11.5.2.9). “Loyal” is also nearby.

This set of terms provides a interesting picture of the linkage of personal/ disciplined/ engaged/ moral qualities needed to maintain important and committed relationship functions such as guest-oriented politeness (*keqi* 客气) and honoring (*zunjing* 尊敬, respect) of parents/elders/superiors and the country. The confirming coordinates are shown in Table 11.3.

Table 11.3. Coordinates for Embeddedness-A (Em-A)

Em-A	Cultural Composite		Individual Composite	
	Dimension 1	Dimension 2	Dimension 1	Dimension 2
T36-humble (was H)	-.882	.146	-.923	.183
C20-self-discipline	-.858	.276	-.622	.537
C11-politeness	-.774	.119	-.758	.227
C40-honor parents/elders	-.743	.457	-.912	.334
NC64 勤奋勤劳	-.862	.351	-.902	-.078
[B33-loyal]	-.824	-.071	-.802	.119

11.6.1.2 The Hierarchy cluster – more complex than initially thought:

The next postulated mover was “social recognition.” Theoretically it is a Mastery value, but it associated in various locations here, from the border of Intellectual and Affective Autonomy (1995-97), in Egalitarianism (2009 tech group), though still not far from Hierarchy values like “power”, “wealth”, and another Mastery mover, “success” (also usually locating in or near Hierarchy), and always close to “submission” (theoretically an Embeddedness value, but in Chinese samples also often near or in Hierarchy), and for whatever reason, near “health” (another Embedded value that locates in Hierarchy near Power and Wealth).

These items each seem to represent personal attitudes, qualities, or goals (submission, health, wealth) that enable one to gain power, authority for oneself in conjunction with one’s group to

gain social recognition, success and status, and enjoy some hedonistic “pleasure” (usually located in this set, though it might still be considered an Affective item in Appendix 9). If one has such hierarchical standing, one is then in a position to be more focused on the nearby universal values, especially “protecting the environment” and conversely, “enjoy life” (a theoretically Affective value transplanted in Egalitarianism-B often near this cluster).

Though “authority” would also normally be part of this hierarchical set, it is either assumed (and not written down) or only occasionally appears (e.g., only recently, in both 2009 samples). The surprisingly seldom-rated Mastery value “influence,” if mentioned, also locates here. The Embedded value of “family security” was consistently here or nearby. “Sense of belonging” is another Embeddedness item that located (2003, both 2009) in or right on the border of Hierarchy values in almost every sample (except 1995-97 where it was on the Egalitarianism/ Embeddedness border opposite Hierarchy). This “social recognition,” “sense of belonging,” “family security” cluster seemed consistent enough to postulate an **Embedded/Hierarchy transition domain** (near Embeddedness-B value items). It took the composite coordinate scores to clear up these assignments and provide a basis for clear differentiation of these clusters, as shown by Tables 11.4 and 11.5.

Table 11.4 Coordinates for the Proposed Embedded Hierarchy (Em/H)

Embedded Hierarchy (Em/H)	Cultural Composite		Individual Composite	
	Dimension 1	Dimension 2	Dimension 1	Dimension 2
X23-social recognition (was Em)	.677	.132	.720	.108
[H4-pleasure (was A)]	.610	-.254	.658	-.358
P27-authority (was H)	.628	.256	.606	.321
X7-sense of belonging (was Em)	.617	.093	.394	.226
T44-accepting my portion in life/submission (was Eg)	.612	-.131	-.103	.664

Though these items can still be technically considered a part of Hierarchy, at least at the cultural level, they show consistent similarities as a distinct bordering region with strong Embeddedness qualities. More research should consider how hierarchical relations are understood in Chinese contexts at varying individualized or collective levels. The core set of Hierarchy values listed in Table 11.5 is shown to be tightly associated at both levels.

Table 11.5. Coordinates for Hierarchy (H)

Hierarchy (H)	Cultural Composite		Individual Composite	
	Dimension 1	Dimension 2	Dimension 1	Dimension 2
SE22-family security (was Em)	.933	.110	.887	.085
A55-successful (was M)	.852	-.190	.834	.427
P12-wealth	.860	-.313	.794	.485
X42-healthy (was Em)	.812	-.019	.897	-.045
P3-social power	.732	-.476	.639	.570

11.6.1.3 The close relation of Mastery, Egalitarianism, and Intellectual Autonomy clusters:

“Intelligent” is usually considered a Mastery value and generally locates there, though in these samples it is often near the Intellectual Autonomy values of “creative” and “broadminded” (and sometimes “curious,” but it is more moveable). In 2003 “intelligent” even located on the edge of Hierarchy and Egalitarianism, near another Intellectual Autonomy rover “freedom” (which was sometimes in Egalitarianism and others in Mastery). In the individual composite, it is reinterpreted as being on the Embeddedness B/ Hierarchy border (“intelligence” interpreted as a social climbing value?)!

Mastery values in every sample occupy a stronger-rated position than Autonomy clusters, with core items like “independent” (only in 2009 tech did it link with “freedom”) and “daring” (which roved, but mostly on the Mastery/Egalitarianism-A border) usually having higher frequencies. In 1995-97 “daring” was in Hierarchy (dare to go after power-wealth-success?), in 2003 in Egalitarianism, and almost always near “honest,” “helpful,” and “humble” – does one need to dare to develop these character qualities in a context that normally just pushes outer success?

“Choosing own goals” was quite stable in Mastery (except in 2003 moving to Hierarchy). Swing items like “intelligence” and the indigenous “treasuring time” value (珍惜时间) located almost equally near the Intellectual and Affective Autonomy borders (or close to Egalitarianism-B value items), but were not construed in this set the individual level. In summary, coordinates in Table 11.6 confirm at least five core Mastery items.

“Ambition” is one of those roving items that seems to help form the core of a blended set (see the **Embeddedness/Egalitarianism/Mastery** cluster explanation below). “Self-respect” is another Mastery value (1995-97, 2009 grad) that also wandered as predicted, sometimes to Intellectual Autonomy (2003) or to nearby Embeddedness (2009 tech, and in the composite).

Table 11.6. Coordinates for Mastery (M)

Mastery (M)	Cultural Composite		Individual Composite	
	Dimension 1	Dimension 2	Dimension 1	Dimension 2
ST37-daring (was M)	-.600	-.591	-.751	-.390
SD32-independent	-.466	-.596	-.102	-.735
SD41-choosing own goals	.190	-.602	.097	-.525
SD5-freedom (was I)	-.038	-.662	.498	-.675
U1-equality	-.122	-.633	-.294	-.674
X48-intelligent	.133	-.679	.341	.520
[N65 珍惜时间 (treasuring time)]	-.208	-.707	-.229	.405

11.6.1.4 The Intellectual Autonomy cluster:

“Broadmindedness” was part of the stable core of Intellectual Autonomy as one of the higher-rated of these items and as predicted, located close to the Egalitarianism or Embeddedness border in each sample (in some samples close to “social justice” and “equality”). “Creative” located here as predicted, “freedom” sometimes (though rated more with Mastery items) and “curious” was in or near, though apparently more in Affective Autonomy.

Unexpected and unpredicted, “devout” usually located in Intellectual Autonomy, near its original Embeddedness border but near Affective Autonomy and in 2009 in Egalitarianism near Harmony values. The indigenous item “ideological awareness” seemed to fit here, but analysis of all sets (Appendix 9) suggested it could also fit in Universal Harmony. “Wisdom” was also a hard variable item to place, but Appendix 9 also shows it fit this set, as well as “treasuring time.” These cluster candidates are shown in Table 11.7

Table 11.7. Coordinates for Intellectual Autonomy (I)

Intellectual Autonomy (I)	Cultural Composite		Individual Composite	
	Dimension 1	Dimension 2	Dimension 1	Dimension 2
U35-broadminded	-.528	.082	-.499	.234
SD16-creativity	-.311	-.392	-.067	-.560
T51-devout (was Em)	-.448	-.109	.073	-.124
N65 珍惜时间 (treasuring time)	-.208	-.707	-.229	.405
U26-wisdom (was Em)	-.193	.076	-.243	-.618
[NC61 意识形态 (ideological awareness)]	-.425	-.313	-.242	.175

11.6.1.5 The Affective Autonomy cluster:

Though not at all a clearly integrated cluster and lowly rated, "self-indulgence" and "privacy" were more often-generated than one might expect in Chinese culture, more than other Affective items like "an exciting life" or "a varied life" (which were nearly zero in most samples), and as predicted they closely bordered Intellectual Autonomy and Egalitarianism respectively. Though "pleasure" and "enjoying life" overall had quite strong ratings, they did not usually locate with other Affective items, but in or near the borders of Egalitarianism (2003, 2009 tech), Hierarchy (2009 grads), or Egalitarianism/Mastery (1995-97). Both showed a strong structural link with Hierarchy/Power in the composite samples. In the composite sets, "curiosity" also crossed the border from Intellectual Autonomy with more Affective or Universal Harmony associations.

Table 11.8. Coordinates for Affective Autonomy (A)

Affective Autonomy (A)	Cultural Composite		Individual Composite	
	Dimension 1	Dimension 2	Dimension 1	Dimension 2
H57-self-indulgent	-.146	-.519	.384	-.189
H4-pleasure	.610	-.254	.658	-.358
ST9-an exciting life	-.045	-.148	-.143	-.054
SD53-curious	.098	.080	.436	-.418
[ST25-a varied life]	.015	.005	.328	-.347
[X21-privacy]	.015	.005	.271	-.515

In 1995-97, the Egalitarianism item "a spiritual life" (and its close counterpart, "meaning in life") located in this Affective domain and was always nearby. "Wisdom" was also always in or near these or Universal Harmony items. But Appendix 9 shows that there is some basis to place them with Intellectual Autonomy items, along with "privacy" and "a varied life."

11.6.1.6 The Egalitarianism-A cluster (Developmental/social-related roles):

One of the surprising discoveries of this study was the appearance of two expressions of Egalitarianism, separated in most samples by Mastery items. This first type (Eg-A) also bordered Embeddedness, constituting what seemed to be more of a classic individual-oriented, yet socially practiced type of Egalitarianism with personal developmental qualities like "loyal," "honest," and "helpful" (all highly rated, though occasionally moved to type Eg-A or Eg-B).

Table 11.9. Coordinates for Egalitarianism-A (Eg-A)

Egalitarianism-A (Eg-A)	Cultural Composite		Individual Composite	
	Dimension 1	Dimension 2	Dimension 1	Dimension 2
B45-honest	-.847	-.399	-.897	-.274
B49-helpful	-.904	-.345	-1.009	.009
B33-loyal	-.824	-.071	-.802	.119
U30-social justice	-.614	-.337	-.652	-.374
[U1-equality]	-.122	-.633	-.294	-.674

“Social justice” (and its occasional counterpart “equality”) did not vary as much as potentially predicted (only in 2009 tech was it in Hierarchy), but stayed close whether on the Eg-A or Eg-B border) to Intellectual Autonomy items like “broadmindedness” and “creativity” as noted above. Of all the sets, only the 2009 data lacks this Eg-A-B differentiation, though “loyal,” “honesty,” and “inner harmony” still appear together (in 2009 tech) closely in Embeddedness next to Mastery items. Table 11.9 coordinates confirm these assignments.

11.6.1.7 The Egalitarianism-B cluster (Interdependent-related exchanges):

True friendship and mature love are the core values of this cluster. In a few samples, “Inner harmony” located near them and the Embeddedness relocated “forgiveness” (though in the composite, both located overall in/near Embeddedness A). Mature love and friendship are consistently not far from the border of Affective Autonomy, suggesting that this type of Egalitarianism is more emotive and based on satisfying exchanges (in fact, the Affective item “enjoy life” is also consistently located in/near this cluster).

The Affective content was not surprising, but what was not expected is that these items all bordered close to Hierarchy. This may be important for future research to explore how stable added-on affective relationships (note, these are not the ingroup that one is born into, but the purposeful relationships one seeks, finds, and cultivates, located in the opposite quadrant from one’s ingroup on every map) serve the upward status mobility in a hierarchical system.

“Meaning in life” and “spiritual life,” though seldom rated, are often located here and quite near Affective items as well. Surprisingly “clean” also borders on or should be in Affective Autonomy near these items (a hint of “cleanliness is next to godliness”). “Intelligence” was variable, but Appendix 9 revealed it had cross-level consistency with these Eg-B items.

Table 11.10. Coordinates for Egalitarianism-B (Eg-B)

Egalitarianism-B (Eg-B)	Cultural Composite		Individual Composite	
	Dimension 1	Dimension 2	Dimension 1	Dimension 2
X19-mature love	.351	-.574	.691	-.200
X28-true friendship	.160	-.853	.857	-.236
H50-enjoying life (was A)	.486	-.647	.580	-.580
X48-intelligent	.133	-.679	.341	.520
[X10-meaning in life]	.186	-.348	.506	-.182
[X6- a spiritual life]	.189	-.294	.381	.337
[SE56-clean]	.093	-.258	-.329	.022

11.6.1.8 The Embeddedness-B cluster:

Though still clearly related to Embeddedness items, the dimensional plotting of MDS clearly revealed another differentially nuanced set (across quadrant lines in all samples) that regularly contained stable items like “tradition,” “social order,” “social norms/face,” and the more indigenous items like 关系 (*guanxi*), 重视子女 (focusing on children), and 明哲保身 (being world-wise and preserving oneself). Quite logically, there were some related items, like “public image” (though not strongly similar on coordinate scores, thus placed in Table 11.12) and “social recognition” (already placed in Em/H, Table 11.4), often in or near this cluster. On rare occasions, “honoring parents,” the indigenous item “honoring ancestors” (光宗耀祖), and “family security” slid over into this domain (e.g., 1995-97). In general, this type of Embeddedness seems to suggest more traditional, socially-structured relationships, moving toward more power and hierarchy. Though “accept my portion in life” would theoretically fit here, it was mostly absent from the samples or borderlines. “Moderate” shifted from Em-A to Em-B types depending on what other terms were associated with it, but overall had a stronger Em-B tendency.

Table 11.11 Coordinates for Embeddedness-B (Em-B)

Em-B	Cultural Composite		Individual Composite	
	Dimension 1	Dimension 2	Dimension 1	Dimension 2
NC59 关系 (<i>guanxi</i>)	.331	.774	.131	-.387
NC62 重视子女 (valuing children)	.534	.680	.179	.794
SE8-social order	.404	.669	.372	.665
T18-respect for tradition	.162	.719	-.412	.537
T32-moderate	.038	.697	-.100	.519
P58-observing social norms/face	.606	.438	.240	.539
[NC63 明哲保身 (world-wise/self-preserving)]	.298	.547	.153	.113

To account for all items, “**Non-core**” **Embeddedness** items are also noted. These had lower ratings or some inconsistency as “swing items:” they usually fell into Em-B or bordered Em/H. Table 11.12 shows these items and their variant scores.

Table 11.12 Coordinates for Non-core Embeddedness (B or Em/H swing items)

Non-core Embeddedness	Cultural Composite		Individual Composite	
	Dimension 1	Dimension 2	Dimension 1	Dimension 2
SE13-national security	-.434	.665	-.342	.640
NC60 光宗耀祖 (honoring ancestors)	.486	.339	-.046	.004
SE15-reciprocity of favors	.388	.341	-.596	-.096
A47-obedient	-.324	.219	-.111	.260
P45-preserving my public image	.116	.372	.605	.083
NC63 明哲保身 (world-wise/self-preserving) / or Em-B	.298	.547	.153	.113
[B54-forgiving] / or Em-A border	-.537	.318	-.443	-.452

11.6.1.9 Between Embeddedness Domains: An Occasional Egalitarian/Mastery cluster?

What, if anything, separates one Embeddedness cluster from the other? A noted trend in all mapping was the difficulty of locating Mastery items – they seemed to associate a bit differently in each sample. Often one found “ambitious” and “capability” near “self-respect,” but distributed in various regions. And sometimes they were near the Egalitarian items of “responsibility” or even “inner harmony.” On several maps, I was trying to determine if there was actually a third Egalitarianism. It took the composite map to show that six items could cluster together (as a swing cluster called Em/M/Eg), each reflecting some important character qualities for sustaining good relationships, including the indigenous item 道德意识 (moral sensitivity).

Table 11.13. Coordinates for Embedded/Mastery/Egalitarianism (Em/M/Eg)

Em/M/Eg	Cultural Composite		Individual Composite	
	Dimension 1	Dimension 2	Dimension 1	Dimension 2
X2-inner harmony	-.346	.430	-.323	-.336
A34-ambitious	-.078	.560	-.282	-.533
NC66 道德意识 (morality)	-.323	.619	-.006	.339
X14-self-respect (was M)	-.198	.500	.067	-.691
B52-responsible	-.096	.415	-.638	.410
A43- capable	-.107	.627	.190	-.752
[U26-wisdom (was Em)]	-.193	.076	-.243	-.618

It appears that whether for Embeddedness-A or -B, the cultivation of personal qualities is important for relating at various levels in society. These suggest a type of personal development for interdependent social effectiveness (but is only so construed at the cultural level). At the individual level, these items are more dispersed in Mastery domains (personal competence for personal development).

11.6.1.10 The Universal Harmony cluster:

Though not highly rated in any sample, there was general constancy of these global universals showing up, often at varied points around the center. “Unity with nature” was often closer to the Affective Autonomy/Embeddedness-B items, “protecting the environment” closer to Hierarchy/Egalitarianism-B, “world at peace” often more toward Embeddedness (near “national security”) and “world of beauty” hardly mentioned (and if so, in or near Affective items). The indigenous item 意识形态 (ideological orientation) also located near these items (or in Intellectual Autonomy), and occasionally the indigenous concept of “treasuring time.”

Table 11.14. Coordinates for Universal Harmony (UH)

Universal Harmony (UH)	Cultural Composite		Individual Composite	
	Dimension 1	Dimension 2	Dimension 1	Dimension 2
U24-unity with nature	.228	.234	-.230	-.194
U38-protecting the environment	.483	-.383	.026	.552
U17-world at peace	-.163	-.396	.091	.427
U29-a world of beauty = hardly mentioned	-.244	-.041	.172	-.037
NC61 意识形态 (ideological awareness)	-.425	-.313	-.242	.175
[N65 珍惜时间 (treasuring time)]	-.208	-.707	-.229	.405
[A39-influential (was M)]	.372	-.075	-.089	-.240

11.6.2 Summary

This chapter has summarized some methodological limitations and sought to address them by examining the results achieved by different data collection approaches. Fit scores and cluster analysis were also employed to evaluate the validity of the findings. Then dimensions and domain associations were re-examined. This item-by-item discussion has helped clarify the possible “logic” of the predicted moving items according to their confirmed cluster locations.

Chapter 12 summarizes and proposes a concise list of confirmed items in their associated categories for future Schwartz studies in Chinese contexts. A review of the research goals of this project, summary of the overall outcomes, analysis of their relation to theories mentioned earlier, as well as a discussion of those that have promise for further investigation are also put forward.

Chapter 12: CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND FURTHER DIRECTIONS

Comparisons of cultures must not be simplistic in terms of an arbitrary or preconceived universal value system, but must be multiple, with each culture first understood in terms of its own particular value system and therefore its own idiosyncratic structure. After that, comparison can with gradually increasing reliability reveal to what degree values, significances, and qualities are common to the compared cultures, and to what degree distinctive.

Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952:174)

12.1 Review of the Dissertation

This dissertation project started out with several rather ambitious aims, stated in the form of research goals (RG 1-7 in Section 1.3). Each of those will be briefly reviewed here and stated now as research conclusions highlighting what has been accomplished.

RG1. Chapter 1 provided an introduction to values studies related to various interpretations of culture, and Chapters 2 and 3 further met this goal by providing an extensive review of the historical underpinnings, academic assumptions, and research approaches of values studies in various disciplines, a critical overview of values-related research outcomes, and a summary of how this work is particularly situated in the field of intercultural communication.

RG2. Chapter 4 built on that interdisciplinary review to put forward a list of critiques and guidelines for analyzing the salience and limits of values as a viable (cross-)cultural explanatory factor, and...

RG3. Considered the areas in which values conflate with other social-psychological factors in Western research, and the relevance of reconsidering values in culture change and modernization studies.

RG4. Chapter 5 documented the history recorded in English from varied inside and outside perspectives that describe Chinese characteristics through values.

RG5. Chapter 6 provided new documentation of publications in Chinese from the Mainland on “Chinese values” and modernizing value changes.

RG6. Chapter 7 considered methodological issues by which studies might be applied explore Chinese values change via indigenous/emic values research situated in classroom values clarification exercises.

RG7. Chapter 8 adopted several qualitative exploratory methods (language items and proverbs) to elicit emic values that could referenced to the Schwartz etic framework, and Chapter 9 continued that to establish emic-to-etic transformation procedures. These are applied in Chapter 10 to eight sets of indigenous list data (4 at the culture- and 4 at individual-level) linked to the Schwartz SVS for mapping the values structure of Chinese respondents. Analysis of the composite culture and individual sets are then also examined in Chapter 11 for reliability/fit, thick-culture groupings, and sub-scale dimensional analysis.

This chapter will now sum up the empirical studies from Chapter 8 to 11 to complete RG7 in order to suggest improved integrative research designs for ongoing emic-into-etic studies, especially in Chinese contexts. As stated earlier (Section 3.2.1.6), Schwartz considers that it **is** possible to collect relatively equivalent samples from all cultures/societies and to construct a theoretically grounded universal framework for values that can then be meaningfully applied for comparisons between cultures. By intentionally NOT using the SVS survey form itself (except as a comparative test in Section 11.2.3), the last chapters (9-11) have sought to test that assumption.

This dissertation concludes that Schwartz is correct – even data collected through open-ended indigenous sampling can be carefully linked to Schwartz items and be treated statistically to produce value maps which are in keeping with the general Schwartz theory of value relations (with contextually understandable domain associations or higher-lower level emphases). And further, utilizing the Schwartz framework serves as a cross-cultural anchor for better interpreting indigenous emphases and placing them in an etic context in a more reliable and understandable manner. Such theoretically-framed pinning of the data takes us beyond what might otherwise become insular descriptions of Chinese “distinctions” and facilitates the consideration of what is actually consistently “unique” and why it maybe so. On the whole, the dissertation has accomplished its main purpose. Detailed findings and proposed refinements will now be discussed.

12.2 Qualitative Method Summary and Extensions of Chapter 8

A number of useful findings emerged from carrying out the qualitative studies. Some core value constructions were explicated that helped guide our thinking in the later list data analysis. But in general, the quantitative studies produced mostly descriptive impressions and essentialized

conceptualizations of Chineseness – they were generally found wanting in the overall goal of transforming and linking emic inputs into etic frames. More can be done in future research to build on and extend them, and most promising would be to take the list of proverbs generated by the Weng and Kulich (2008) project and use them as an alternative SVS/PVQ type survey concurrently with either of those instruments to see if similar SSA values maps are generated. Beyond quantitative applications to enhance those first three descriptive studies, more in-depth qualitative procedures are needed to better ascertain the specific meanings of values that are understood, considered or applied in Chinese contexts.

To this end a recent review of the studies in Chapter 8 was carried out via action research with a class of 25 MA candidates in 2008 (previously unreported). Past procedures were reviewed and a brainstorming process was carried out to consider what more effective, in-depth methods might be carried out in qualitative designs to elicit more “thick culture” and meaning based inputs, especially those that would link with the 5-level model of culture presented in Chapter 1. The following list is the emerging interview protocol that we recommend for future research designs and is reported here to that end.

12.2.1 Proposed Interview Protocol (2008) at Multiple Levels for Further Study

The graduate student respondents agreed that the multi-level approach might truly help to de-conflate and unravel some of the conflation of values with other constructs (addressed in Chapter 4). What was proposed was to gather data in ways that help develop a “values profile” applied (or keyed) to all 5 levels of culture, seeking to incorporate many of the critiques and considerations discussed in this dissertation.

A “values profile” would seek to comprehensively include a summary of a person’s

- a) Personal (in keeping with my sense of integrity, identity, personal, and social goals = **micro**),
- b) Contextual (how my values operate where I live among the diverse entities I must daily/weekly deal with = **medio**),
- c) Sub-cultural (their primary identity group, whether that be social-economic, religious, racial, regional, gendered... = **meso**),
- d) National (level of affiliation with national culture = **macro**) as well as
- e) Issues-based (what are the primary issues in conflict or negotiation in that “culture” and at which cultural-level or level of **meaning**?)

...levels of culture, seeking to note what aspects of values trigger most at which levels.

The proposed development of a values profile would proceed by asking subjects:

1. What are your most important values (emic first, then etic comparisons)?
2. What is the “percent of fit” of each emic value you cited to the etic term?
3. What is the strength of each value (on an interval scale, both for emic and etic)?
4. How would you generally rank each value (as personal guiding principles)?
5. How would you specifically apply each value in your context (interval scale of ease of application in your normal daily life with the groups that you have to deal with – may need to map a picture of the homogeneity/heterogeneity of the context)?
6. What are the cultural or situational issues that put some values to test? Which ones? Why?
7. What is the content of each of your top values – what does it include? Not include?
8. What is the perceived thickness of each value (an interval scale) – is it a broad or narrow concept? If broad, what sub-values are related, how? (e.g., In my culture x is a broad and important concept, including the concepts of..., related to the values of..., and applied to the y areas of life)?
9. What is the relationship of certain key values? Draw out what you see as linked values or operative value sets (e.g., you can not apply value c without thinking of value b...). Consider (A) similar value relationships (positively linked, values that support each other) and (B) oppositional value relationships (negatively linked, values you consider to sometimes be in conflict and make choices difficult).
10. If you were to draw out [diagram] your core cultural set of values, how would it look?
11. Are any of these values “sacred beliefs” to be pursued and protected at all costs? To what extent would you protect them (on a scale)? Are there any you would die for?

This is the broad flow of the possible questions that we would like to investigate further. But it is obviously too much for one time. So the researcher would seek to contact participants for several sessions. The complexity lies in this being first a **long** list of questions, and second, challenging to get participants to think clearly enough to analyze each question for all 5 levels. It would prove even more challenging to find meaningful, analytic ways to deal with so much data. The action research group agreed that though the design needs to be clarified and streamlined, the brainstorming list could serve as a stimulus to future research designs. Toward some degree of streamlining, the following were put forward:

Envision designing the inquiry at 3 levels:

- 1) Gathering emic pre-data to construct a localized framework (Q 1, 3-4, 6, 7-11)
- 2) Etic framing – letting them modify the list first for fit (Q2, then redoing 3-4, 7-11)
- 3) Gathering situational content and clearer issues of challenge/conflict (Q 5, 6, 11)

At this stage, the researcher might want to also add questions like:

12. What are the challenging values-attitude-behavior areas in your culture (try to develop a list of value consistency critical issues)?
13. If you were now to go back and rewrite 1. and 4., what would you say is your personal mindful and/or functional framework as you make daily decisions?
14. What would you say is your “long-term” goals framework – which values guide your long-term or ideal goals?

Later work could be done to recheck this list (a replication several weeks later) for stability or to test it with situational priming as other studies have done. Respondents agreed that it would be important to determine not only the content, but the stability / reliability of that content. Further, it is important to determine not only the attitudes of the whole normed sample, but also to seek to identify a number of “value-typed” groups of people (different styles of value orientations) though Q-sort techniques. Once the researcher has done Q-method groupings or factored out “affinity group profiles,” he or she could then add a further stage of questions:

15. Which of these typical value constellations do you think best fits you?
16. Under what situations might you shift to the next-best-fit values set group?

A similar design could be later developed to test situational-challenge fits (how values work out in real-world decisions). In the preliminary study envisioned above, participants would have suggested how and when they would act in a certain way, so scenarios can be presented built on the emic-developed critical issues list.

17. If you were facing decision X , what values would you employ to decide? (open)
18. What value(s) is/are most important to you decide how to respond to D? (listed)

It was beyond the original design, intention, and time-frame of this dissertation to carry out such a thorough set of qualitative processes, but they are detailed to capture some of the learning that arose out of the exploratory qualitative procedures that were conducted and reported in Chapter 8. Likewise, lessons learned from the quantitative procedures will now be reported.

12.3 Quantitative Method Summary/Discussion

As explained earlier in this dissertation, the Schwartz SVS framework was selected as being the most comprehensive *a priori* theory, the most carefully developed and monitored research program with the most widely collected data base from typical cultural samples (teachers, students and workers, including samples from the PRC), and the most thoroughly quantitatively-tested universal values structure, and includes the required culture-level model as well as the individual-level model (Zhang & Ding, 2006). Therefore it was adopted as the template for all emic-to-etic

comparisons attempted in Chapters 9 and 10, and the Multidimensional Scaling (MDS) technique using z-score standardization and a modified SVS 58 items plus 8 indigenous items provided the most workable, reliable, and interpretable frame for the procedures developed and carried out in Chapters 10 and 11.

12.3.1 Confirmed Items and Categories Across All MDS Maps

In this section I build on the Schwartz theory to consider how the indigenous work that this project has carried out will need to reassign certain items for the future calculation of domain scores, both in the Schwartz cultural- and individual-level frameworks. To some degree, Schwartz himself had anticipated this and noted, “I also included a few value items that express multiple goals (e.g. intelligent, self-respect) because they were likely to be important in many cultures” (2005a:11).

Thus, in this section I decided to use and maintain the Schwartz codes (see Appendix 4, reprinted from Littrell & Schwartz, 2007:9-10) because they have the individual-level motivational type initial built in, which is sometimes helpful for considering item assignments (a revised short form of his table is constructed below in Table 12.3). I also kept the 7 Schwartz culture-level dimensions intact as he has labeled them, but based on the evidence of the multiple studies carried out in Chapter 10, added sub-domain A and B terms to reflect the persistent core clusters discussed above. The item-region decisions in the list below (Tables 12.1 and 12.2) are based on evaluations of both culture- and individual-level composite maps. In other words, these items have consistency of association across all samples generally at both levels (as the clustered domain maps of Figure 11.10 in Section 11.5.2 again show).

Visual analysis of the two composite maps confirm both the “clusters”/domains as well as the items that generally associate with them. But MDS coordinate statistics make these item associations even more clear. Appendix 7 has been provided to show the x-axis (Dimension 1) and y-axis (Dimension 2) scores for each at the composite cultural level, and Appendix 8 for the composite individual level. After reporting on these findings of the groupings of each item below, the range of scores (similar to factor loadings) for that cluster will be given (CD1 for Cultural Dimension 1, ID2 for Individual Dimension 2, and so on, with **bold** for the more influential, integrating dimension). Thus, here are the statistically confirmed clusters.

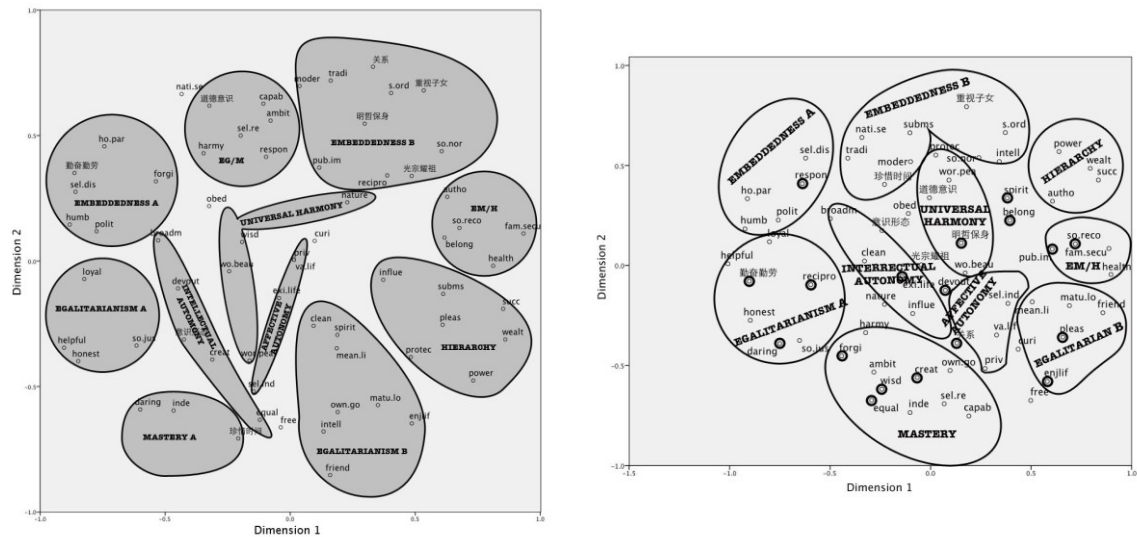


Table 12.1. Highly Rated “Core” Chinese Clusters

Embeddedness-A (Em-A): C20-self-discipline, C11-politeness, C40-honoring of parents and elders;
Relocated: T36-humble (was H); New: NC64 勤奋勤劳 (diligence/hard work).

[CD1 **-.89 to -.74**] [CD2 .11 to .46] [ID1 **-.93 to -.62**] [ID2 **-.08 to .54**]

Non-core Embeddedness-A (swing items not clearly in any one set, sometimes near Em/M/Eg):
SE13-national security, A47-obedient, B54-forgiving (**more spread in Ind.**).

[CD1 **-.57 to -.32**] [CD2 .21 to .67] [ID1 **-.45 to -.11**] [ID2 **-.45 to .64**]

Embeddedness-B (Em-B): SE8-social order, T18-respect for tradition, T32-moderate;
New: NC62 重视子女 (valuing children), NC59 关系 (*guanxi*) [**Not in Ind., ID2 **-.39****].

[CD1 **.03 to .54**] [CD2 **.66 to .78**] [ID1 **-.41 to .37**] [ID2 **.51 to .80**]

[**And in Ind, social norms below locates with this group** [ID1 .24 ID2 .54]

[**Culture Level Only**] **Embeddedness-B or Em/H swing items:** SE15-reciprocity of favors, P58-observing social norms/face, P45-preserving my public image (was Em);

New: NC60 光宗耀祖 (honoring ancestors), NC63 明哲保身 (shrewd/world-wise/self-preserving).

[CD1 **.11 to .61**] [CD2 **.33 to .55**]

Two items not fit in Ind. Not counting recipro. or norms = [ID1 **-.05 to .60**] [ID2 **.01 to .12**]

reciprocity does not fit [ID1 **-.60, ID2 **-.10****].

Embedded Hierarchy (EmH): X23-social recognition (was Em), P27-authority (was H), X7-sense of belonging (was Em), H4-pleasure (was A);

In Culture: T44-accepting my portion in life/submission [**Not in Ind:** ID1 **-.10** ID2 **.66**]

[CD1 **.61 to .68**] [CD2 **-.26 to .26**] [ID1 **.39 to .72**] [ID2 **-.36 to .32**]

Hierarchy (H) – P3-social power, P12-wealth, Relocated: SE22-family security (was Em), A55-successful (was M), X42-healthy (was Em);

[CD1 **.73 to .94**] [CD2 -.48 to .11] [ID1 **.63 to .90**] [ID2 -.05 to .57]

[at the Ind. level, pleasure, authority, and social recognition can fit in this set, all **.61** and up - as expected, a less “socially embedded” interpretation]

Embedded Mastery/Egalitarianism (Em/M/Eg):, A34-ambitious, A43- capable, New: NC66 道德意识 (morality), X14-self-respect (was M), B52-responsible (was Eg), X2-inner harmony (was Eg).

[CD1 -.35 to -.07] [CD2 **.41 to .63**] [ID1 -.33 to .19] [ID2 **-.76 to -.33**]*

*This is ONLY a culture-level set. In **Ind.** these fit in with Mastery items except for responsibility (ID -.64 .41) and morality (ID .01 .34), which locate closer to core EmB.

Mastery (M) – SD32-independent, SD41-choosing own goals, X48-intelligent, ST37-daring Relocated: SD5-freedom (was I), U1-equality (was Eg or I).

[CD1 -.60 to .19] [CD2 **-.68 to -.59**] [ID1 -.75 to .34] [ID2 **-.76 to -.33**]*

*the four qualifying Em/M/Eg items above have been added.

(Of former M items, daring is the highest ID1 at -.75 with the rest above -.33)

(In **Ind.**, intelligent doesn't fit, and relocates with EmB swing items like social norms!)

Egalitarianism A (EgA) – B45-honest, B49-helpful, B33-loyal;

Nearby: (U30-social justice, **CD1 -.61, ID1 -.65**).

[CD1 **-.91 to -.82**] [CD2 -.40 to -.07] [ID1 **-1.00 to .80**] [ID2 -.28 to .12]

Egalitarianism B (EgB) – X19-mature love, X28-true friendship, Relocate: X48-intelligent (was M), H50-enjoying life (was A);

Nearby: [X10-meaning in life, X6- a spiritual life, though closer to universal and affective].

[CD1 **.16 to .49**] [CD2 -.86 to -.57] [ID1 **.58 to .86**] [ID2 -.58 to -.20]

(as would be expected, notably higher scores in the **Ind.** samples)

Table 12.2. Less Rated Inner Circle Clusters

Intellectual Autonomy (I) – SD16-creativity, U35-broadminded, T51-devout (was Em);

New: NC61 意识形态 (ideological awareness)

[CD1 **-.53 to -.31**] [CD2 **-.40 to .09**] [ID1 **-.50 to .07**] both [ID2 **-.56 to .24**]

(**In Ind**, freedom and equality come back in [both ID2 **-.68**])

Border items locating variably near these inner culture clusters or rated lowly:

N65-珍惜时间 (treasuring time), X6-spiritual life, X10-meaning in life, (more varied in Ind)

[CD1 **-.21 to .19**] [CD2 **-.71 to -.29**] [ID1 **-.23 to .38**] [ID2 **-.18 to .40**]

And the non-fit item A39-influential (was M) [CD1 **.37**, CD2 **-.08**] [ID1 **-.09** ID2 **-.24**]

Universal Harmony (UH) – U24-unity with nature, U38-protecting the environment, U17-world at peace, (U29-a world of beauty = hardly mentioned),

Relocated: U26-wisdom (was Em) [might also locate with I], A29-Influential (was M);

[CD1 **-.25 to .49**] [CD2 **-.40 to .24**] [ID1 **-.25 to .18**] [ID2 **-.62 to .56**]

[**In Ind**, treasuring time fits in well here]

Affective Autonomy (A) – Core: H57-self-indulgent, X21-privacy, ST9-an exciting life, ST25-a varied life; Relocated: SE56-clean (was Em), SD53-curious (was I);

[CD1 **-.15 to .10**] both [CD2 **-.52 to .08**] [ID1 **-.33 to .44**] both [ID2 **-.51 to .02**]

From this “level of analysis” comparison (see also Appendix 7 and 8) and integration, we note that a slight difference in discernible clusters from data gathered from individual-level feedback, and also a slight variance in cluster/domain progression. Specifically the “lesser clusters” clump at the culture-level, but individual-level assessment increases their expression:

On the **ID1 scale**:

EmA→EgA→/Universal Harmony/Affective Autonomy→EgB→Hierarchy→

On the **ID2 scale**: Mastery→Intellectual Autonomy/Universal Harmony→Hierarchy→EmB

However, the amazing finding is that these clusters were quite stable at both cultural- and individual-level analysis. The few exceptions across these samples are highlighted after the scores above. Most “collective” or “interdependent” type values continue to receive similar ratings as the various types of Embeddedness, even when elicited at a more individualized level. Variations are most clearly noted for several individualistic values, where only when asked for a more personal rating, do they lose their social connotations and locate with Mastery or Egalitarianism. Overall,

this method and analysis gives far more support than expected to a stable conceptualization of value relationships in these “Chinese” samples.

12.3.2 Putting Forward a Chinese Context SVS-66 Domain-Item Key

For future research design, as well as for a cluster test below, Table 12.3 lists the confirmed item assignments according to their statistical structural associations (via MDS) in this study.

Table 12.3. Chinese Keying of the SVS for Seven Cultural Domains Value Orientations

Cultural level	Schwartz Confirmed items [past non-cross- culture=level items in brackets below]	New Domains	Chinese sample “culture-level” Core cluster items
Embeddedness	8,11,13,15,18,20,26,32,40, 46,47,51,54,56,58	Em-A	C11,C20,C40,T36,NC64 (B33)
	[X7, X42]	Em-B	SE8,T18,T32,X48,P58,NC59,NC62 (NC63 Cul)
	Non-core shift Embed/Hierarchy	(Em-B border)	SE13,SE15,A39,P45,A47,B54 NC60,NC63
		Em/H	X7,X23,P27 (T44 Cul) [H4]
Hierarchy	3,12,27,36 [X23]	H	P3,P12,SE22,X42,A55
	Mastery/Eg in Embeddedness	Em/M/Eg	X2,X14,A34,A43,B52,NC66 (U26)
Mastery	23,31,34,37,39,41,43,55 [X14, X48]	M	U1,SD5,SD32,ST37,SD41 (X48 Cul)(N65 Cul)
Affective Autonomy	4,9,25,50,57 [X21]	A	H4,ST9,SD53,H57 (X21, ST25),
Intellectual Autonomy	5,16,35,53	I	SD16,U26,U35,T51,N65 (NC61)
Egalitarianism	1,30,33,45,49,52	Eg-A	B33,B45,B49,U30
	[X2, X6, X10,X19, X28]	Eg-B	X19,X28,H50 [X6,X10,SE56 weak]
Harmony	17,24,29,38	UH	U24,U38,U17,NC61 (U29 weak) [A39 weak] (N65?)

Key: Items strongly confirmed in the predicted Schwartz domain have numbers 11 highlighted. Items somewhat confirmed have numbers 13 shaded; Schwartz items NOT marked located elsewhere

Note that for contextual relevance, based on the findings of these exploratory studies, this table expands the original 7 domains to 11 (with added clusters Em-A, Em-B, Eg-A, Eg-B, and some hybrid border region consistent clusteres Em/H, Em/M/Eg) [the large group of rather floatable “Em-B shift” items is not considered a distinct set, just as Schwartz does not include lower-

domain-fit items in his cross-cultural short-list of 46 items]. The core and most stable items are listed first with supportive items in (parenthesis) and floating items [in brackets], showing that, as in Schwartz's (cross-)culture-level analysis, some terms are not stable enough to be included in the domains (based on the MDS map analysis here). The parenthesis items also tended to be lower rated, or had variance of meaning associations in the various samples. Note also that this list includes both the SVS 58 items as well as the 8 new indigenous items (NC = New Chinese indigenous items... CI59, CI60, CI61...CI66).

Thus, as a carefully considered product of this project, future research in Chinese contexts would be advised to first check this "contextually-grounded SVS 66 list" to ensure that items are properly utilized, assigned, and interpreted. Note that there are a number of items NOT shaded on the Schwartz assignments (only 31 of 46 terms are confirmed, 67.4%, about a 1/3), since many items clearly were interpreted or construed as being differently associated in these Chinese samples. Though Schwartz has attempted statistically to confirm a "cross-cultural" similarity of meaning, a third of those items are suspect in Chinese culture.

Research that uses either Schwartz's list of 46 "cultural" or the complete list of items should conduct a pilot study and confirmatory MDS first to make sure that these items locate in their intended regions for the culture under study. Many studies report Schwartz items assuming that they are consistent across cultures, where instead the case might be that, as this study has shown, there is more reassignment of items than has been previously thought. And some studies, using standard universal Schwartz item assignments, have purportedly disconfirmed the Schwartz circumplex (e.g., Mohler & Wohn, 2005), when possibly an examination of item interpretation and association as modeled here might bring better understanding of local variations of value clusters.

Surprisingly, many of the 11 "unstable" items Schwartz originally documented (those considered not cross-culturally consistent and given the X-code) were found in their predicted places and **were** stable in this sample (9 of 11 located with their expected groups, 81.8%, though 5 on borderlines, 45.5%). This shows that **all** items need to be considered in each location of use. International norms do not guarantee **or** rule out meaning associations in any specific culture or context. Awareness of how item assignments may vary (as shown here) can hopefully guide the better testing and interpretation of each item in its new coded MDS location to make sure that the associations are clarified (e.g., updating Littrell's translations to get a more "emic-feeling" SVS). From the data collected from this study, creating a new table of the actual emic terms put forward is an important step toward "Chinese" indigenization, one that time and manpower limits cut short for this project at this time.

A similar procedure should also be carried out more fully at the individual level, but as noted earlier, sample size, diversity of location across items and areas, and sampling limitations suggest that the data gathered in this study is not yet sufficient for such an undertaking. It is suggested that more careful, clearly designed individual-level studies be conducted using similar procedures in order to better develop the indigenization of the Schwartz SVS across his 10 domains for a specific context.

The issue of item location cross-culturally is a challenge for imported or indigenous research. Therefore, an updated review of Table 9.3 may be useful to evaluate how the predicted shift items fared. Table 12.4 summarizes those predictions and compares them to outcomes, also highlighting some items that moved which were not anticipated (at the bottom). In general, there was a degree of instability in most of the predicted items, but some located as expected.

Table 12.4. Predicted Schwartz Item Moves from Table 9.3 and Outcomes

SVS Item (with original code)	Predicted Cultural Dimension Associations	Confirmed Chinese Sample Position
T36 Humble	Hierarchy or Embeddedness	Em-A
X23 Social Recognition	Hierarchy or Mastery	Em/H
X48 Intelligent	Mastery or Intellectual Autonomy	→ Eg-B
X14 Self-Respect	Mastery , Intellectual/Affective Autonomy	→ Em/M/Eg (Cul)
ST37 Daring	Mastery , Affective Autonomy or Intellectual Autonomy	M
SD41 Choosing Own Goals	Mastery , Intellectual Autonomy	M
SD31 Independent	Mastery , Intellectual Autonomy	M
H57 Self-Indulgent	Affective , Intellectual Autonomy	A
X21 Privacy	Affective , Intellectual Autonomy	A
U35 Broadminded	Intellectual Autonomy , Egalitarianism, or near Harmony	I
U1 Equality	Egalitarianism or Intellectual Autonomy	→ M
U30 Social Justice	Egalitarianism or Intellectual Autonomy	Eg-A
X2 Inner Harmony	Egalitarianism or Intellectual Autonomy	+ Em/M/Eg (cul)
X6 Spiritual Life	Egalitarianism?	→ I or A
X10 Meaning in Life	Egalitarianism?	→ I or A
X28 True Friendship	Egalitarianism or with/near Embeddedness	Eg-B
X19 Mature Love	Egalitarianism or Embeddedness	Eg-B
T44 Accepting My Portion in Life	Egalitarianism, Embeddedness , or Hierarchy	Em/H
U26 Wisdom	Embeddedness, Egalitarianism or Universal/Global Harmony	UH or I

B54 Forgiving	Embeddedness or Egalitarianism	Swing Em or Em/M/Eg
T32 Moderate	Embeddedness or Egalitarianism	Em-B
P58 Observing Social Norms (Face)	Embeddedness or Hierarchy	swing Em-B or Em/H
X42 Healthy	Embeddedness?	→ H
X7 Sense of Belonging	Embeddedness or Hierarchy	Em/H
P46 Preserving My Public Image	Embeddedness or Hierarchy	swing Em-B or Em/H
SVS Item (with code)	Items Not Predicted – Original	Chinese Position
SD5 Freedom	was I	→ M
SD53 Curious	was I	→ A
B52 Responsible	was Eg	+ Em/M/Eg or Em-B
SE56 Clean	was Em	→ A
A39 Influential	was M	→ UH (low rated)
A55 Successful	was M	→ H
H4 Pleasure	was A	→ Em/H
H50 Enjoy Life	was A	→ Eg-B

→ shows items that moved otherwise than predicted

+ shows items that stayed link to the domain, but moved slightly in conceptually similar segments.

Note that the expected inconsistent X-labeled items were not as moveable (4 of 11 did, 36.3%, and 2 slightly relocated with other items at the culture level, 18.1%) as some of the other Schwartz hypothesized stable items.

12.3.2 Confirming the Embeddedness and Egalitarianism Splits

This project not only hypothesized the split of certain regions, but has also shown them to be consistent across samples. The expected split was the one that has now been identified as Embeddedness-A and -B types. Comparing standardized z-scores for the culture-level data shows the contrasting adjacent quadrant ratings for these two distinct variations of Embeddedness, as shown in Table 12.5.

Table 12.5. Contrast of Embeddedness-A and -B Coordinate Scores

Embeddedness-A z-scores			Embeddedness-B z-scores		
	Dimension 1	Dimension 2		Dimension 1	Dimension 2
Humble	-.882	.146	关系 Guanxi	.331	.774
勤奋勤劳Hardworking/Diligence	-.862	.351	Tradition	.162	.719
Self-Discipline	-.858	.276	Moderation	.038	.697
Politeness	-.774	.119	重视子女 Valuing Children	.534	.680
Honor Parents	-.743	.457	Social Order	.404	.669

Likewise, this study has shown there to be distinct Egalitarianism-A and -B regions, usually bordering or around Mastery items. Egalitarianism-A has consistently plotted almost directly opposite Hierarchy, while Egalitarianism-B plotted consistently next to Hierarchy. These quadrant relations are shown in Table 12.6.

Table 12.6. Contrast of Egalitarianism-A and B with Hierarchy

Egalitarianism-A z-scores			Hierarchy z-scores		
	Dimension 1	Dimension 2		Dimension 1	Dimension 2
Helpful	-.904	-.345	Wealth	.860	-.313
Honest	-.847	-.399	Success	.852	-.190
Loyal	-.824	-.071	Health	.812	-.019
Social Justice	-.614	-.337	Power	.732	-.476
Egalitarianism-B z-scores			Authority	.628	.256
Mature Love	.351	-.574	Pleasure	.610	-.254
Enjoying Life	.486	-.647			
Friendship	.160	-.853			

The location of points and coordinate scores are contrasting enough to entertain the idea of dimensional lines, and the next section will review the findings from this perspective.

12.3.3 Reframing / Renaming Schwartz Dimensions in Chinese Contexts

From the emic-to-etic mapping procedures presented in this chapter, it can be noted that my long-held sense that the lack of detailed, indigenous analysis on East Asian societies has meant that many items have been unintentionally lumped into the Embeddedness domain, which in a sense might allow Orientalism, over-generalization, or collective stereotyping to persist. But the story of the data suggests that in societies that tend toward more interdependent or relational orientations, even “individualistic” or “autonomous” value items might be interpreted with some degree of “relation to others.” The large group of embedded items that we as Westerners might not fully understand or be able differentiate seem to have their own distinct clusters illustrating variations of interdependent relations, some for closer, established, long-term relationships and some for more social, formal, functional relationships.

The demarcation that Rui Zhang (2006) had postulated for conflict resolution might not completely fit the data (though I originally thought this might be the key). It is hard to say where the more, open, direct (due to established ingroup family or long-term friend ties) style of “*qinqin*” (intimate/informal) would be confirmed, or where the more formally polite, reciprocal exchange, social role (outgroup, stranger) style of “*zunzun*” (respect) should be applied. The data reveals two

clear clusters of values in two different quadrants, with an Embedded/Mastery/Egalitarian (Em/M/Eg) set of personal goals or qualities between them at the cultural level. But what these should be precisely termed is still under consideration. Informal vs. Formal does not work perfectly, nor does Role vs. Respect. Perhaps expressions like **Ingroup (Stable Tie) Maintenance** [e.g., family, nation] vs. broader **Public Role Development** are better descriptions for quadrant division across the top.

This would then rename the two diagonals of the composite culture-level data as:

z-axis: (Bot. Lft.) **Individual Development** ← → **Social Development** (Top Rt.)
w-axis: (Top Lft.) **Stable Tie Maintenance** ← → **Interdependent Support** (Bot. Rt.)

The new Developmental Eg-A domain, occupying the lower left quadrant can be labeled **Personal Quality Development** and Interpersonal Eg-B in the lower right quadrant as **Interdependent Affective/Achieving Support** (integrating the quadrant descriptions below). This also suggests that the quadrants across the upper half of the figures (once realigned) can be said to focus on:

Long-Term Ingroup Supportive Commitments vs. Role/Respect-Based Functional Nets

These phrases can serve as descriptors for the new Em-A and Em-B domains respectively. In reflection, it seems that the quadrants of these MDS maps actually bring clearer definition to the values domains factored out previously and simply labeled by Bales and Couch (1969) as:

<p>Equalitarianism</p> <p>[Appreciation of Relationships]</p>	<p>Value-determined restraint</p>
<p>Individualism</p>	<p>Acceptance of Authority</p> <p>Need-determined expression</p>

Figure 12.1. Bales and Couch Domains Plotted in Schwartz Style

The dimensional mapping proposed above also seems to completely support the theoretical construction of K. K. Hwang (1987:948; 2000; 2007:262, 266). He posited that Chinese primarily maintain affective/need/family ingroup and instrumental/equity outgroup ties, with a mixed, *renqing* category in the middle (like the character/moral Em/M/Eg qualities). In most Asian societies, and particularly in most contexts in China, one realizes that, besides dependable blood ties there are only a very few “true, life-long” committed friends (one’s *quanzi* “inner circle” or *gemen* “buddies” often developed in the high school period under the shared strain of preparing for the national college entrance examinations) that end up being similar to family relations (as a tight in-group) that can be effectively maintained and counted on throughout one’s life.

Other relationships, like marriage and other types of friends seem to be related to the opposite lower-right quadrant of need-based, functional relationships that help one make the best of or survive in authority structures and make progress in life. However we should not misunderstand “functional” or “achievement-oriented”) as being unfeeling – note that in Figure 11.10 these items also always border on Affective Autonomy.

When the CCC (1987) identified “Confucian Dynamism” and then Hofstede and Bond (1988) formalized this as “Long-Term Orientation” what they in part identified was not as much a concept of time (though treasuring time might fit in), but these two types of commitment to long-term relationships (upper left family/ingroup support and lower left affective/achievement ties) that enable Asians to support each other, loan one another money, move flexibly into new opportunities, and perhaps even cooperatively start a shared company or two even when one has an established job. I suggest that this is the ingroup-dynamic that oils the wheels of so much family and committed friend business in Asia (noted in M. J. Chen, 2001). Thus the Hofstede-Bond 5th Dimension (what Hofstede et al., 2010, now calls LTO-CVS) may need to be renamed as Long-Term Relationship Orientation, since it captures more of the Confucian dynamics of ingroup face and personal steadiness and stability in relationships: the **w-axis** noted above. Similarly, Hofstede et al.’s LTO-WVS also has some relational content, but may cross the other way, like the **z-axis**, from personal self-enhancement/ flexible moving up to social status/ monumentalism. Future research should examine ratings of Hofstede’s latest VOM items with MDS to see how his dimensions might plot out in relation to these Schwartz based maps. There may be more integration of the Hofstede dimensions than has been examined so far.

Reconsidering values and social identities, both Embeddedness domains across the top half of the figure represent some degree of social “imposition” (building on the identity model proposed in Section 4.4.13) – these are relationships that one **has** to maintain. Therefore one also has to be cautious to not develop too many such relationships, for though they have great benefits, they can

also require great costs. The Embeddedness clusters also seem to follow the other schema in that identity matrix model, moving from the lower right from more personal, to small circle relations, to larger circle associations, to public domain status relations.

However, the quadrants across the lower half of the figures focus more on:

Personal Qualities/ Maturing Growth vs. Upward Status/ Social Climbing Goals

According to that same identity matrix model (Figure 4.3), this would represent the more “volitional” aspects. Though this lower left side suggests “autonomy,” these “independent” qualities seem to be considered in the context of relationships that will help the individual share satisfying, more-equal relationships moving up the left side to established family (birth) ties at the top, or move more developmentally with a trusted friend (or two) or marriage partner to improve the possibilities for higher status (social power, success, wealth). Security in these relationships helps one move to the right and up that side toward greater opportunity for personal/shared enjoyment and pleasure in life.

In keeping with Confucian tradition, “accepting one’s lot in life/submission to fate” is transplanted here (that is, it is imposed by power). However, “humility” does not locate in the power/hierarchy quadrant as it is viewed traditionally as more of a moral quality supporting ingroup relationships than an imposed position in superior-inferior relations. Some samples showed that “humility” can also support *guanxi* exchanges – one needs to act modestly/moderately, otherwise people might be jealous and seek to use you more. Thus it is understandable that “humility” is usually located right next to “self-discipline” and the indigenous “diligence/hard work” in supporting these enduring family relations.

From my understanding of Chinese culture, I did not expect “politeness” to locate here – usually Chinese families downplay politeness, suggesting that is the distancing style of how one treats outside guests. Perhaps “politeness” fits more over the border with “loyalty,” “helpfulness,” “honesty,” and “social justice” since those Egalitarianism A qualities support good, more equal relations? But I also note that Chinese from Taiwan have different perceptions of “politeness” (more Confucian), which is also different than southern Chinese (more instrumental to get something done) from northern Chinese (more formal, based on position). But these could also engender regional stereotypes, and each needs to be tested with MDS data locations.

One mystery cluster might be the amalgamated group of Mastery/Egalitarian items situated top and center between the two Embedded clusters (describing culture-level items). Perhaps some subliminal remnants of Confucian tradition explain this as well. Confucius’ Eight Steps toward

personal/social development include as the last four steps: 修身, 齐家, 治国, 平天下(cultivating the self, regulating the family, governing a country, and making peace for the world). This has an impact on items like “ambition,” “capability,” “self-respect,” “responsibility” (and even “curiosity” is not too far away, one of the earlier four steps = studying objects 格物), which are clustered together to enhance “national security” and “honoring parents” (and ingroup Embeddedness-A items) on the upper left. It may also explain how this relates to the more functional, social outgroup expectations of “tradition,” “social order,” “social norms,” “public image” and so on to the upper left (Embeddedness-B items). Such “personal morality” (the added indigenous term) and these lingering Confucian qualities are needed to maintain and manage both of these sometimes complicated and overlapping sets of relationship contexts, and all contribute to the Confucian emphasis on the social “gentleman” (君子 *junzi*) or the even higher-minded “Sage” (圣人).

In a generally particularistic relationally-contexted world, and especially one that is focusing on trying to catch up internationally and promote economic development, each relational network needs to be seeking more success, wealth, social power, and family security. This is a time of competitive full-tilt progress where social status has not leveled off enough for individuals or their groups to focus much on universal values. Overall, personal or global ideals (whether it be Intellectual or Affective Autonomy, Universal Harmony) have generally have received low ratings and been dispersed around the inner, less emphasized onion layer. But though they may be “hidden” there is still evidence that they are present and different value clusters seem to prompt different universal harmony motivations (they were always dispersed in different quadrants), so one might predict that greater social/economic stability and higher living standards for more people will bring these into greater focus in the coming years. One notes their position has strengthened since the earlier 1995-97 data set.

Affective terms also generally cluster at the center. In a society emphasizing personal effort, relational investment, and success toward progress, there isn’t much time for personal gratification or hedonistic tendencies unless one has climbed high enough on the ladder for such enjoyment. Thus, as in most Schwartz studies, the affective, individual hedonism items form a thin region, though social conditions may be opening doors for more opportunities for these than ever before. Having been so long underemphasized in the socialist system, there might not be the requisite awareness of how to manage these once they become more readily available (e.g., the booming restaurant, massage, and travel/tour business in recent years). Another challenge is that hedonism/indulgence items generally have negative connotations, and respondents suggest that

other items be added (like enjoying good food, seeking satisfaction in personal pursuits) to better balance this domain and achieve more accurate ratings.

12.3.4 Comparing these New Dimensions to Other Values Theorists

The discussion above has already begun this task of relating the findings of this study to existing research, such as that of Hwang, Hofstede, and Bond. Having discussed many research conceptions on values in Chapters 2 to 4 in particular, we now return to those that were noted to have potential theoretical or empirical significance for such a study as this. Several of those important foundations or promising comparisons will be discussed here as a means of summarizing linking values research in a more integrative way. The studies reported here have hopefully highlighted some potential dimensional and clustered ways of viewing values items that brings a number of obscure or overlooked scholars work back into focus. This weaving together of research traditions and diverse findings will hopefully help strengthen the enterprise of values research, not only in adapting etic measures to various contexts, but in informing more etic theorizing on some of the lesser studied aspects of values in embedded, interdependent, multiple-levels of relationship commitments and social functions, as is still observed in Chinese societies.

In Chapter 2, the empirical sociological work of Melvin Kohn was noted. If we were to map the domains of Kohn (2006:22) consistent with the data maps presented here, many of his factors potentially plot in well with these findings. A spatial arrangement of his terms according to an MDS matrix style produced in these studies might appear as follows:

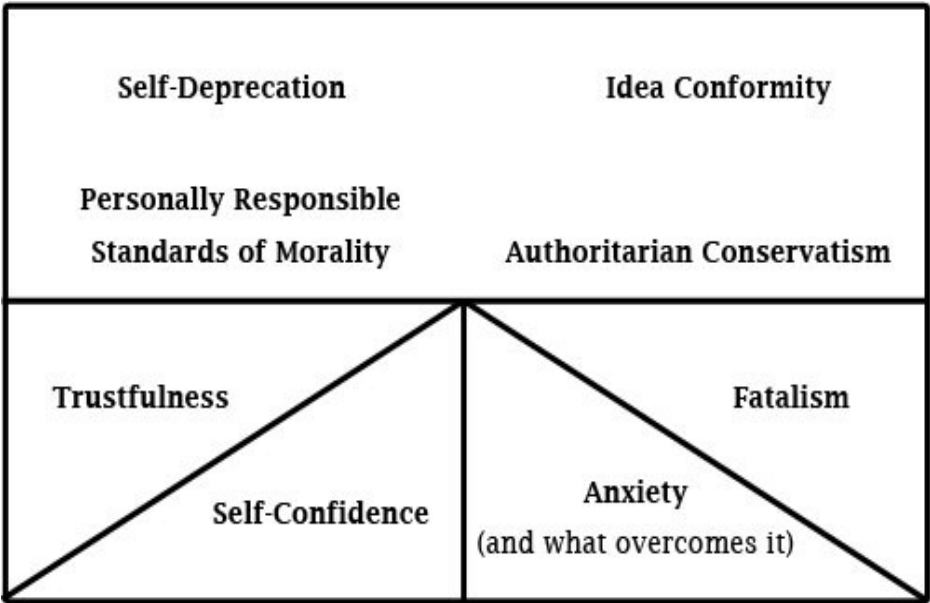


Figure 12.2. Proposed Distribution of Kohn's Factors in MDS Map Style

Source: Kohn (2006:22 with specific items reported in his Table 1.5: 24-29)

Similarly it was noted earlier that the items in Kahle's LOV (Kahle, 1996; Kahle & Xie, 2008) share great similarity to Schwartz's ten main value types. Based on these studies, it is suggested that they can be linked with and distributed around the Chinese clusters identified here like Figure 12.3.

At the individual level, Schwartz noted LOV shortcoming in omitting universalism, tradition, and conformity (199:22), and that 5 of the 9 items posit values that have cross-culturally inconsistent meanings (Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995) and are not included in his 46 (cross-) cultural-level values items. This and other LOV critiques discussed earlier in this paper can be extended with the contextualized culture-level analysis of this project. I agree with the US context of Kahle's theory, and also note that the LOV also does NOT take into account the clear set of

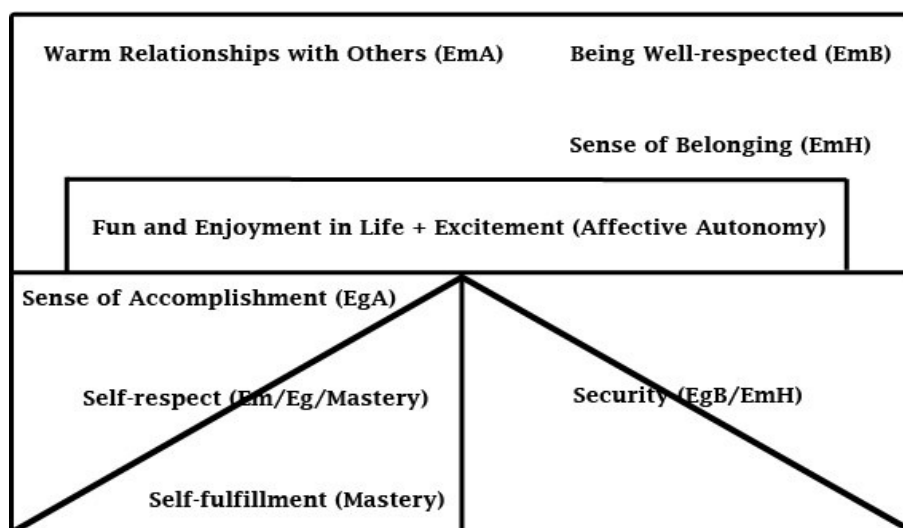


Figure 12.3. Proposed Distribution of Kahle's LOV Items in MDS Map Style

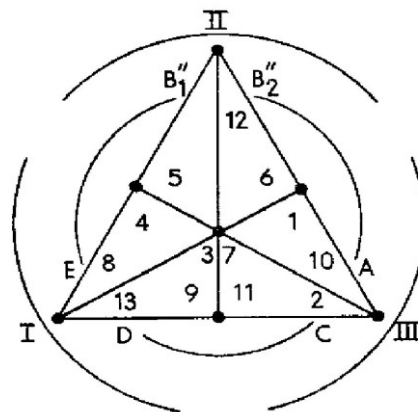
Intellectual Autonomy (though these might be somewhat imbedded in his Self-Respect) nor Universal Harmony or Hierarchy/Power/Success values. Kahle originally answered Schwartz (1996) that such values do not prove salient in consumer values research. I suggest that though this might be true in US American samples, it needs to be tested in other contexts.

I would further argue that in an age of increased individual orientation, coupled with a greater sense of our shared destiny toward aims of world peace, a common quest for deeper philosophical/spiritual meaning in life, and the green ecological movement, a model that overlooks such values in marketing or advertising research has a definite shortcoming. I suggest that the LOV should be theoretically updated by considering results like those presented here, adding Universal/Global Harmony values to the center and adding Hierarchy (Power/Success) values to the bottom right quadrant. In this way, what LOV scholars Kamakura and Novak (1992:119) noted

can become a motivating basis for research – that the “resulting value-system segments and values map” from the Schwartz and Bilsky (1990) model (and its later refinements) can have more than just consistent “face validity,” but be actively compared, contrasted, and integrated.

I still marvel at the foresightedness of Charles Morris in postulating the first integrated circumplex relation of values domains (Figure 3.3, Morris 1956b:201). But in retrospect after this research, my praise in Chapter 3 for the rigor of his studies may have been overstated. He certainly was limited to an understanding of values as philosophical ideas or ideals. Though this provided interesting results for the comparisons of civilizations or worldviews, it does not capture the functional expression of values, either at culture- or individual-levels.

Furthermore, his terms were far less associated with my samples than expected. After examining eight data sets across 14 years, I tend to conclude that Morris’ conceptualizations were more Western-culture bound than he may have realized. Very few of the indigenous dimensions that we have postulated through this project show up in his proposed values dimension labels (1956:200):



1. Social restraint and self-control
2. Enjoyment and progress in action
3. Withdrawal and self-sufficiency
4. Receptivity and sympathetic concern
5. Self-indulgence or sensuous enjoyment

Reprint of Figure 3.3. Morris (1956b)

Traces may found within some domains here, but more work is needed to consider specifically how they might be reflected in the items and domains confirmed by Schwartz’s great body of research and this project’s complementary contexting of some of those.

Nor does David Marquand’s (1996) 2 x 2 structure fit very well. Though some tinges of it might be seen in the two types of Embeddedness arising from this study, Marquand’s view represents a Western, self-seeking, and self-fulfilling orientation (Maslow in a box):

Active, moralistic collectivism	Hedonist-passive collectivism
Moralistic individualism	Hedonistic individualism

Figure 12.4. Marquand's Western Collectivism and Individualism Domains

This is not surprising as Marquand's categories arose specifically from Western historical analysis. Here we again realize that, whatever corpus or group is taken as the sample pool affects the items generated and categories considered. Such limitations may affect the results from these situated, Shanghai, educated Chinese samples as well.

Likewise, the new Minkov dimensions (Minkov, 2007:22-23) incorporated by Hofstede do not fit this data as well as expected, mainly because our participants relegated Universalism to the lesser-rated inner circle. Using ratings instead of rankings, a dimensional line conceivably might be drawn from Embeddedness-A (committed ingroups) to the Universal Harmony values, as a form of his **Exclusionism versus Universalism**.

Further, the inner circle area of Affective Autonomy which contains hedonistic items (**Indulgence**) might represent a line drawn out **versus** Embeddedness-B/Em/H items (**Restraint**) (Minkov, 2007:22-23).

As noted above, the Embeddedness-B/Hierarchy clusters probably represents to some degree his conceptualization of **Monumentalism**, and a diagonal line could probably be drawn through to the opposite side or corner's Mastery/Egalitarianism/Embeddedness-A items, which seem to represent Minkov's **Flexumility** (Flexible Humility, renamed by Hofstede as **Self-Effacement**. These casual considerations need to be tested using Hofstede's latest Values Orientation Module (VOM) and correlated to his LTO-CVS and LTO-WVS items.

Among these models, the Minkov dimensions potentially *can* be traced in results from these samples. More work can be done to look at the items that Minkov identified under each of these factors and how they are represented in samples like this.

Thus in each of these theoretical reviews, I see potential for continuing to learn from, consider, and find ways to differentiate or integrate the vast body of interdisciplinary values studies and values research. Our pioneering predecessors have set an excellent example of this – Chapter 3 noted the

efforts of Hofstede to check his dimensions with many of the previous values studies at that time, Schwartz has likewise followed suit.

Similarly, so have a whole host of cooperating scholars, like Peter Smith, Mark Peterson, Romie Littrell, and others in organizational management or leadership contexts; John Berry, James Georgas, Çigdem Kağıtçıbaşı, Fons van de Vijver and others in family values contexts; and Stella Ting-Toomey, William Gudykunst, and Young Yun Kim in interpersonal contexts (though they have primarily limited themselves to the Hofstede 4D dimensional model). The field is fertile for ongoing values theory, values frameworks, values dimensions, as well as comparisons and confirmatory studies, and this project has sought in a small way to contribute to that process.

12.4 Support for the Complex Duality of Values

This study has posited and shown that values have complex associations and perhaps finer demarcations than are sometimes noted (specifically multiple configurations within Embeddedness and Egalitarian/Mastery domains). This is along similar lines with what some have called dual cognitive structures and value duality (e.g., Katz & Hass, 1988; Katz et al., 1986, though that research applies to racism). Similarly, in identity theory, Peggy Thoits (1986, 1992) postulated multiple identity configurations. Her work suggests that there are particular combinations of identities (e.g., the parent-worker identities combine as the “breadwinner configuration”). Configurations could suggest that values, like identity, are probably found bundled together linked-set constellations.

John Lydon agreed, though he may not have seen these as intricately linked as I propose – his view may be more substitutionary (either beliefs or values or identity). He noted,

By considering the content underlying commitments, we may discover that people often have a couple of core beliefs, values, and identities that sustain them. When one’s identity [belief or value] is threatened, a person may be sustained by the other while the cognitive repair work of either restoring the threatened identity [belief, value] or discovering a new identity [belief, value] ensues. (Lydon, 1996:209, 210)

I suggest this happens not only under threats, but in positive situations as well – an integrated value dynamic is at work enhancing or emboldening our choices, steering us away from what we want to avoid, and strengthening us in what we have to resist. This integration is hard to separate. In fact, Lydon agreed on this point: “it is difficult to separate the moral force from within versus the moral force of one’s social context,” and suggested that in research it is really hard to tease

apart these moral, structural and personal domains/influences, 1996:210). He suggests that, "in highly satisfying relationships...what a person wants to do and what a person ought to do become inseparable."

To navigate the complex world of social relations, Embeddedness values have to function as multiple sets, because each relational reality casts its own sets of demands on the social participant or social actor. And even Egalitarian or Mastery values, which would normally be considered to be evident of individualized self-construals, thought they can be at times personalized, more often than not, they appear to be socialized in Chinese contexts. Thus there is evidence for the Embedded Egalitarian/Mastery achievement cluster. This could be hypothetically stated, "If I am morally, responsibly, capably ambitious and making progress, then all my social relationships benefit from my progress, my self-respect improves, and I have inner harmony, and am satisfied that I have served my social world well." Chinese live well with the realities of *maodun* (contradictions, literally "promoting swords *and* spears") and navigate paradoxes skillfully (the philosophical world of the *Tao* [*dao*, way] and cyclical balance of *yin* and *yang*). This *yin/yang* duality has recently been highlighted in the work of Faure and Fang (2008) and is confirmed by the findings of this study. In fact, it is enhanced by this dissertation, demonstrating that their *yin-yang* paradoxes need not be binary pairings, but actually contrasted as well as related in a complex field, much like the original Chinese *Tai-chi* dynamic.

12.5 Further Analytical Procedures Proposed

Many studies are initially charted out with rather ambitious goals and specific research procedures that they hope to carry out, however the limitations of time, funding, or capacity can curtail them. This project is no exception. It has been quite extensive in its conceptualization and coverage of the historical and theoretical literature. But regarding specific research applications, a number of desired steps were not able to be implemented. Each of these has previous research or theoretical foundations, so the sources of stimulus for these "desired future research" steps will be briefly integrated.

12.5.1 Limitations, Desired Extensions, and Follow-up Proposals

In developing the design of this study, I significantly underestimated the amount of time that the transformation of qualitative list data would take for association, analysis, and interpretation. I also extended the number of groups and sizes of samples to be analyzed. My original intent was to only analyze two groups at each cultural level, but as data work proceeded, it became obvious that each level of analysis needed a current sample for more conclusive coverage. Extending each of the

samples to nearly 250 participants at each level (492 total for the emic-to-etic quantitative studies) simply reduced time available for other potential projects initially conceptualized.

12.5.1.1 Conducting Weighted-Domain Analysis

One of the first steps planned was to recalculate each Schwartz culture- and individual-level based domain/type according to the new item assignments. If this were done for each of the four sets at the “culture-elicited” level, these could be compared and contrasted for changes over time by domain area – an arguably more stable and representative indicator than individual items. The same procedure could be conducted for the “individually-elicited” samples. Statistical comparisons could then be made between years to note trends of change or emphasis, as well as statistical comparison of culture-level domains in contrast to individual-level domains. This might supply more of the desired information needed for analyzing balances or coexistence of traditionality and modernity, if it can be more clearly determined which of the domains are the best indicators of such.

12.5.1.2 Incorporating the Schwartz PVQ into Improved Research Design

In my original design, I had planned to devote a specific chapter to the analysis of these indigenously generated items in comparison with Schwartz’s 40-item Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ) introduced in Chapter 3 (Sec. 3.2.1.6). For studies like this, it is possible that the PVQ provides an equally or more useful, descriptively-expressed set of items than the more numerous and abstract SVS value terms. This should be especially well suited for comparisons with qualitative data, like that collected in Chapter 8. But time did not suffice to even design this extra set of comparisons and exploratory studies.

With this goal in mind, I have supervised five Master’s thesis in the last two years that have launched work on the PVQ. Doing a meta-analysis of their findings would have fit nicely into this project had time and resources allowed, but it will need to be left for further studies. Of those projects, Xiaoming Wang (2009), Zhong Min (2010), and Baoying Liu (2011) have done the most thorough work. In reviewing the beginnings made on PVQ research, the following are suggested as stimulus for further studies.

1. The PVQ is well suited to advancing a broader range of values studies in China, since it is easier to complete for those with lower education and provides a simpler uniform instrument for studying Chinese values in a wider range of contexts (e.g., Wang’s 2009 study of rural teenagers, Zhong’s 2010 study of migrants to and local permanent residents in Shanghai, and Liu’s 2011 study of middle, high school, and college students).

2. The translation of the instrument needs be seriously evaluated, i.e., contextual factors need to be taken into more consideration for the translated version to better replicate its English version. The existing and more broadly-used “Wayne” translation has some critical limitations, which affects results. Wang’s (2009) translation has been proclaimed a significant improvement for more validity, but this needs to be replicated in other contexts (Zhong, 2010, and Liu, 2011 provide the first with good results). Now that this is being tested, a final validated translation of the PVQ needs to be made available to researchers.

3. Over generalization in PVQ-related studies is still a problem - it seems that every researcher wants to generalize his/her findings to the entire Chinese population regardless of the size and the representativeness of the sample. It needs to be noted that the significance of a study does not only come from its width (generalizability to a wider population), but also from its depth (in-depth analysis of the local context and possibly its relationship with other population), or from doing cross-sectional longitudinal or generational studies to gain more insights into the Chinese values patterns of a particular location. The SVS and PVQ need to be psychometrically normed, validity-checked, and made readily available here. Then, in the absence of large-scale, nation-wide values survey of “the Chinese,” numerous in-depth studies of various groups or segments of the Chinese population will hopefully provide an increasingly broader picture of Chinese values, while at the same time also noting sub-group differences in different Chinese contexts.

4. Statistical analysis of the PVQ data often focuses on item or domain scores (e.g., Xu, 2008) or just highlighting the overall values priority (e.g., Xu, 2008; Guo, 2009; Niu, 2009), and not enough on the theoretical order of those interrelationships, which according to Schwartz (e.g., 1994) can best be accomplished thorough SSA projections. Without performing MDS analysis, there is no guarantee that the results are consistent with Schwartz’s theory to even venture such calculations, to know which items are locating as predicted, or which may affected by translation or other unexpected interpretations.

Certain value items may appear to have good statistical reliability, but not locate as predicted. Other items may be grouped for calculation with domain scores that they are actually not locating in. MDS is the only way to confirm the location and association of items and domains. MDS values maps lend themselves best to identifying possible contextual interpretations. The older SSA tool, Alternating Least Square Scaling (ALSCAL) may not to be as precise as Proximity Scaling (PROXSCAL) and may produce some inaccuracies, though this needs to be verified.

5. This study has made a contribution by analyzing one context with SVS. Wang (2009), Zhong (2010), and Liu (2011) provide PVQ results in comparative populations (rural and urban, migrant

and locals, middle school and college). But large-scale (e.g., nation-wide) values surveys using both the SVS and the PVQ need to be conducted to further validate Schwartz's theory as well as to get a fuller picture of Chinese values. Further, comparisons regarding the use of the two instruments will likely reveal that for many contexts, the PVQ yields more accurate and useful results. There is still much to do to extend Schwartz research in China.

12.5.1.3 Using Q-sort to Factor "Subjects" to Determine Response Types

Another planned step was to undertake what some call segment or subject analysis. I was initially inspired to consider this from comments made by a Q-methodology presentation made by Patrick Hylton in Hangzhou, and comments made by Hitlin and Piliavin (204:368) that, "more focus needs to be placed on within-culture variation in values." Godwin Chu and his colleagues Chikio Hayashi and Hiroshi Akuto (1995) carried out such an analysis of value types in Japan and China. Their Q-sort adaptation called the Hayashi method was a possible model I had hoped to implement, and which eventually should be carried out. The larger data set now available could now be entered in SPSS to analyze individuals (instead of items) so that types/grouping of "value selectors" or "value responders" could be identified, which might also allow for the identification of demographic predictors for these types. However, collection of demographic information for such exploratory studies was likely not comprehensive enough. More careful design toward this end should be carried out. As Hitlin and Piliavin observed, "Psychologists have focused on mean-level rather than within-culture variance and new methodological approaches need to examine the proximal mechanisms that lead to those differences" (2004:377).

Lynn Kahle and his associates have been moving in this direction (1996:143.): after having participants conjoint rank/rate values, they summarize their process. "Then we cluster analyze the resulting value profiles such that consumers with very similar value structures are grouped together into segments. When complete we would expect to have N-number of segments, each containing consumers with similar value structures." In this project I have identified value clusters, but cluster analysis of types of respondents should be a promising area for new research. Which segments of Chinese society reflect a more "Western" set of value profiles, which segments hold to more traditional sets, and which seem to be in transition affirming both (or other variations thereof)? Rui Zhang is working on a project doing exactly this with priming responses to the SVS. But Q-sort or other cluster analysis of participants might lead to new understandings of the degree of adoption of certain types of "Chinese values" in transition or globalization.

12.5.1.4 Evaluating Geographical, Urban/Rural, or Economic Influences on Value Sets

In similar fashion, in this study I was limited to sampling Shanghai convenience samples, though it has been noted that most samples were comprised of educational participants from each province and geographical region of China. But they were sampled in Shanghai, and insufficient demographic information was collected to determine their place of origin or years of departure from that place. A more careful and collaborative design would seek to sample people across China in their home situations, and preferably not in educational settings to determine what influence that might have had on this study. Maio et al. (2003) urge care on the selection of groups, noting, “we need to examine local reference groups as well as focus more on how specific values behave differently” in different contexts (as cited in Hitlin and Piliavin 2004:379). A number of the studies discussed in Chapter 3 and 4 urge this type of sub-group, socio-economic, or regional sub-division analysis within samples (e.g., Baer, Grabb & Johnston, 1993; Baer et al., 1996:304; Nisbett, 1993).

This also emulates Kahle’s work (1986), who, “examined the variability of values and geography within the United states” predicting that “because of political considerations, histories, loyalties, climates, resources, and other reasons, the values would vary across regions (Kahle, 1996:144). His 1986 study showed that both at the 4-region level (i.e. West, Midwest, Northeast, and South) and at the finer 9-region level (e.g., adding Pacific, Mountain, etc.), “different Census regions of the United States are characterized by different values.” He also notes that Garreau’s (1981) *Nine Nations of North America* did not account for as much variance as did the nine-level U.S. Bureau of Census regions, which are based on political (state) borders rather than “cultural” borders (Kahle, 1996:144). Kahle, Liu, and Watkins (1991) replicated these findings of geographic variability in values (results shown in Kahle, 1996:145).

Similar work needs to be done in China, especially with the hope that Census statistics are becoming more transparent and accessible. However, it can also be argued that the setting up of regions or “sub-cultural” (or co-cultural) groups can also be problematic or controversial, especially when we note that Garreau (1991) and Kahle (1986) conceptualize and delimit regions quite differently.

12.5.1.5 Attempting Component Factor Analysis (CFA) as an Alternative to MDS

With my academic background in education, sinology, and intercultural communication studies, admittedly my analysis skill set leans more toward interpretative and qualitative methods than quantitative (though even here new qualitative methods like that of Lastovicka, Murray, & Joachimsthaler, 1990 could be employed). This project reflects my initial steps in trying to balance

and incorporate multi-method probes. Having established culturally sensitive emic guidelines, more rigorous quantitative surveys could now be carried out with the proposed SVS expanded and adjusted items. The example of Madrigal and Kahle (1994) could be followed. They used principle components factor analysis with varimax rotation to obtain value factor scores. These scores can then be used in a cluster analysis algorithm based on nearest centroid sorting to determine value system segments (i.e., Anderberg, 1973).

12.5.1.6 Considering and Constructing Semiotic Squares

Another promising line of research is to consider how semiotic squares can help interrelate value items. This arises from applications of the work of Algirdas Griemas and Joseph Courtes (1979) by Igor Klyukanov and Galina Sinekopova (2001). They show how a value conception like “freedom” actually offers a semiotic logic of options (connotations and denotations) that might vary greatly across cultures (e.g., Griemas & Courtes, 1979:185). Klyukanov & Sinekopova (2001:163) expanded the model to consider meaning-midpoints on each axis and worked out a scoring model like that in Figure 12.5.

This is actually a sophisticated methodological improvement on Bem’s (1970:18) postulation of contrasting equality and freedom values along a plus (+) and minus (-) axis. Rokeach updated and applied this procedure in his seminal study (1973). But both Bem and Rokeach only differentiated freedom and equalitarianism. A semiotic square considers these in much more sophisticated relation to one another:

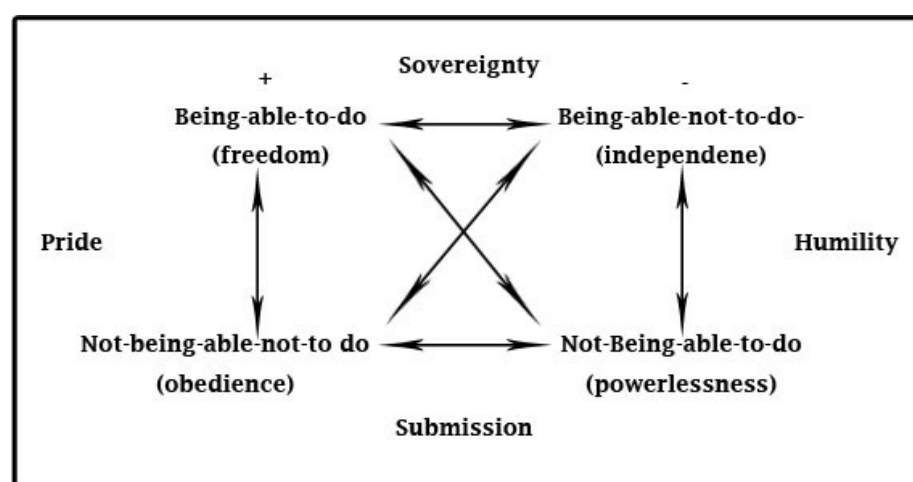


Figure 12.5. Visualizing the Semiotic Square for the Value “Freedom”

Developing situated semiotic squares would require the researcher to work with indigenous informants to construct a conceptual matrix for each important values term. Which points (in

which quadrants), connecting lines, or diagonal descriptions respondents elicit or select would help pinpoint the implied meaning of values terms. Such a method seems compatible with the quadrants and dimensions that are put forward as a result of this study. The challenge would be to develop the multi-range of meanings list for each item, and then to decide which items to select for analysis, as doing so with 66 would clearly be beyond the differentiating capacity of most respondents.

12.5.2 Proposing Further Integrative Work (“Values and...” Linkages)

This dissertation has sought from the outset to be integrative. In Chapter 4 a long list of social-psychological constructs were put forward due to their possible relation to or conflation with values. Having begun to unravel some of the generalizations that are often associated with the Chinese as being “collective” or “interdependent,” this study has put forward, highlighted, more finely-tuned, and contextually-interpreted sub-domains of those broad categories. Now researchers can start to analyze how Chinese culture functions in relation to the shaded variations of value clusters such as “Committed Ingroup Embeddedness,” “Respectful Social-function Embeddedness” or “Secure Hierarchical Embeddedness.

The findings presented here support the growing body of literature that suggests that values are NOT just linear concepts hierarchically arranged in “shopping list” fashion. As each individual faces a specific choice or challenging situation, they might subconsciously arrange certain values in a prioritized order (as Rokeach and Schwartz have theorized) or find that certain values are “triggered,” as attitude researchers prefer to describe the process. And it could be that both “lists” and “triggers” are simplifications of what actually psychologically or socially transpires.

The authors cited below have indicated (each with their own preferred terminology) that there are complex cognitive/affective integrations of certain core or central values, which tend to be conceptually and practically linked together and seem to be concurrently triggered or primed as individuals face decisions or dilemmas. These scholar’s concepts are put forward as a reminder of where a project like the one conducted here can be further extended, now that core clusters and values structure of a certain Chinese educational population have been identified.

12.5.2.1 Considering Value-Attitude Networks

As many researchers have noted (highlighted in Chapter 4), the values-attitude and values-belief relation is still one needing further research confirmation. Norman Feather (1996:222) proposed that “values can be conceived as abstract structures or schemas that can be represented as

associative networks, with each a central value linked to a set of attitudes and beliefs (Feather, 1971, 1975, 1990). The networks for a particular value may vary from person to person and from group to group in their content and structural organization. These differences would reflect differences in the meaning of the value despite a common core of meaning (Feather, 1975:16).”

This study has identified some fairly stable values clusters for Chinese respondents. Yet how do these clusters work to influence attitudes, beliefs, or actions? Feather suggested,

It may be the case that more strongly held values are centers or hubs in more complex and more differentiated networks of attitudes and beliefs (cf. Lusk & Judd, 1988; Tesser & Leone, 1977), and that resolution of discrepancies may involve a lot of cognitive work when strongly held values are in conflict (cf. Tetlock, 1986). Alternatively, it might be argued that more strongly held values are hubs in simply defined structures and exert their influence rapidly, enabling a quick and definite response to situations and events under conditions where there is no value conflict” (Feather, 1996:223).

Finding ways to analyze values in such events or situational responses is an important area for values research to expand, especially in Chinese contexts. Perhaps using scenario analysis as Rui Zhang (2006) did for identifying conflict styles might be a first step in this direction.

12.5.2.2 Identifying Correlated Guiding Values

The work of Seligman & Katz (1996:58,59) showed that the sides of a specific issue might be influenced by “several different guiding values.” For example, 8 values out of 20 were combined as predictors of abortion attitudes in one ranking task and “four values correlated significantly,” even using different ranking instructions (Seligman & Katz, Study 1, 1996:59). Such “trigger” values seem to be bundled or at least closely associated (cf. Rokeach, 1973). Future research designs should not only identify what the top values held by people are, but how these values are combined as an operative, bundled set in response to the issues that are most important or divisive in that society. Identifying guiding values sets are of paramount importance to understanding the cultural logic of a people. I assume that these sets will be composed of some distribution of core clusters or thick cultural values (perhaps differentially distributed in relation to which issue is at hand), but this needs to be researched further.

12.5.2.3 Linking Decisions, Value-Frame Schema, and Value-Choice Frames

In this dissertation’s empirical work, I have largely focused on how to interpret and locate values. This step of clarifying imbued meanings is an important first step in values studies. But the reverse

process also needs further study – to examine how those meaning-filled values are used as cognitive or affective tools to make sense of or process the world, experiences, decisions, and a host of related inputs or outcomes.

Ball-Rokeach and Loges (1996:278) call this idea “frames.” “A *frame* is the linguistic window through which we see or interpret.” Based on Ball-Rokeach and Rokeach’s (1987) conceptualization of a *value-frame*, which “consists of one or more values as the linguistic window or interpretive schema,” they suggested that,

values are evaluative heuristics applied to self, other, and situation... Value-frames, then, are the most common currency of justification, for constructing and communicating to self and others as an evaluative heuristic for why a group’s interests are legitimate (i.e., moral and competent) (1996:278).

This organizing, bundling, and implementing of related values helps give meaning to our normal social acts and interaction. As Ball-Rokeach and Rokeach (1987:184) state:

[T]he value-framing concept points to the criteria that determine what is relevant with regard to issue formation and resolution. It is, we suggest, the ability to control those criteria that gives the power to create the meaning (or acceptable range of meaning) of an issue.

They then discuss the difference between this concept and *value-choice frames*: which is “a frame consisting of two or more values in a state of tension or conflict” (1996:279)– or in other words, oppositional values situationally placed such that a choice must be decided on. “Decision makers must choose to place one of these values over the others and they must justify their choice to themselves and to others” (1996:279). The argument for the usefulness of this framed analysis over rational choice models, suggesting that in this way, “...‘choice’ conceptions and measures of values, attitudes, and behavior ground value-attitude or value-behavior analyses in the everyday realities of people who have to selectively allocate their resources” (1996:295). “That frame not only codes the meaning of the victorious proponent’s position or plan, but also centers the meaning of competing issue positions... (in a process of involuntary) macro discourse negotiation” (1996:296). The organization and role of values in sorting out conflicting options and making decisions can follow from the work started here (and that of Tetlock and his associates, cf. Section 4.4.4.1 and 4.4.4.2).

12.5.2.4 Linking Value Domains to Social-Relational Schemas

Rokeach, Ball-Rokeach, and many other Western scholars have largely considered values at the **micro** (personal attitudinal) or **macro** (generalized national) level (of the 5 levels of culture proposed in Chapter 1). But the multiplicity of values also impacts the **medio** and **meso** levels as per Fiske’s social-relational theory (Fiske, 1991, 1992) and Tetlock’s related value-attitude-behavior applications. Social-relational theory

- (a) provides an explicit and comprehensive taxonomy of the relational schemas that guide behavior
- (b) is a useful starting point for identifying the sharp, qualitative boundaries that people place on the acceptability of certain forms of social cognition... and
- (c) has been extensively validated in both ethnographic and experimental research (Haslam, 2004). (McGraw & Tetlock, 2005:2-3)

Because Fiske “posited four types of relationships that people use to organize, evaluate, and coordinate most social interactions” (McGraw & Tetlock, 2005:3), it is important for studies that build on this project to consider multiple levels of values that individuals ascribe to in certain social levels (**meso**) or interactive situations (**medio**). The way we construe our social relations (or in Fiske terms, the “relational model”) influences the “guiding principles or norms that can have a profound effect on behavior” (2005:3). Beyond Tetlock and his associates’ work, few have considered the seemingly close correlation of Fiske’s four models (**highlighted** in Figure 11.4) to Schwartz’s circumplex. Perhaps the refinements arising from this study make that project even more viable.

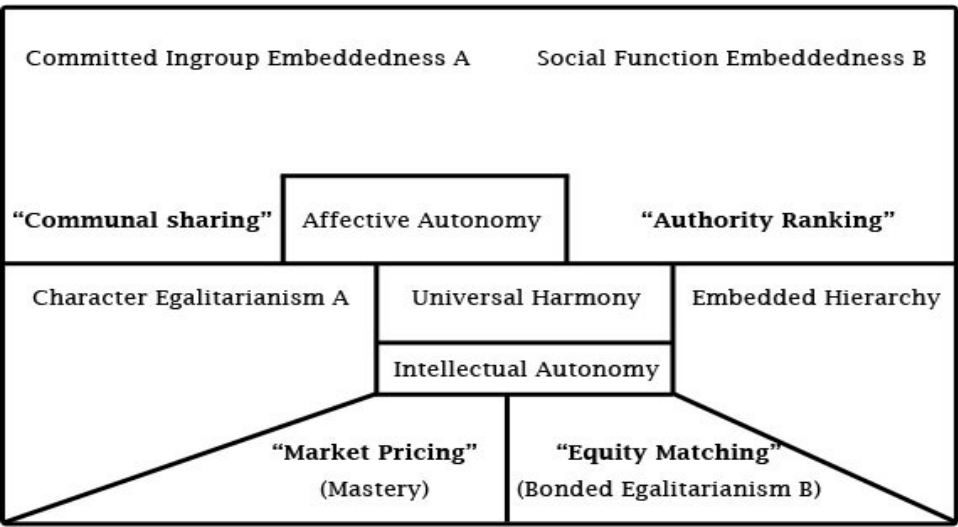


Figure 12.6. Plotting Fiske’s Relational Models with Expanded Schwartz Domains

The point is **not** that every person has **one** preferred profile that they operate in – this has been, in my estimation, the erroneous assumption of much personality research. Relational model scholars maintain that, “the models may be used in conjunction with one another in interactions with the same person. It is typical for a relationship to use multiple relational forms” (McGraw & Tetlock, 2005:3). Certainly the complex quadrants identified in this study show that Chinese interactants do so, both at the level of values and relationships.

Fiske’s theory has yet unexplored salience in the interpretation and explanation of specific situational data where Schwartz’s values domains might be differentially rated. What may sometime appear to be a convoluted or contradictory SVS profile may in fact be an illustration of multiple value clusters operating due to the multiple social models required in that situation. The Fiske categories seem intuitively relevant to diverse societies; I can certainly visualize the effects described in Chinese interaction. Further studies can link relational models surveys or item content to Schwartz value items and domains. Work like that on the “sacred value protection model” that links cherished core values to Fiske’s (1991) relational schemata (e.g., Tetlock et al., 2000:859) will take the field beyond general notions of “culture and socialization” to more salient descriptions of how values operate in **medio** level negotiated contexts.

12.5.2.5 Furthering Studies on Integrated or “Thick” Value Clusters

In this dissertation, I have tried to consistently use the word “framework” to refer to the overall structure or system of values (the **meta** theory). Some scholars use the word “frame” (e.g., Ball-Rokeach and her associates above) as a way to describe how specific values are triggered or combined as value sets (e.g., Rokeach, 1973) for decisions in specific situations (the **medio** level). I also considered the use of the word “set”, “bundle,” and “cluster.” Semantically, any would do, but once I got away from drawing lines on the MDS maps top drawing circles around those “sets”, the word “clusters” seemed most appropriate. “Set” seems more static, whereas “cluster” suggests a more dynamic sense of the potential to be associated in a given context.

Whatever we call this concept, it is important and instructive to help researchers realize that we seldom, if ever, can isolate a single operative or explanatory value. What this project has shown is that values are *both* cooperatively clustered to give integrated meaning or definition to a specific situation, and at the same time, exist in competing, paradoxical sets [as *maodun*, “contradictions”]. In a given society, *both* dynamics have validity *in certain appropriate contexts*. Certain situations force us to choose whether we will or can go with one set of values over another. I have attempted to illustrate these competing dynamics in Figure 4.3 in a proposed Integrated Identity Matrix Model, which I believe can be tied to values. How we work out our own values/identity gambits

between the Social Volition/Impositions put on us and the Social Options that we can choose reflects a dynamic *yin-yang* type of pull. But this needs to be further researched.

As far as I have determined from the reviews conducted so far, no research in Chinese contexts has examined the relative importance, emotive hold, or affective triggers that dominant values clusters have on the people of a shared community or on specific individuals in challenging situations. How can Tetlock's (2003) "sacred value protection model (SVPM)" or his conceptualization of "taboo trade-offs" (Fiske & Tetlock, 1997; Tetlock et al., 2000; McGraw & Tetlock, 2005) be implemented in Chinese contexts?

Any **medio**-level situation or negotiation that triggers levels of moral outrage, disgust, ostracism, or even strained forbearance (to use the factors generated in the study by Tetlock et al., 2000:865 in America society) activates venerated (if not sacred), deep-level, core value(s). "'Sacred values...need not have divine sanction,' and are often the declared or expressed preference of a moral community (200:865)." What are the moral preferences, trigger factors, or venerated values (value clusters) in Chinese contexts?

In linking such a proposal to this project I would postulate, from countless conflict stories heard or observed in years among Chinese, that the Committed Ingroup Embeddedness-A cluster actually represents a "sacred value" Chinese might label *renqing* (人情 "caring human sentiment," a key component of K. K. Hwang's theory, 2007). Further, the character-oriented Egalitarianism-A cluster actually represents the bigger "sacred value" Chinese might label *chengxin* (诚心 "sincerity"). Violate either of these, and you violate cardinal principles of Chinese trust and decorum (as explained by Henze, 2008). Can these core "sacred value" clusters be represented by several overlapping circles, as Juergen Henze often does effectively in intercultural communication training for Chinese contexts. Both his and my proposals need to be qualitatively and empirically tested, but this study seems to provide the foundation for such further work, a goal also of the proposed interview protocol drafted earlier in this chapter (in Sec. 11.2.1).

12.5.2.6 Furthering Studies on Values Conflict Domains

More research will also need to be done on "values in conflict." Tetlock and his colleagues have posited the constitutive incommensurability postulate (Tetlock et al., 2000:854, 856) as both a pivotal concept in modern moral philosophy (Raz, 1986), as well as in classic sociological theory (Durkheim, 1893/1925). Tetlock et al. (1996) explains "that our commitments to other people require us to deny that we can compare certain things – in particular, things of finite value with things that we are normatively obligated to treat as infinitely important."

Constitutive incommensurability can thus be said to exist whenever comparing values subverts one of the values (the putatively infinitely significant value) in the trade-off calculus. Taboo trade-offs are, in this sense, morally corrosive. The longer one contemplates indecent proposals, the more irreparably one compromises one's moral identity. To compare is to destroy (Tetlock et al., 2000:854).

Further research is needed to determine what “Chinese culture” (at the **macro** level), or situated sub-cultural networks (at **meso** levels) consider as being the “incommensurable” areas. To what degree, and in which areas, can one **not** be compromising in these social contexts?

12.5.2.7 Furthering Studies on At-Risk Values in Traditionality and Modernity

In many contexts, people are striving...[and] struggling to protect sacred values from secular encroachments by increasingly powerful societal trends toward market capitalism (and the attendant pressure to render everything fungible) and scientific naturalism (and the attendant pressure to pursue inquiry wherever it logically leads). Tetlock et al. (2000:865)

Related to my proposals on culture change, this same trend can be observed in Chinese contexts seeking to preserve “traditional” values from the onslaught of “modern” or ‘western” values (traditional being sacred in this case). This polemic was the most common theme in the majority of Mainland research papers reviewed on “traditional values” (e.g., Wang, Yan, & Yu, 2008, highlighted in Chapter 6).

A sacred value can be defined as any value that a moral community implicitly or explicitly treats as possessing infinite or transcendental significance that precludes comparisons, trade-offs, or indeed any other mingling with bounded or secular values. When sacred values are under assault, the apposite functionalist metaphor quickly becomes the intuitive moralist-theologian [for China, I suggest only moralist-preservationist] metaphor, which depicts people engaged in a continual struggle to protect their private selves [or their historical communal integrity] from moral contamination by impure thoughts and deeds (Tetlock et al., 2000:853).

Such a view integrates the sociological foundations laid by Durkheim (1983/1925), that “people should seek to affirm, as publicly as possible, their moral solidarity with the community” (cited in Tetlock et al., 2000:869). This integrative and interdisciplinary approach to values research needs to be continued and extended, especially regarding the complex issues of modernity and postmodernity facing Chinese people in multiple contexts. The work of scholars like Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens, and Scott Lash (1994), Shmuel Eisenstadt (2001), Ronald Inglehart and

Christian Welzel (2005) needs to be incorporated into Chinese values studies for clearer analysis of the trajectories of cultural change.

12.5.2.8 Applying Cultural Studies Conceptions of Power

Chapter 5 highlighted a number of indigenous scholars that have looked at how the Chinese consider and employ power (Chen, 2001:58; Hwang, 1987). This study has admittedly treated the data chapters (9, 10, 11) more from the social psychological paradigm of empirical analysis. But cultural discourse, semiotic representations, and media analysis perspectives need to also be considered for a deeper analysis of how “Power” functions in various aspects of Chinese society, similar to or divergent from other hierarchical systems. Clearly, “Hierarchy” is an active part of the values constellation of today’s Chinese, and that quadrant has not perceptibly decreased in importance over the 14 years that this data was collected. But what does this reflect from a critical perspective of power relations, of ethnicity, gender, socio-economic inequalities, or discourses of haves and have-nots in the mainstream/marginalized, urban/rural, or other social demarcations or the new digital divide.

Peter Prud'homme van Reine has argued in his analysis of organizational dynamics that the only cultural differences that make a difference are ones that involve significantly differences in power (Prud'homme van Reine, 1997). Dan Landis and Jackie Wasilewski consider power to be understudied in intercultural communication and interactional relations (Landis & Wasilewski, 1999). Wasilewski suggests that many intractable intergroup problems where conflict exists may not be based on cultural differences as much as power differences (1999:561). Whether in religious, political, other institutional structures, or other types of social injustices or stigmatizing perceptions, “Power” in its interpretation, origins, influence, and affect needs to be included meaningfully in values studies.

12.6 Rethinking Generalized Value Studies via these Specific Findings

It is important to keep reconsidering the data of recent broader cross-cultural studies, where the assumed lumping of people at the national-cultural level may not bear out the distinctiveness that we assume. Baer et al. (1996:304) noted that, “there is evidence in the social psychological literature that Americans are not clearly distinguishable from several other countries...in terms of their emphasis on individualism, autonomy, hard work, achievement, tolerance of ambiguity, and so forth” (e.g., Hofstede, 1980; Lambert, Hamers, & Frasure-Smith, 1979).

Bond notes a similar trend with “the Chinese.”

A discomfiting result typically occurs when such multi-cultural or multi-national taxonomies are developed: the Chinese monolith disintegrates. Those Chinese groups often used to represent “the Chinese” in two-cultural contrasts separate from one another in cultural space...and invariably ally themselves more closely with persons from other cultural-national groups than they are assessed using either ecological-social...or psychological...indices. Which national group or context now represents Chinese culture? (Bond, 2007:242)

Or should we even look for such a grouping?

This discussion might be pertinent in relation to many psychological constructs, and we certainly need to temper attempts to stereotypically isolate or essentialize “the Chinese.” Yet, I am still surprised about the uniform findings of the data presented. Contrary to my expectations, in the context of values as this project was able to elicit them, there is amazing consistency across Chinese classroom samples. Other values techniques with varied populations will certainly need to be more extensively carried out to determine whether the “monolith” of “Chinese values” might still more present than we would like to admit. Or when and how this “cultural script” is appealed to and for what reasons? When is the uniformity of “Chineseness” triggered and when is it debunked? What kinds of research approaches will help us better understand its construction or deconstruction, its relevance or relativity? These are ongoing lines of inquiry that still need clearer answers.

12.6.1 Summary of Main Contributions

Though this set of exploratory studies seem to indicate as many as 11 distinct domain clusters, as the instigator and interpreter of this research project, I would in summary suggest that the 7 domains posited by Schwartz basically stand. The main proposal of this study is a modification to clearly label the now identified 8th domain, splitting the large Embeddedness region into two as **Relational Embeddedness (Em-A)** and **Societal Embeddedness (Em-B)**. These reflect domain differentiation in an **Ingroup Stable Tie Maintenance (Em-A)** region fundamentally separate from **Public Role Development (Em-B)**. These have also been noted along a dimension ranging from **Long-Term Ingroup Supportive Networks** to **Role/Respect-based Functional Networks**. This is certainly been shown to be necessary for Chinese contexts, and is consistent with the GLOBE refinements (2004) on Hofstede’s dimensions positing both In-Group and Institutional Collectivism.

Of course this proposal will need to be rechecked from the large database of Schwartz to see which countries have a similar pattern of splitting Embeddedness into two identifiable regions. Would re-analysis of other Asian samples reveal a similar split? Is this type of differentiated interpretation representative of all non-Western societies (in other words, have Western theorists “logically” or analytically overlooked a cultural reality that is more “intuitively logical” in other parts of the world? Or is this two (or more?) clustered way of looking at Embeddedness more of an indication of levels of traditionality or modernity (whether linear transitions from one to the other, or complex combinations of both) as theorists like Kuo-Shu Yang, Kwang-Kuo Hwang, Ronald Inglehart, Tony Fang, or others have hypothesized? This might be one new frontier for further Schwartz model theoretical development.

Some of the other “domain” variations noted above might mainly be attributed to issues more specific to these Chinese context(s), samples, and “listing” procedures. Only if replications or varied data procedures continue to produce the same results might researchers consider them to raise issues for theoretical reconsideration. We will need to keep asking, “What do the combined or split Egalitarianism/Mastery regions really tell us about these samples or this context?”

Theoretically, specifically in the association to Fiske (1991) noted above, this data suggests that there could viably be two expressions of Egalitarianism split or bounded by Intellectual Autonomy and Mastery called **Developmental Eg-A** and **Interpersonal Eg-B**. The more character-oriented **Personal Quality Development (Eg-A)** was shown to be quite distinct from the more bonded- and meaning/progress-centered **Interdependent Affective/Achieving Support (Eg-B)**. These likewise appear along an axis ranging from **Personal Qualities/ Maturing Growth** to **Upward Status / Social Climbing Goals**. Now that such labels have been put forward, they can be further examined in other research designs. Are the GLOBE study’s (2004) dimensions of Gender Egalitarianism, Assertiveness, and Performance Orientation somehow linked to these clusters? Further exploratory work is needed.

Due to the context and classroom exercise design in which data was collected, the proposals presented here are tentative. Will the coordinated and design-driven administration of other instruments, such as scales based on independent-interdependent self-construals, or traditionality-modernity-post-modernity attitudes, or personal orientations prove conducive to sorting out the influences or correlations of some of the initial findings noted here? This has been an ambitious beginning, but ongoing projects are needed to confirm or modify some of these postulations.

12.6.2 Reviewing Hypotheses and Conclusions

As reported in Section 11.1, the Research Goals framed by this project have largely been accomplished. The extensive historical and critical review of Western values studies and empirical findings have been analyzed (Chapters 1-3) and integrated where possible (Chapter 4), and a similar seminal review of diverse values studies in Chinese societies has been documented (Chapters 5 and 6). Hard thinking about the pitfalls and possible viable methodological approaches to values research have been evaluated (Chapters 4 and 7). These interdisciplinary and critical reviews have framed the exploratory design of the descriptive and empirical studies that follow (Chapters 8-11).

The research questions put forward in each of the qualitative studies described in Chapter 8 led to descriptive and conceptual findings. These contributed to the design of the more statistically-oriented studies that followed. The empirical hypotheses generated in Chapter 9 have been satisfactorily confirmed for this set of exploratory and theoretical studies:

H1. This research has found a reasonably reliable set of methodological procedures to code and convert free-form indigenous input with acceptable meaning-fit levels to corresponding items of the Schwartz etic framework,

H2. The meaning-correlated emic-to-etic data was effectively analyzed with MDS showing both (a) the structural association between items and (b) the structural relation of specific value domains.

H3. The structure that emerged (a) generally reflected Schwartz's (cross)cultural-level theoretical structure, however (b) eight "culturally-logical" indigenous items were added, other SVS terms needed to be redefined and relocated, and some "contextually-understandable" structural modifications were needed. Schwartz's SVS etic structure with appropriate emic indigenization was confirmed.

From the perspective of the levels of culture proposed in Chapter 1 (Sec. 1.5.3), this project has made contributions to **meta** SVS theory by micro-analyzing it at both:

- (1) the **macro**-conceptualization of "Chinese culture" as well as
- (2) the somewhat individualized and **micro/medio**-identification of "my and my friends culture,"

which showed that both share many common etic elements that can enhance SVS theorizing. The findings suggest stronger than expected support for the Section 2.6.5 hypotheses of Hofstede

(2001:13-14) and Müller and Ziltener (2004:139), that, in Asia, the development trend is currently toward clearer identification of “national cultures” at both institutional and individual levels. Do the pressures of modernization and rapid culture change push individuals to rehearse their national script more than in societies that have economically leveled out? The hope is that continued work with the Schwartz SVS or PVQ can help answer such questions.

We now have data-driven theoretical and item, domain, and dimensional considerations that provide a degree of certainty about the cultural relevance of a contextually-modified SVS for these Chinese **macro** and **micro/medio** levels. This lays a plausible foundation for more rigorous work at the complex and contextually-sensitive **medio** and **meso** levels. Such work may cast further light on the “intersubjective consensus” theory that Wan and Chiu (2008:213) have proposed in situations where two or more “cultures” are present, which shows that the “core values of a culture” are endorsed in ways related to the relative strength of identification that members have with specific cultural groups. This is especially important in the context of ongoing Chinese modernization, where globalization (Blanchette et al., 2001) is likely responded to as if it were an integral culture at various operational levels of culture (e.g., Kulich & Zhang, 2010). Just how the “values shift hypothesis” (Bomhoff & Gu, 2011) is affecting Chinese culture needs new designs for better assessment.

In consideration of such research (especially the body of new work emerging from the research team of Chi-Yue Chiu and Ying- Yi Hong, e.g., their seminal edited book *Understanding Culture*, 2009), the three actualized meaning levels that were posited for this project (Section 1.5.4) each need to be explored further with both qualitative and quantitative work:

- (1) how are these values **socially interactive** (interpersonal meaning negotiation),
- (2) how are they operative in **social identities** (social bonding and differentiation), and
- (3) how are they **personally intra-interpretative** (defining the inner deliberations, decisions and conflicts that individuals face)?

Values continue to be an integral part of the philosophical, sociological, social psychological, communicative, educational, political makeup (and all the related life applications domains they entail) of individuals in their social worlds. More complex socially-situated or experimental designs will be needed to clarify these relations. So much has been studied, but so little has been actually clarified to explain or guide how social actors reflect on values to function in diverse cultural or contextual contexts. This project concurs with Sylvia Xiaohua Chen’s conclusion (2010) that we increasingly need let these *emic* concepts affect our *etic* frameworks – hopefully pages help “export indigenous constructs” meaningfully.

In cross-cultural and cultural psychology, new energies are being devoted to seek to answer many of the values questions that have been raised in this dissertation, many of them related to the Schwartz framework adopted here. The new issue of the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* entitled “The Value of Values in Cross-Cultural Research: A Special Issue in Honor of Shalom Schwartz” (2011) is evidence of the established status and new lines of inquiry related to his theories. The contributions mapped out here hopefully provide solid groundwork for ongoing, engaged values research at each level of culture and personal interpretation, and especially how they relate to intercultural communication processes.

12.6.3 Redefining and Renewing Values Studies

This dissertation argues that, far from being an outdated relic of the past, values research has been shown to have a long and illustrious interdisciplinary history as well as a viable and vibrant academic future. Understanding the complexity of values studies and conducting values clarification is important for many fields of study, but particularly needed in societies undergoing rapid change. Examining values provides an important springboard for the many areas of research that are influenced by or connected to the comparative study of cultures, especially cross-cultural and intercultural communication research and training.

This project also updates the previous definitions of values, many of which have arisen from a positivist, functionalist, or modernist paradigm. This study suggests that:

“Values” represent a reflexive psychological construct, dependent on how they are constructively framed or contextually elicited. They are operative at multiple levels, from projecting shared meta-values across “cultures” to priming micro-value subsets that guide individualized decisions, behaviors, or responses.

For future studies or applications, care will continue to need to be exercised to carefully define the specific psychological constructs under consideration, how they are differentiated from or related to values, and at what level of culture, abstraction, or context they are being investigated. Values studies are a delicate undertaking, yet an ever-important situated, social, and scientific enterprise if the motivations, decisions, identities, associations, and directions of cultural groups are to be better understood.

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Appendix 1. The Chinese SVS Translation Recommended by Schwartz and Littrell

1 EQUALITY (equal opportunity for all)	1 平等 (大家机会均等)
2 INNER HARMONY (at peace with myself)	2 心情安详 (内心平静)
3 SOCIAL POWER (control over others, dominance)	3 社会权力(控制及支配他人的权力)
4 PLEASURE (gratification of desires)	4 愉快(满足欲望)
5 FREEDOM (freedom of action and thought)	5 自由(行动及思想的自由)
6 A SPIRITUAL LIFE (emphasis on spiritual not material matters)	6 精神生活(生活中强调精神而非物质性的事物)
7 SENSE OF BELONGING (feeling that others care about me)	7 归属感(感受到别人对自己的关心)
8 SOCIAL ORDER (stability of society)	8 社会秩序 (社会的安定)
9 AN EXCITING LIFE (stimulating experiences)	9 刺激的生活 (一些刺激生活经历)
10 MEANING IN LIFE (a purpose in life)	10 人生意义 (人生目标)
11 POLITENESS (courtesy, good manners)	11 礼貌 (有礼节, 良好的举止)
12 WEALTH (material possessions, money)	12 富有 (拥有金钱和物质)
13 NATIONAL SECURITY (protection of my nation from enemies)	13 国家安全 (保护国家免受敌人侵袭)
14 SELF RESPECT (belief in one's own worth)	14自尊 (对自我价值的尊重)
15 RECIPROCATION OF FAVOURS (avoidance of indebtedness)	15礼尚往来 (不欠人情债)
16 CREATIVITY (uniqueness, imagination)	16创造力 (独创性, 想象力)
17 A WORLD AT PEACE (free of war and conflict)	17 世界和平 (没有战争和冲突)
18 RESPECT FOR TRADITION (preservation of time-honoured customs)	18尊重传统文化 (保留流传已久的习俗)
19 MATURE LOVE (deep emotional & spiritual intimacy)	19 成熟的爱 (情绪和心理均完善发展的爱)
20 SELF - DISCIPLINE (self-restraint, resistance to temptation)	20 自律 (自我约束, 抗拒诱惑)
21 PRIVACY (the right to have a private sphere)	21私隐权 (拥有属于私人空间的权力)
22 FAMILY SECURITY (safety for loved ones)	22 家庭安全 (保护自己亲属的安全)
23 SOCIAL RECOGNITION (respect, approval by others)	23 社会的认可 (得到别人的尊重和承认)
24 UNITY WITH NATURE (fitting into nature)	24融入大自然
25 A VARIED LIFE (filled with challenge, novelty and change)	25多采多姿的人生 (充满挑战, 新奇与变化)
26 WISDOM (a mature understanding of life)	26 智慧 (对人生成熟的理解)
27 AUTHORITY (the right to lead or command)	27 权力(有发号施令的权力或地位)
28 TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close, supportive friends)	28 真正的友谊 (亲密无间, 能支持您的朋友)
29 A WORLD OF BEAUTY (beauty of nature and the arts)	29 美好的世界 (感受大自然和艺术的美)

30SOCIAL JUSTICE (correcting injustice, care for the weak)	30 社会公义 (纠正社会上不公平现象, 扶助弱小)
31INDEPENDENT (self-reliant, self-sufficient)	31 独立 (依靠自我, 自给自足)
32MODERATE (avoiding extremes of feeling & action)	32 中庸 (避免极端的感情行为)
33LOYAL (faithful to my friends, group)	33 忠诚 (对朋友, 集体忠心耿耿)
34AMBITIOUS (hard-working, aspiring)	34.有抱负 (有理想, 有志向, 敬业)
35BROADMINDED (tolerant of different ideas and beliefs)	35 胸怀宽广 (能包容不同的思想及信仰)
36HUMBLE (modest, self-effacing)	36 谦虚 (虚心不自满, 内敛)
37DARING (seeking adventure, risk)	37 冒险精神 (不怕危险, 勇于挑战的精神)
38PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT (preserving nature)	38 环境保护 (保护大自然)
39INFLUENTIAL (having an impact on people and events)	39 影响力 (对人和事物能起作用的力量)
40HONORING OF PARENTS AND ELDERS (showing respect)	40.敬老 (尊重父母和长辈)
41CHOOSING OWN GOALS (selecting own purposes)	41 选择自己的目标 (选择个人志向)
42HEALTHY (not being sick physically or mentally)	42健康 (生理和精神上的健全)
43CAPABLE (competent, effective, efficient)	43 能干 (有才能, 高效率)
44ACCEPTING MY PORTION IN LIFE (submitting to life's circumstances)	44 接受命运的安排 (顺从人生境遇, 随遇而安)
45HONEST (genuine, sincere)	45 诚实 (真实, 诚恳)
46PRESERVING MY PUBLIC IMAGE (protecting my "face")	46 保持自我公众形象 (在大众面前保持自己美好的一面)
47OBEDIENT (dutiful, meeting obligations)	47 服从 (不负使命, 尽忠职守)
48INTELLIGENT (logical, thinking)	48 聪明 (有逻辑思维)
49HELPFUL (working for the welfare of others)	49 乐意助人 (热心公益)
50ENJOYING LIFE (enjoying food, sex, leisure...)	50 享受人生 (享受食物, 性, 闲暇和各种精神生活等)
51DEVOUT (holding to religious faith & belief)	51 虔诚 (忠于宗教信仰和信念)
52RESPONSIBLE (dependable, reliable)	52 有责任感 (可信赖, 依靠)
53CURIOUS (interested in everything, exploring)	53 好奇心 (对万物感兴趣, 喜欢探索)
54FORGIVING (willing to pardon others)	54 宽宏大量 (懂得宽恕他人)
55SUCCESSFUL (achieving goals)	55 成功 (达到目标)
56CLEAN (neat, tidy)	56 清洁 (干净, 整齐)
57SELF-INDULGENT (doing pleasant things)	57 我行我素 (做自己喜欢的事情)
58 COMPLYING WITH SOCIAL NORMS (maintaining my "face")	58 遵守社会规范 (维护面子)

Appendix 2. Variable and Potentially Unstable Individual and Cultural Schwartz Items

As discussed in section 9.3.1. the development of a domain key led to several discoveries about the fluctuation of certain Schwartz items at the individual level which might be construed variably under different cultural dimensions in different samples.

To aid in later analysis, it proved necessary to analyze Table 9.2 and also Schwartz sources, locating each of these items in order to theoretically and situationally identify which might have this switch characteristic and where they may possibly locate.

Pre-Data Analysis Identification of Potential Cross-Over, Meaning-Situated, Domain-Switch Items

What the researcher needs to note in drawing lines within MDS output maps is which items seem to be stable across samples, and which seem to be less stable, showing varied meaning or associative construals across samples. The reasons why some items might locate in adjacent areas needs to be analyzed. Table 9.2 alerted to the fact that some items (those with a backslash / dual listing) might be among those “varied” associations or “unstable” as regards locating consistently in a specific domain at either level. Here we briefly analyze the reasons why (individual level variations are noted by [I] and culture level ones by [C]) (and for reference purposes, will use the Individual-type codes of Schwartz with his item numbers reprinted in Appendix 4: SVS Item Code Key):

T36 **Humble** – [I] at the individual level, tradition and power are NOT neighboring domains and it often borders benevolence (as a personal moral quality), [C] so it can theoretically be expected to locate culturally in Hierarchy or Embeddedness.

X23 **Social Recognition** – [I] power or achievement, [C] Hierarchy or Mastery.

X48 **Intelligent** – [I] usually in achievement, and [C] under Mastery or potentially Intellectual Autonomy (due to the one of the lowest adjacent placement percentages, as noted above).

X14 **Self-Respect** – [I] self-direction or achievement, [C] Mastery or Intellectual Autonomy, and due to its boarder location, in some cultures it might even be considered Affective (noting that it is the lowest of all placement percentages even in adjacent regions).

Here it is important to note that the self-direction items are actually split into two potential sets at the cultural level, and though they might locate under Mastery (as SD41 “choosing own goals” and SD31 “independent” often do), theoretically in the sequence of items noted above, they could also locate with other individual level self-direction items culturally under Intellectual Autonomy. An important benefit gained by listing both individual and cultural levels side by side for emic work like this is noting the split of some individual domains (mainly self-direction to Mastery and Intellectual Autonomy, and universalism to Egalitarianism and Harmony, and potentially some benevolence items splitting up under Egalitarianism or Embeddedness. Thus other specific roaming culturally-construed items might include (following the order of the Table 9.2):

SD41 **Choosing Own Goals** and

SD31 **Independent** – [I] both normally self-direction, but also near achievement and [C] locating in Mastery or potentially in Intellectual Autonomy (due to slightly lower adjacent placement percentages).

ST37 **Daring** – [I] on the borderlines of hedonism, stimulation and self-direction and thus [C] potentially locating with similar items in Mastery, Affective Autonomy or Intellectual Autonomy.

H57 **Self-Indulgent** and

X21 **Privacy** – as two relatively new [I] items and not included in Schwartz's [C] cross-culturally consistent list, they theoretically should locate with Affective Autonomy, but might also locate near or in Intellectual Autonomy depending on cultural semantics.

U35 **Broadminded** – [I] though a universalism item, it is the only one of that group that locates [C] in Intellectual Autonomy, and thus could theoretically locate with other such items in Egalitarianism or even with or near Harmony (which I prefer to label Global Harmony or Universal Harmony in order not to confuse the term with the more situated social relationship context that the term "harmony" constitutes in Chinese culture) or even in or near Embeddedness (like the universalism item U26 "wisdom" does).

U1 **Equality**,

U30 **Social Justice**, and

X2 **Inner Harmony** – similarly these three, [I] as borderline universalism and benevolence items, [C] they may locate under Egalitarianism, or theoretically with broadmindedness under Intellectual Autonomy. The potential confusion on locating "Harmony" as an item or dimension is duly noted in the previous paragraph.

X10 **Meaning in Life** – [I] though situated in benevolence, as noted in this section's introduction, it has one of the lowest percentages of placement in adjacent regions so [C] may not always locate in Egalitarianism. This project will determine where Chinese might locate it.

Some of the individual-level value domains, though expressing some degree of independence and self-actualization in some cultures may actually be considered in a much more interdependent and collectively-cultivated way in other cultures. Among them are values toward friendship and love:

X28 **True Friendship** – [I] though normally in benevolence, in some samples it locates in universalism (e.g. Schwartz's Portuguese, 2005a), and thus [C] may be under Egalitarianism or with/near Embeddedness items.

X19 **Mature Love** – [I] this seems to locate at the border of several regions, from benevolence to security to conformity in varied cultural context, and [C] might be under Egalitarianism or with other security/conformity items in Embeddedness, especially the more personal, relational type of Embeddedness that this project is suggesting.

Next on the list are several values that could also be considered to be character qualities or moral attributes in some cultures – each reflects a human maturing process and cultivated orientation to situations and to others. Thus it is understandable that they might also be construed, linked or located in variant ways. And it

is also likely that these items will not be as prominent among younger or less educated samples and will have higher loadings with greater age and marital or family status.

T44 Accepting my Portion in Life – [I] is the only tradition item locating [C] under Egalitarianism, and might conceivably locate with other tradition items (like T32 “moderate”, T51 “devout” and T18 “respect for tradition”) under Embeddedness, or even with T36 “humble” under Hierarchy.

U26 Wisdom – [I] as the only universalism item locating [C] under Embeddedness, this quality might be grouped with other universals under Egalitarianism or with/near Universal/Global Harmony items (like U17 “world at peace”).

B54 Forgiving – [I] usually a benevolence item, it is on the borderline of tradition (especially religious traditions) and [C] though usually locating in Embeddedness, it may also with/near Egalitarianism items.

T32 Moderate – [I] conversely, normally a tradition item, but on the borderline of benevolence and promoted by some ideologies, [C] it may also locate either in Embeddedness or with/near Egalitarianism items.

We next note several relational values that might show variations across more independent or interdependent cultural self-other construals:

P58 Observing Social Norms (Face) – is a new item rounding out the 58 that accommodates some aspects of the Chinese concept of face practices and [I] though expected to locate under power or be related to security like the two other items below, it may also locate under conformity, and thus [C] might locate either in Respect/Role-oriented Embeddedness or with/near Hierarchy items.

X42 Healthy – [I] with the second lowest of all region placement percentages (53 in security, and only 55 in adjacent) it might end up anywhere, [C] under Embeddedness or elsewhere. – Chinese samples will be examined to determine where.

X7 Sense of Belonging and

P46 Preserving My Public Image – as noted in the discussion above [I] may locate in security or power and [C] under Embeddedness or in Hierarchy.

Appendix 3. SVS Indigenous Item Misfits for New Item Consideration

Culture 1995-1997			Culture 2003		Indiv. 2000		Indiv. 2007	
兢兢业业；精益求精；	2, 3, 6, 7, 10		道德，德才兼备	8, 7, 6, 5, 2	经验，爱幼	8, 10	性格是可以慢慢改变的，人本性上有很多缺点	4, 5
好客；家乡观念；爱屋及乌	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8		品德，清白	6, 5	多子多福，母为子贵	7, 10	人性、善于观察	1, 5
随大流	2, 3, 5		明哲保身	4	留得青山在，不怕没柴烧	10	乐观向上	2, 6
唯物主义	3, 7		逢人只说三分话，不可全抛一片心	8	妇女更加独立自信	1	人类的进步伴随弊端	4
实用主义	2, 7		金钱愈多，忧虑愈多，纸包不住火	4, 2	重男轻女	4	积极态度	9
近朱者赤近墨者黑；	3, 6		辩证	6	子不教父之过	6	珍惜	1
嫁鸡随鸡嫁狗随狗	2, 4				一个好汉三个帮	3	各种证书	4
对子女严格管教，互相不信任	1, 2				顺时者昌，逆时者亡	3		
熟能生巧	4				单一汉文化	3		
一鸟在手胜于两鸟在林	9							
善良	8							
实事求是	4							
依赖性	9							
宁死不屈	6							
高效	2							
做事认真	8							
吃苦耐劳	7							
完美	3							
小孩至上	2							
时间就是生命	5							
	20			6		9		7

Appendix 4. SVS Item Code Key (for Individual Motivational Types)

From Littrell and Schwartz (2007:9.10)

Item	Code	Short Content	Item Content in Survey
1	U1	Equality	EQUALITY (equal opportunity for all)
2	X2	Inner harmony	INNER HARMONY (at peace with myself)
3	P3	Social power	SOCIAL POWER (control over others, dominance)
4	H4	Pleasure	PLEASURE (gratification of desires)
5	SD5	Freedom	FREEDOM (freedom of action and thought)
6	X6	A spiritual life	A SPIRITUAL LIFE (emphasis on spiritual not material matters)
7	X7	Sense of belonging	SENSE OF BELONGING (feeling that others care about me)
8	SE8	Social order	SOCIAL ORDER (stability of society)
9	ST9	An exciting life	AN EXCITING LIFE (stimulating experiences)
10	X10	Meaning in life	MEANING IN LIFE (a purpose in life)
11	C11	Politeness	POLITENESS (courtesy, good manners)
12	P12	Wealth	WEALTH (material possessions, money)
13	SE13	National security	NATIONAL SECURITY (protection of my nation from enemies)
14	X14	Self respect	SELF RESPECT (belief in one's own worth)
15	SE15	Reciprocation of favours	RECIPROCATION OF FAVOURS (avoidance of indebtedness)
16	SD16	Creativity	CREATIVITY (uniqueness, imagination)
17	U17	A world at peace	A WORLD AT PEACE (free of war and conflict)
18	T18	Respect for tradition	RESPECT FOR TRADITION (preservation of time-honoured customs)
19	X19	Mature love	MATURE LOVE (deep emotional & spiritual intimacy)
20	C20	Self-discipline	SELF-DISCIPLINE (self-restraint, resistance to temptation)
21	X21	Privacy	PRIVACY (the right to have a private sphere)
22	SE22	Family security	FAMILY SECURITY (safety for loved ones)
23	X23	Social recognition	SOCIAL RECOGNITION (respect, approval by others)
24	U24	Unity with nature	UNITY WITH NATURE (fitting into nature)
25	ST25	A varied life	A VARIED LIFE (filled with challenge, novelty and change)
26	U26	Wisdom	WISDOM (a mature understanding of life)
27	P27	Authority	AUTHORITY (the right to lead or command)
28	X28	True friendship	TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close, supportive friends)
29	U29	A world of beauty	A WORLD OF BEAUTY (beauty of nature and the arts)
30	U30	Social justice	SOCIAL JUSTICE (correcting injustice, care for the weak)
31	SD31	Independent	INDEPENDENT (self-reliant, self-sufficient)
32	T32	Moderate	MODERATE (avoiding extremes of feeling & action)
33	B33	Loyal	LOYAL (faithful to my friends, group)
34	A34	Ambitious	AMBITIOUS (hard-working, aspiring)
35	U35	Broadminded	BROADMINDED (tolerant of different ideas and beliefs)
36	T36	Humble	HUMBLE (modest, self-effacing)
37	ST37	Daring	DARING (seeking adventure, risk)
38	U38	Protecting the environment	PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT (preserving nature)
39	A39	Influential	INFLUENTIAL (having an impact on people and events)
40	C40	Honouring of parents and elders	HONOURING OF PARENTS AND ELDERS (showing respect)
41	SD41	Choosing own goals	CHOOSING OWN GOALS (selecting own purposes)
42	X42	Healthy	HEALTHY (not being sick physically or mentally)
43	A43	Capable	CAPABLE (competent, effective, efficient)
44	T44	Accepting my portion in life	ACCEPTING MY PORTION IN LIFE (submitting to life's circumstances)
45	B45	Honest	HONEST (genuine, sincere)
46	P46	Preserving my public image	PRESERVING MY PUBLIC IMAGE (protecting my "face")

Item	Code	Short Content	Item Content in Survey
47	C47	Obedient	OBEDIENT (dutiful, meeting obligations)
48	X48	Intelligent	INTELLIGENT (logical, thinking)
49	B49	Helpful	HELPFUL (working for the welfare of others)
50	H50	Enjoying life	ENJOYING LIFE (enjoying food, sex, leisure, etc.)
51	T51	Devout	DEVOUT (holding to religious faith & belief)
52	B52	Responsible	RESPONSIBLE (dependable, reliable)
53	SD53	Curious	CURIOUS (interested in everything, exploring)
54	B54	Forgiving	FORGIVING (willing to pardon others)
55	A55	Successful	SUCCESSFUL (achieving goals)
56	SE56	Clean	CLEAN (neat, tidy)
57	H57	Self-indulgent	SELF-INDULGENT (doing pleasant things)
58	P58	Observing social norms	OBSERVING SOCIAL NORMS (to maintain face)

Submission not on these lists, but somehow included in our Littrell SVS Chinese version (similar to Item 47, Obedient)

Appendix 5. SVS Item Rank, Meaning Correlation to Bond & SISU Adult Percentages

Rank	Schwartz Value Survey (SVS)	1995 -97 #	%	2003 #	%	Total no.	Ave %	Bond's CVS 1987
1	34AMBITIOUS (hard-working, aspiring 有抱负 (有理想, 有志向, 敬业)	19	43.181 81818	25	60.975 60976	44	51.764 70588	CV2 勤劳 (努力) In dustry (working hard)
2	40HONORING OF PARENTS AND ELDERS (showing respect 敬老 (尊重父母和长辈)	18	40.909 09091	21	51.219 5122	39	45.882 35294	CV1 孝 Filial piety
3	22FAMILY SECURITY (safety for loved ones 家庭安全 (保护自己亲属的安全)	20	45.454 54545	18	43.902 43902	38	44.705 88235	
4	20SELF-DISCIPLINE (self-restraint, resistance to temptation 自律 (自我约束, 抗拒诱惑)	19	43.181 81818	14	34.146 34146	33	38.823 52941	CV19 廉洁 Resistance to corruption CV 32 俭 Thriftness
5	45HONEST (genuine, sincere 诚实 (真实, 诚恳)	12	27.272 72727	17	41.463 41463	29	34.117 64706	CV21 诚恳 Sincerity
6	55SUCCESSFUL (achieving goals 成功 (达到目标)	9	20.454 54545	20	48.780 4878	29	34.117 64706	CV 24 耐力毅力 Persistence (perseverance)
7	12WEALTH (material possessions, money 富有 (拥有金钱和物质)	5	11.363 63636	19	46.341 46341	24	28.235 29412	CV 40 财富 Wealth
8	36HUMBLE (modest, self-effacing 谦虚 (虚心不自满, 内敛)	9	20.454 54545	15	36.585 36585	24	28.235 29412	CV5 谦虚 Humbleness CV 29 小心谨慎 Prudence (carefulness) CV 31 知耻 Having a sense of shame
9	44ACCEPTING MY PORTION IN LIFE (submitting to life's circumstances 接受命运的安排 (顺从人生境遇, 随遇而安)	6	13.636 36364	18	43.902 43902	24	28.235 29412	CV33 安分守己 Contentedness with one's position in life, CV17 不重竞争 Non- competitiveness
10	33LOYAL (faithful to my friends, group 忠诚 (对朋友, 集体忠心耿耿)	15	34.090 90909	8	19.512 19512	23	27.058 82353	
11	7SENSE OF BELONGING (feeling that others care about me 归属感(感受到别人对自己的关心)	7	15.909 09091	15	36.585 36585	22	25.882 35294	CV4 随和 Harmony with others

12	31INDEPENDENT (self-reliant, self-sufficient 独立 (依靠自我, 自给自足)	12	27.272 72727	8	19.512 19512	20	23.529 41176	
13	49HELPFUL (working for the welfare of others 乐意助人 (热心公益)	8	18.181 81818	12	29.268 29268	20	23.529 41176	CV 11 团结 Solidarity with others
14	2INNER HARMONY (at peace with myself 心情安详 (内心平静)	6	13.636 36364	11	26.829 26829	17	20	CV 25 耐心 Patience CV 13 修养 Self cultivation CV22 清高 Keeping oneself disinterested and pure
15	37DARING (seeking adventure, risk 冒险精神 (不怕危险, 勇于挑战的 精神)	6	13.636 36364	11	26.829 26829	17	20	
16	8SOCIAL ORDER (stability of society 社会秩序 (社会的安定)	10	22.727 27273	6	14.634 14634	16	18.823 52941	CV 14 尊卑有序 Ordering relationships by status and observing this order
17	18RESPECT FOR TRADITION (preservation of time- honoured customs 尊重传统文化 (保留流传已久的习俗)	14	31.818 18182	2	4.8780 4878	16	18.823 52941	CV39 尊敬传统 Respect for tradition CV 34 保守 Being conservative
18	28TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close, supportive friends 真正的友谊 (亲密无间, 能支持您的朋友)	4	9.0909 09091	12	29.268 29268	16	18.823 52941	CV36 知己之交 A close intimate friend
19	48INTELLIGENT (logical, thinking 聪明 (有逻辑思维)	11	25	5	12.195 12195	16	18.823 52941	CV 10 学识 (教育) knowl edge (education)
20	50ENJOYING LIFE (enjoying food, sex, leisure, etc. 享受人生 (享受食物, 性, 闲暇和各种精神生活等)	5	11.363 63636	11	26.829 26829	16	18.823 52941	
21	52RESPONSIBLE (dependable, reliable 有责任感 (可信赖, 依靠)	9	20.454 54545	7	17.073 17073	16	18.823 52941	CV 30 信用 Trustworthiness
22	32MODERATE (avoiding extremes of feeling & action 中庸 (避免极端的感情行)	7	15.909 09091	7	17.073 17073	14	16.470 58824	CV 12 中庸之道 Moderation, following the middle way

23	51DEVOUT (holding to religious faith & belief 虔诚 (忠于宗教信仰和信念)	3	6.8181 81818	11	26.829 26829	14	16.470 58824	
24	30SOCIAL JUSTICE (correcting injustice, care for the weak 社会公义 (纠正社会上不公平现象, 扶助弱小))	1	2.2727 27273	12	29.268 29268	13	15.294 11765	CV15 正义感 Sense of righteousness
25	46PRESERVING MY PUBLIC IMAGE (protecting my "face" 保持自我公众形象(在大众面前保持自己美好的一面))	6	13.636 36364	7	17.073 17073	13	15.294 11765	CV35 要面子 Preserving your "face"
26	13NATIONAL SECURITY (protection of my nation from enemies 国家安全 (保护国家免受敌人侵袭))	3	6.8181 81818	9	21.951 21951	12	14.117 64706	CV20 爱国 Patriotism
27	1EQUALITY (equal opportunity for all平等 (大家机会均等))	7	15.909 09091	4	9.7560 97561	11	12.941 17647	
28	23SOCIAL RECOGNITION (respect, approval by others 社会的认可 (得到别人的尊重和承认))	3	6.8181 81818	8	19.512 19512	11	12.941 17647	
29	5FREEDOM (freedom of action and thought 自由(行动及思想的自由))	6	13.636 36364	4	9.7560 97561	10	11.764 70588	
30	11POLITENESS (courtesy, good manners 礼貌(有礼节, 良好的举止))	3	6.8181 81818	7	17.073 17073	10	11.764 70588	CV 7 礼仪 Observation of rites and social rituals CV32 有礼貌 Courtesy
31	58COMPLYING WITH SOCIAL NORMS (maintaining my "face") 遵守社会规范 (维护面子)	6	13.636 36364	4	9.7560 97561	10	11.764 70588	
32	15RECIPROCATION OF FAVOURS (avoidance of indebtedness 礼尚往来 (不欠人情债))	5	11.363 63636	4	9.7560 97561	9	10.588 23529	CV 8 礼尚往来 Reciprocation of greetings, favors and gifts
33	17A WORLD AT PEACE (free of war and conflict 世界和平 (没有战争和冲突))	4	9.0909 09091	5	12.195 12195	9	10.588 23529	

34	19MATURE LOVE (deep emotional & spiritual intimacy 成熟的爱 (情绪和心理均完善发展的爱))	4	9.0909 09091	5	12.195 12195	9	10.588 23529	
35	41CHOOSING OWN GOALS (selecting own purposes 选择自己的目标 (选择个人志向))	3	6.8181 81818	6	14.634 14634	9	10.588 23529	
36	4PLEASURE (gratification of desires 愉快(满足欲望))	3	6.8181 81818	5	12.195 12195	8	9.4117 64706	
37	24UNITY WITH NATURE (fitting into nature 融入大自然)	2	4.5454 54545	5	12.195 12195	7	8.2352 94118	
38	42HEALTHY (not being sick physically or mentally 健康 (生理和精神上的健全))	5	11.363 63636	2	4.8780 4878	7	8.2352 94118	
39	54FORGIVING (willing to pardon others 宽宏大量 (懂得宽恕他人))	2	4.5454 54545	5	12.195 12195	7	8.2352 94118	CV3 容忍 Tolerance of others, CV 9 仁爱 (恕,人情) Kindness (forgiveness, compassion)
40	3SOCIAL POWER (control over others, dominance 社会权力(控制及支配他人的权力))	3	6.8181 81818	3	7.3170 73171	6	7.0588 23529	
41	26WISDOM (a mature understanding of life 智慧 (对人生成熟的理解))	1	2.2727 27273	5	12.195 12195	6	7.0588 23529	
42	47OBEDIENT (dutiful, meeting obligations 服从 (不负使命, 尽忠职守))	3	6.8181 81818	3	7.3170 73171	6	7.0588 23529	CV6 忠于上司 Loyalty to superiors
43	14SELF RESPECT (belief in one's own worth 自尊 (对自我价值的尊重))	2	4.5454 54545	2	4.8780 4878	4	4.7058 82353	
44	57SELF-INDULGENT (doing pleasant things 自我放纵 (做自己喜欢的事情))	1	2.2727 27273	3	7.3170 73171	4	4.7058 82353	
45	25A VARIED LIFE (filled with challenge, novelty and change 多采多姿的人生 (充满挑战, 新奇与变化))	1	2.2727 27273	2	4.8780 4878	3	3.5294 11765	

46	43CAPABLE (competent, effective, efficient 能干(有才能, 高效率)	0	0	3	7.3170 73171	3	3.5294 11765	
47	10MEANING IN LIFE (a purpose in life 人生意义(人生目标)	1	2.2727 27273	1	2.4390 2439	2	2.3529 41176	
48	16CREATIVITY (uniqueness, imagination 创造力 (独创性, 想象力)	1	2.2727 27273	1	2.4390 2439	2	2.3529 41176	
49	21PRIVACY (the right to have a private sphere 私隐权 (拥有属于私人空间的权 力)	1	2.2727 27273	1	2.4390 2439	2	2.3529 41176	
50	27AUTHORITY (the right to lead or command 权力(有发号施令的权力 或地位)	0	0	2	4.8780 4878	2	2.3529 41176	CV 16 恩威并施 Benevolent authority
51	35BROADMINDED (tolerant of different ideas and beliefs 胸怀宽广(能包容不同的 思想及信仰)	0	0	2	4.8780 4878	2	2.3529 41176	
52	6A SPIRITUAL LIFE (emphasis on spiritual not material matters 精神生活(生活中强调精 神而非物质性的事物)	0	0	1	2.4390 2439	1	1.1764 70588	CV38 寡欲 Having few desires, CV22 清高 Keeping oneself disinterested and pure
53	38PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT (preserving nature 环境保护(保护大自然)	1	2.2727 27273	0	0	1	1.1764 70588	
54	39INFLUENTIAL (having an impact on people and events 影响力 (对人和事物能起作用 的力量)	0	0	1	2.4390 2439	1	1.1764 70588	
55	53CURIOUS (interested in everything, exploring 好奇心(对万物感兴趣, 喜欢探索)	1	2.2727 27273	0	0	1	1.1764 70588	
56	9AN EXCITING LIFE (stimulated experiences刺激的生活 (一些刺激生活经历)	0	0	0	0	0	0	
57	29A WORLD OF BEAUTY (beauty of nature and the arts 美好的世界 (感受大自然和艺术的美)	0	0	0	0	0	0	

58	56CLEAN (neat, tidy 清洁 (干净, 整齐)	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	Not exact fits above							CV 9 仁爱 (恕, 人情) Kindness (forgiveness, compassion)
								CV18 稳重 Personal steadiness and stability
	Need to consider for adding new values items							CV 26 报恩与报仇 Repayment of the good or evil another person has caused you
								CV 27 文化优越感 A sense of cultural superioty
								CV 28 适应环境 Adapatibilty
								CV 37 贞洁 Chastity in women

Appendix 6. SPSS Calculation of Goodness of Fit for MDS Maps

<div>Goodness of Fit</div> <div><table><tr><th colspan="2">Stress and Fit Measures</th></tr><tr><td>Normalized Raw Stress</td><td>.02467</td></tr><tr><td>Stress-I</td><td>.15707^a</td></tr><tr><td>Stress-II</td><td>.21722^a</td></tr><tr><td>S-Stress</td><td>.04491^b</td></tr><tr><td>Dispersion Accounted For (D.A.F.)</td><td>.97533</td></tr><tr><td>Tucker's Coefficient of Congruence</td><td>.98759</td></tr></table><div>PROXSCAL minimizes Normalized Raw Stress. a. Optimal scaling factor = 1.025. b. Optimal scaling factor = .995.</div></div> <div>1995 – 1997</div>	Stress and Fit Measures		Normalized Raw Stress	.02467	Stress-I	.15707 ^a	Stress-II	.21722 ^a	S-Stress	.04491 ^b	Dispersion Accounted For (D.A.F.)	.97533	Tucker's Coefficient of Congruence	.98759	<div>Goodness of Fit</div> <div><table><tr><th colspan="2">Stress and Fit Measures</th></tr><tr><td>Normalized Raw Stress</td><td>.02173</td></tr><tr><td>Stress-I</td><td>.14743^a</td></tr><tr><td>Stress-II</td><td>.20111^a</td></tr><tr><td>S-Stress</td><td>.03335^b</td></tr><tr><td>Dispersion Accounted For (D.A.F.)</td><td>.97827</td></tr><tr><td>Tucker's Coefficient of Congruence</td><td>.98907</td></tr></table><div>PROXSCAL minimizes Normalized Raw Stress. a. Optimal scaling factor = 1.022. b. Optimal scaling factor = 1.000.</div></div> <div>2000</div>	Stress and Fit Measures		Normalized Raw Stress	.02173	Stress-I	.14743 ^a	Stress-II	.20111 ^a	S-Stress	.03335 ^b	Dispersion Accounted For (D.A.F.)	.97827	Tucker's Coefficient of Congruence	.98907	<div>Goodness of Fit</div> <div><table><tr><th colspan="2">Stress and Fit Measures</th></tr><tr><td>Normalized Raw Stress</td><td>.02815</td></tr><tr><td>Stress-I</td><td>.16779^a</td></tr><tr><td>Stress-II</td><td>.23555^a</td></tr><tr><td>S-Stress</td><td>.06269^b</td></tr><tr><td>Dispersion Accounted For (D.A.F.)</td><td>.97185</td></tr><tr><td>Tucker's Coefficient of Congruence</td><td>.98582</td></tr></table><div>PROXSCAL minimizes Normalized Raw Stress. a. Optimal scaling factor = 1.029. b. Optimal scaling factor = .986.</div></div> <div>2003</div>	Stress and Fit Measures		Normalized Raw Stress	.02815	Stress-I	.16779 ^a	Stress-II	.23555 ^a	S-Stress	.06269 ^b	Dispersion Accounted For (D.A.F.)	.97185	Tucker's Coefficient of Congruence	.98582	<div>Goodness of Fit</div> <div><table><tr><th colspan="2">Stress and Fit Measures</th></tr><tr><td>Normalized Raw Stress</td><td>.01599</td></tr><tr><td>Stress-I</td><td>.12646^a</td></tr><tr><td>Stress-II</td><td>.16061^a</td></tr><tr><td>S-Stress</td><td>.01787^b</td></tr><tr><td>Dispersion Accounted For (D.A.F.)</td><td>.98401</td></tr><tr><td>Tucker's Coefficient of Congruence</td><td>.99197</td></tr></table><div>PROXSCAL minimizes Normalized Raw Stress. a. Optimal scaling factor = 1.016. b. Optimal scaling factor = 1.005.</div></div> <div>2007</div>	Stress and Fit Measures		Normalized Raw Stress	.01599	Stress-I	.12646 ^a	Stress-II	.16061 ^a	S-Stress	.01787 ^b	Dispersion Accounted For (D.A.F.)	.98401	Tucker's Coefficient of Congruence	.99197
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<div>Goodness of Fit</div> <div><table><tr><th colspan="2">Stress and Fit Measures</th></tr><tr><td>Normalized Raw Stress</td><td>.01951</td></tr><tr><td>Stress-I</td><td>.13968^a</td></tr><tr><td>Stress-II</td><td>.17442^a</td></tr><tr><td>S-Stress</td><td>.02776^b</td></tr><tr><td>Dispersion Accounted For (D.A.F.)</td><td>.98049</td></tr><tr><td>Tucker's Coefficient of Congruence</td><td>.99020</td></tr></table><div>PROXSCAL minimizes Normalized Raw Stress. a. Optimal scaling factor = 1.020. b. Optimal scaling factor = 1.002.</div></div> <div>2009 Graduate, Cultural Level</div>	Stress and Fit Measures		Normalized Raw Stress	.01951	Stress-I	.13968 ^a	Stress-II	.17442 ^a	S-Stress	.02776 ^b	Dispersion Accounted For (D.A.F.)	.98049	Tucker's Coefficient of Congruence	.99020	<div>Goodness of Fit</div> <div><table><tr><th colspan="2">Stress and Fit Measures</th></tr><tr><td>Normalized Raw Stress</td><td>.05064</td></tr><tr><td>Stress-I</td><td>.22503^a</td></tr><tr><td>Stress-II</td><td>.35576^a</td></tr><tr><td>S-Stress</td><td>.12423^b</td></tr><tr><td>Dispersion Accounted For (D.A.F.)</td><td>.94936</td></tr><tr><td>Tucker's Coefficient of Congruence</td><td>.97435</td></tr></table><div>PROXSCAL minimizes Normalized Raw Stress. a. Optimal scaling factor = 1.053. b. Optimal scaling factor = .963.</div></div> <div>2009 Graduate, Ranking MDS</div>	Stress and Fit Measures		Normalized Raw Stress	.05064	Stress-I	.22503 ^a	Stress-II	.35576 ^a	S-Stress	.12423 ^b	Dispersion Accounted For (D.A.F.)	.94936	Tucker's Coefficient of Congruence	.97435	<div>Goodness of Fit</div> <div><table><tr><th colspan="2">Stress and Fit Measures</th></tr><tr><td>Normalized Raw Stress</td><td>.01485</td></tr><tr><td>Stress-I</td><td>.12185^a</td></tr><tr><td>Stress-II</td><td>.21907^a</td></tr><tr><td>S-Stress</td><td>.02026^b</td></tr><tr><td>Dispersion Accounted For (D.A.F.)</td><td>.98515</td></tr><tr><td>Tucker's Coefficient of Congruence</td><td>.99255</td></tr></table><div>PROXSCAL minimizes Normalized Raw Stress. a. Optimal scaling factor = 1.015. b. Optimal scaling factor = 1.002.</div></div> <div>2009 Graduate, Rating</div>	Stress and Fit Measures		Normalized Raw Stress	.01485	Stress-I	.12185 ^a	Stress-II	.21907 ^a	S-Stress	.02026 ^b	Dispersion Accounted For (D.A.F.)	.98515	Tucker's Coefficient of Congruence	.99255															
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Dispersion Accounted For (D.A.F.)	.97528																																																										
Tucker's Coefficient of Congruence	.98756																																																										

Appendix 7. MDS Coordinates Sequence-for Cultural-level (Z-Score)

Schwartz Value Dimension	Core Cluster (stable value items)			Occasionally Near (bordering associations)		
		Dimension 1	Dimension 2		Dimension 1	Dimension 2
Egalitarianism-B	Friendship	.160	-.853	Intelligent	.133	-.679
	Mature Love	.351	-.574	Choosing Own Goals	.190	-.602
	Enjoying Life	.486	-.647	Meaning in Life	.186	-.348
				Spiritual Life	.189	-.294
Mastery	Intelligent	.133	-.679	Friendship	.160	-.853
	Freedom	-.038	-.662	Self-Indulgent	-.146	-.519
	Equality	-.122	-.633			
	Own Goals	.190	-.602			
	Independent	-.466	-.596			
	Daring	-.600	-.591			
Egalitarianism-A	Helpful	-.904	-.345	Social Justice	-.614	-.337
	Honest	-.847	-.399	Broadminded	-.528	.082
	Loyal	-.824	-.071			
Embeddedness-A	Humble	-.882	.146	Forgiving	-.537	.318
	勤奋勤劳Hardworking/Diligence	-.862	.351	Broadmindedness	-.528	.082
	Self-Discipline	-.858	.276	National Security	-.434	.665
	Politeness	-.774	.119	Obedience	-.324	.219
	Honor Parents	-.743	.457	Morality	-.323	.619
Inner Circle	ITEMS BELOW GO HERE			ITEMS BELOW GO HERE		
Embeddedness-B (Swing items)	光宗耀祖 Honoring ancestors	.486	.339	Submission	.612	-.131
	Reciprocity	.388	.341	Family Security	.933	.110
	Public Image	.116	.372	Social Recognition	.677	.132
	Social Norms	.606	.438	Authority	.628	.256
	明哲保身 Shrewd and Self-Protecting	.298	.547			
Egalitarian/Mastery in Embeddedness	Responsibility	-.096	.415	Wisdom	-.193	.076
	Inner Harmony	-.346	.430			
	Self Respect	-.198	.500			
	Ambition	-.078	.560			
	道德意识 Morality	-.323	.619			
	Capability	-.107	.627			

Embeddedness-B	Social Order	.404	.669			
	重视子女 Valuing Children	.534	.680			
	Moderation	.038	.697			
	Tradition	.162	.719			
	关系 <i>Guanxi</i>	.331	.774			
Embeddedness-Hierarchy	Pleasure	.610	-.254	Protect the Environment	.483	-.383
	Submission/Accept Po.	.612	-.131			
	Sense of Belonging	.617	.093			
	Authority	.628	.256			
	Social Recognition	.677	.132			
Hierarchy	Power	.732	-.476			
	Health	.812	-.019			
	Success	.852	-.190			
	Wealth	.860	-.313			
	Family Security	.933	.110			
Inner Circle Items						
Intellectual Autonomy	Broadminded	-.528	.082	World of Beauty	-.244	-.041
	Devout	-.448	-.109	珍惜时间 Treasuring Time	-.208	-.707
	意识形态 Ideological Orientation	-.425	-.313	Wisdom	-.193	.076
	Creative	-.311	-.392	World of Peace	-.163	-.396
				Self-Indulgence	-.146	-.519
				Equality	-.122	-.633
				Freedom	-.038	-.662
Affective Autonomy	Self-Indulgence	-.146	-.519	Spiritual life	.189	-.294
	Exciting life	-.045	-.148	Meaning in life	.186	-.348
	Privacy	.015	.005	(Influence)	.372	-.075
	Varied life	.015	.005			
	Clean	.093	-.258			
	Curious	.098	.080			
Universal Harmony	World of Beauty	-.244	-.041	珍惜时间 Treasuring Time	-.208	-.707
	Wisdom	-.193	.076	Curiosity	.098	.080
	World Peace	-.163	-.396			
	Unity with Nature	.228	.234			
	Protect Environment	.483	-.383			

Appendix 8. Coordinates Scores for Individual (Z-Score) in Sequence

Schwartz Value Dimension	Core Cluster (stable value items)			Occasionally Near (bordering associations)		
		Dimension 1	Dimension 2		Dimension 1	Dimension 2
Embeddedness-A	Humble	-.923	.183	Reciprocity	-.596	-.096
	Honor Parents	-.912	.334	Broadmindedness	-.499	.234
	勤奋勤劳Hardworking/Dilig	-.902	-.078			
	Politeness	-.758	.227			
	Self-Discipline	-.622	.537			
Egalitarianism-A	Helpful	-1.009	.009	Broadminded	-.499	.234
	Honest	-.897	-.274			
	Loyal	-.802	.119			
	Social Justice	-.652	-.374			
Border Eg/Em UH items	Forgiving	-.443	-.452			
	Obedience	-.111	.260			
	National Security	-.342	.640			
Universal Harmony	Wisdom	-.243	-.618			
	Unity with Nature	-.230	-.194			
	Protect Environment	.026	.552	珍惜时间 Treasuring Time	-.229	.405
	World Peace	.091	.427			
	World of Beauty	.172	-.037			
Affective Autonomy	Clean	-.329	.022	Spiritual life	.381	.337
	Exciting life	-.143	-.054	Meaning in life	.506	-.182
	Privacy	.271	-.515	Influence	-.089	-.240
	Varied life	.328	-.347			
	Self-Indulgence	.384	-.189			
	Curiosity	.436	-.418			
Egalitarianism-B	Enjoying Life	.580	-.580	Choosing Own Goals	.097	-.525
	Friendship	.857	-.236	Meaning in Life	.506	-.182
	Mature Love	.691	-.200			
Hierarchy	Authority	.606	.321	Sense of Belonging	.394	.226
	Power	.639	.570	Protect the Environment	.026	.552
	Pleasure	.658	-.358	Social Recognition	.720	.108
	Wealth	.794	.485			
	Success	.834	.427			
	Health	.897	-.045			
	Family Security	.887	.085			

(The Em/M/Eg domain is gone)	Capability	.190	-.752			
	Self Respect	.067	-.691			
	Ambition	-.282	-.533			
	Inner Harmony	-.323	-.336			
	→ <i>Not fitting here</i>			道德意识 Morality	-.006	.339
	→ <i>Not fitting here</i>			Responsible	-.638	.410
	→ <i>Not fitting here</i>			Intelligent	.341	.520
	Independent	-.102	-.735	Freedom	.498	-.675
	Own Goals	.097	-.525	Equality	-.294	-.674
	Daring	-.751	-.390	Friendship	.857	-.236
				Self-Indulgent	.384	-.189
Intellectual Autonomy	Freedom	.498	-.675	Wisdom	-.243	-.618
	Equality	-.294	-.674	Self-Indulgence	.384	-.189
	Creative	-.067	-.560	World of Beauty	.172	-.037
	Devout	.073	-.124	World of Peace	.091	.427
	意识形态 Ideological Orientation	-.242	.175	珍惜时间 Treasuring Time	-.229	.405
	Broadminded	-.499	.234			
Peripheral Embeddedness-B	→ <i>Not fitting here</i>			关系 Guanxi	.131	-.387
	→ <i>Not fitting here</i>			Reciprocity	-.596	-.096
	Public Image	.605	.083			
	光宗耀祖 Honoring ancestors	-.046	.004	Family Security	.887	.085
	明哲保身 Shrewd and Self-Protecting	.153	.113	Social Recognition	.720	.108
	Moderation	-.100	.519	Authority	.606	.321
	Tradition	-.412	.537	Intelligent	.341	.520
	Social Norms	.240	.539	Submission/Accept Po.	-.103	.664
	Social Order	.372	.665			
	重视子女 Valuing Children	.179	.794			
Core Embeddedness-B						

Appendix 9. MDS Combined Level Coordinates Sequence

Combined Cultural and Individual (Z-Score) [organized by right column →]

Schwartz Value Dimension	Core Cluster (stable value items)	Cultural Level Coordinate Scores		Individual Level Coordinate Scores		Combined Level Coordinates Scores →Organizing Focus→	
		Dimension 1	Dimension 2	Dimension 1	Dimension 2	Dimension 1	Dimension 2
Mastery Former Eg/Em/M	SD5 Freedom	-.038	-.662	.498	-.675	.371	-.724
	A43 Capability	-.107	.627	.190	-.752	.140	-.686
	SD41 Own Goals	.190	-.602	.097	-.525	.296	-.588
	X14 Self Respect	-.198	.500	.067	-.691	.073	-.579
	A34 Ambition	-.078	.560	-.282	-.533	-.018	-.526
	EGALITARIAN B					Eg-A +	
	EGALITARIAN A					Eg-B -	
	SD31 Independent	-.466	-.596	-.102	-.735	-.146	-.737
	ST37 Daring	-.600	-.591	-.751	-.390	-.674	-.465
	X2 Inner Harmony	-.346	.430	-.323	-.336	-.256	-.458
	U1 Equality	-.122	-.633	-.294	-.674	-.316	-.373
	B52 Responsibility	-.096	.415	-.638	.410	-.591	-.195
Former Eg/Em/M	INTELLECTUAL AUTONOMY			Inner	Circle	IA -/+	
Egalitarianism -B	X28 Friendship	.160	-.853	.857	-.236	.732	-.518
	X19 Mature Love	.351	-.574	.691	-.200	.599	-.471
	H50 Enjoying Life	.486	-.647	.580	-.580	.639	-.459
	X48 Intelligent	.133	-.679	.341	.520	.382	-.302
Egalitarianism -A	B45 Honest	-.847	-.399	-.897	-.274	-.779	-.580
	B54 Forgiving	-.537	.318	-.443	-.452	-.410	-.557
	B49 Helpful	-.904	-.345	-1.009	.009	-.934	-.362
	U30 Social Justice	-.614	-.337	-.652	-.374	-.637	-.332
	B33 Loyal	-.824	-.071	-.802	.119	-.850	.251
Embeddedness-A	T36 Humble	-.882	.146	-.923	.183	-.957	.020
	NC64 勤奋勤劳Hardwork/Diligence	-.862	.351	-.902	-.078	-.934	.119
	C20 Self-Discipline	-.858	.276	-.622	.537	-.811	.135
	C11 Politeness	-.774	.119	-.758	.227	-.765	.333
	C47 Obedient	-.324	.219	-.111	.260	-.401	.325
Swing items fit in Em/M/Eg	NC66 道德意识 Morality	-.323	.619	-.006	.339	-.356	.431
	SE15 Reciprocity	.388	.341	-.596	-.096	-.275	.440
	C40 Honor Parents	-.743	.457	-.912	.334	-.870	.477
	SE13 National Security	-.434	.665	-.342	.640	-.542	.519
	T32 Moderation (border)	.038	.697	-.100	.519	-.147	.597
Em B Border Swing Items	T18 Tradition (border)	.162	.719	-.412	.537	-.295	.742
Hierarchy Swing fit Em/H						+/- switch	PEAK
	X42 Health	.812	-.019	.897	-.045	.842	-.133
	SE22 Family Security	.933	.110	.887	.085	.855	.030
	P46 Public Image	.116	.372	.605	.083	.493	.136
	X23 Social Recognition	.677	.132	.720	.108	.717	.182
	X7 Sense of Belonging	.617	.093	.394	.226	.512	.327

Hierarchy	P12 Wealth	.860	-.313	.794	.485	.888	.331
	A55 Success	.852	-.190	.834	.427	.823	.404
	NC60 光宗耀祖 Honoring ancestors	.486	.339	-.046	.004	.175	.479
	T44 Submission/ Accept Position	.612	-.131	-.103	.664	.301	.481
	P27 Authority	.628	.256	.606	.321	.462	.534
	P3 Power	.732	-.476	.639	.570	.718	.561
Embeddedness- B	NC63 明哲保身 Shrewd and Self- Protecting	.298	.547	.153	.113	.033	.579
	P58 Social Norms	.606	.438	.240	.539	.303	.582
	NC59 关系 <i>Guanxi</i>	.331	.774	.131	-.387	-.031	.736
	SE8 Social Order	.404	.669	.372	.665	.134	.798
	NC62 重视子女 Valuing Children	.534	.680	.179	.794	.086	.855
THE INNER CIRCLE						+/- switch	PEAK
Intellectual Autonomy	U26 Wisdom	-.193	.076	-.243	-.618	-.048	-.682
	SD16 Creative	-.311	-.392	-.067	-.560	-.122	-.565
	X21 Privacy	.015	.005	.271	-.515	.238	-.466
	X10 Meaningful Life	.186	-.348	.506	-.182	.464	-.358
	ST25 Varied life	.015	.005	.328	-.347	.223	-.299
	NC69 珍惜时间Treasuring Time	-.208	-.707	-.229	.405	-.238	-.262
	X6 Spiritual Life	.189	-.294	.381	.337	.335	-.171
	T51 Devout	-.448	-.109	.073	-.124	.012	-.123
	U35 Broadminded	-.528	.082	-.499	.234	-.557	-.072
Affective Autonomy	SD53 Curious	.098	.080	.436	-.418	.472	-.162
	H4 Pleasure	.610	-.254	.658	-.358	.717	-.134
	SE56 Clean	.093	-.258	-.329	.022	-.107	-.104
	ST9 Exciting life	-.045	-.148	-.143	-.054	-.206	-.027
	H57 Self-Indulgence	-.146	-.519	.384	-.189	.268	-.010
Universal Harmony	U29 World of Beauty	-.244	-.041	.172	-.037	.012	.043
	U24 Unity with Nature	.228	.234	-.230	-.194	-.073	.140
	U38 Protect Environment	.483	-.383	.026	.552	.363	.141
	NC61 意识形态 Ideological Oriented	-.425	-.313	-.242	.175	-.358	.212
	U17 World Peace	-.163	-.396	.091	.427	-.140	.264
	A39 Influential	.372	-.075	-.089	-.240	.165	.279

Statement of Originality

Eidesstattliche Erklärung

Ich erkläre hiermit an Eides statt, dass die vorliegende Dissertation von mir selbst und ohne die unzulässige Hilfe Dritter verfasst wurde, auch in Teilen keine Kopie anderer Arbeiten darstellt und die benutzten Hilfsmittel sowie die Literatur vollständig angegeben sind.

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By signing this statement, I, Steve J. Kulich, herewith avow that the contents of this dissertation have been performed by me as sole author under the guidance and advice of my doctoral advisor, in compliance with the “*Promotionsordnung der Philosophischen Fakultät IV*,” maintaining standards of originality, due citation, and complete referencing.

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